













THE  
EDINBURGH  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
FOR 1825.

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VOL. EIGHTEENTH.—PARTS I. II. AND III.

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EDINBURGH :

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Printed by Ballantyne and Co.  
FOR CADELL AND CO., 41, ST ANDREW'S SQUARE, EDINBURGH ;  
AND SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL,  
LONDON.  
1827.



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**PART I.—HISTORICAL.**

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## PART I.—HISTORICAL.

### CHAPTER I.

#### OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

*State of Parties—The Whigs—Causes which have led to their Declension as a Party—The Tories—Causes which have secured the Ascendency they at present enjoy—Liberality of the present Administration—State of the Country at the Commencement of the Year—Opening of Parliament—King's Speech—Long and animated Debates on the Address.*

IN order to form a correct judgment of the relative situation of parties, and the political condition of this country in 1825, it may be necessary, before commencing the history of that year, to take a retrospective review of certain changes which have been gradually operated in the course of events, and to endeavour to appreciate the effects of which these changes have been productive, in as far as concerns the foreign relations and the internal prosperity of the empire. Nor will this preliminary inquiry be deemed inexpedient or misplaced, if it shall be found to conduct us, by an easy gradation, and with a due intelligence of the subject, to those important proceedings and discussions which it is our especial office to put upon record, for the information and guidance of the future historian.

Although in Parliament the different great interests of the state have all

of them their respective representatives and defenders, who may be expected to take peculiar and even prejudiced views of measures, by which those interests are conceived likely to be affected, and who, consequently, must sometimes assume the appearance of a distinct party, acting on distinct principles; yet as, in all questions of general policy, we recognise only one broad line of demarcation separating those who support from those who oppose ministers, it will be convenient to overlook all minor shades of difference, and to arrange our observations so as to define, with some degree of precision, the actual state and influence of the party in power, and of that in opposition. And, to begin with the latter, we may remark, that owing to their long exclusion from office, (for it would hardly be fair to fix upon the short-lived administration of 1806 and 1807 as a criterion,) their principles

have not, in the memory of nine-tenths of the present generation, been submitted to the test of experience; and, therefore, in judging of them as a party, we must confine ourselves to hypothetical reasoning, from the professions they make, the tenets they avow, and the line of conduct they pursue, while acting in opposition to the government. This, we think, is the only ground that is fairly open to us; and by proceeding upon these data, availing ourselves of the partial insight into their character, disclosed during the short period they were in power, and taking into the account events of more recent occurrence, it will not be difficult, we imagine, to explain satisfactorily the causes that have led to the decline of the party, and reduced it to its present state of comparative insignificance and imbecility.

So long as the war was productive of nothing but disaster, and one calamity followed hard at the heels of another, the Whigs, who have an edifying alacrity in prophesying evil, enjoyed a vast credit for wisdom and foresight; and as, notwithstanding the unnatural stimulus given to industry by a war expenditure, the enormous accumulation of taxes began to press heavily on all the sources of public wealth, a persuasion became pretty generally prevalent among the people, that their predictions, in many instances partially confirmed, would ultimately receive a dreadful verification in the disgrace and ruin of the country. From the time, indeed, when they were turned out of office, in 1807, till the invasion of Russia by Napoleon Buonaparte, in 1812, their credit with the country had, for the reason already assigned, been gradually increasing. Some heavy misfortunes had befallen our arms; which Lord Wellington's first doubtful success in Spain were by no means calculated to obliterate from the public mind; and as, in the case of defeat,

the accuser is listened to, while the defence passes unregarded, so the very men who had employed Whitelocke, and planned the expedition to Egypt in 1807, were looked up to as oracles of wisdom and foresight, when they denounced the authors of the ill-starred enterprise against Walcheren, and the disastrous campaign under General Moore. Experience has proved, however, that the most hazardous of all professions is that of a political prophet. At the period of the invasion of Russia, the authority and influence of the Whigs were at a maximum, because misfortune had hitherto been constant. Emboldened by the accidental confirmation of former predictions, they, therefore, took upon themselves, without scruple, to foretell the result of that most monstrous aggression: they declared that the passage of the Niemen was tantamount to the subjugation of Russia; that after a short, perhaps a desperate, struggle, she would be compelled to receive the law from the conqueror, and, by her spoils, to adorn a new triumph for the man who had humbled Austria to the dust, and almost expunged Prussia from the map of Europe. Nor was this an angury, which, in all the circumstances, ought very much to surprise us. Leaving altogether out of view the unparalleled train of victory which had enabled the French emperor to trample on the necks of so many kings, to make playthings of thrones, and to stock the continent with upstart princes of his own race, he transcendent military talents of that extraordinary man, and, above all, the overwhelming force of veteran troops, many of them insured to victory under his command, all blindly confiding in the ascendant of his genius, with which he marched to attack Russia, seemed it must be confessed, to place the issue of the contest beyond the caprice of fortune. It is easy to be wise after

the event. These calculations, which no one at the time had the hardihood to dispute, were destined soon to be signally and gloriously falsified. The burning of Moscow, the retreat and destruction of the French grand army, the desertion of Napoleon by Austria and Prussia, the advance of the allies into Germany, the rising *en masse* of the Germans, the battle of Leipsic, the invasion of France by Europe in arms, and, finally, after a desperate but fruitless struggle, the abdication of Buonaparte,—these mighty events followed one another with an astounding celerity unparalleled in the history of nations of conquerors. With the unthinking herd of mankind, the reputation of the seers was utterly ruined. The return of Buonaparte from Elba, and the extraordinary phenomenon of his repossessing himself of power, revived for a short space their drooping spirits, but it was only to plunge them in deeper dismay, by the unwelcome glories of Waterloo, and the political extinction of that erratic being, whose disturbing force had wellnigh sphered the regular orbs of the European system, leaving him to revolve in solitary splendour, amidst the havoc he had wrought.

As a salvo to the pride of the Whigs, we have already admitted that their conjectures as to the result of the Russian invasion were far from being improbable. It was not, certainly, to be anticipated, that the Russians would make such dreadful sacrifices, and, least of all, that they would destroy their ancient capital, which they regarded with a feeling of religious reverence; it was not to be anticipated that premature winter would come as a restless auxiliary to their aid; that sluggish Germany would rise as one man to overthrow her oppressor; that Europe would march in arms to dethrone the imperial Jacobin who had tried to bind her in fetters to his car of conquest; or

that, after repossessing himself of power, the glory should be reserved to England, of giving him the *coup de grace*, and arresting his career for ever. So much may be fairly conceded; but the public, almost always unjust to the losing party, thought only of the hardy predictions so memorably belied, and withdrew their confidence from the Whigs.

But this was not their only, or even their greatest misfortune. During the short period they were in office in 1806, they had found, by experience, that peace could not be concluded with France except at the sacrifice of the national honour; and, to do them justice, it ought not to be believed that they would have purchased it at such a price. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume, that, had they continued in power, they would have done precisely what their successors did; that is, they would have prosecuted the war with vigour. But it is now matter of history that, but for the monstrous extravagance of their pretensions, joined, as they allege, to the wanton treachery of one of their own number, (Sheridan,) they might have come into power on the death of Mr Perceval—on the very eve, as it were, of those prodigious events which agitated the whole civilized world; and, consequently, might have enjoyed the credit which now belongs to their rivals, of having achieved the overthrow of Buonaparte, and the deliverance of Europe. By huckstering and higgling about matters at once insignificant and contemptible, they lost a glorious opportunity, such as the revolution of centuries may not again offer to their choice; and being necessitated to continue in opposition, and, as usual, to prophesy misfortune and disgrace, they forfeited their credit with the country, and have, to all appearance, perpetuated their exclusion from power.

Another cause which has mainly

contributed to paralyse the efforts of the Whigs, by depriving them of the support necessary to their efficiency as an opposition, is the aristocratical composition and texture of their party. So long as a country remains in a state of comparative poverty and ignorance, the soil constitutes its chief property, and the proprietors of the soil are its most influential men; but as the human mind is expanded by knowledge, as ingenuity multiplies the products of labour, as capital is accumulated, and as man rises in wealth, talents, and importance, the value of property in land experiences an increase, as compared with what it formerly was, but it diminishes in respect to the whole property of the country. Hence, in proportion as a country advances in the career of prosperity, the influence of the hereditary proprietors of the soil must inevitably decrease; because, it has, in that case to contend with the antagonist influence of classes, formerly mere ciphers in political calculations, but now rendered important from the possession of wealth acquired by skill, industry, and enterprise. It is not meant to be insinuated, that, even in the most advanced state of society, the influence of this privileged class can ever cease to be great: from the very nature of things, it must always assume a powerful, if not a commanding, attitude; but, then, it is not, as in ruder periods, the only or exclusive interest. Anciently, both Houses of Parliament were almost entirely composed of landholders, the representatives of the one great and predominating interest; and though, in the progress of time, numerous representatives of other interests have gradually found their way into the House of Commons, and coalesced in forming a sort of counterbalance to the weight of the hereditary proprietors of the soil, yet a large proportion of these have been introduced, either directly by

the aristocracy, or indirectly, with their concurrence and influence; while the composition of the House of Peers has been in no degree modified by the causes which have contributed to ameliorate that of the other House of Parliament. Such being the constitution of the legislature, and such the predominance of hereditary property and influence, it follows, that in all questions, the Corn Laws for instance, in which the interests of the aristocracy are opposed to those of the people, we may expect to find the former strenuously supported and maintained, while the latter are either neglected or sacrificed; we may expect that legislation will take a marked direction in favour of that particular kind of property which the aristocracy possess, and of which they imagine themselves alone competent fully to appreciate the value; that the national importance of manufactures will not be appreciated, the power of commerce misunderstood, and the giant strength with which science arms the merchant and the artisan overlooked; and that thus, while the people are perhaps compelled to pay a monopoly price for the prime necessities of life, the trade and commerce of the country will be fettered with absurd restrictions, and the nation deprived of that command of the wealth of the world, which her skill, capital, and industry, if left to take their natural course, would infallibly secure to her.

But while the natural tendency of the aristocracy continued to be oligarchical and exclusive, though partially modified by the operation of various concurrent causes, a new power was gradually and silently developing itself. Formerly the great body of the people went for nothing in every political calculation; they constituted an inert mass, which, instead of aspiring to direct, waited to be impelled. Public opinion meant then, by the opi-

nion of the privileged class. But circumstances, which it is unnecessary to particularize, have operated a striking change in the relative position of the different great classes composing the commonwealth. Knowledge and industry, reciprocally acting upon each other as cause and effect, have not only improved the condition of the people, but revealed to them the secret of their own strength; mind has pervaded the immense mass, penetrating almost every component atom; *mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet*; and though still excluded from nearly all participation in political rights, it is no longer safe either to neglect the interests, or to condemn the opinions, wants, and desires, of this new class. In a government like ours, of which one great branch is essentially democratical, all the leading interests of the country must, in one shape or another, be represented; that is, the government must accommodate itself to the condition of the governed, and advance *passibus æquis* as they advance, otherwise it is absurd to talk either of its security or its strength: for as all free governments at least are founded on opinion, that must of necessity be the strongest which attaches to itself in the highest degree the sentiments and affections of the people.

From this new class, however, which, in modern times, has risen into consequence, the Tories kept aloof from principle, the Whigs from pride. The former, acting with perfect consistency, lost no ground by their undisputed reluctance to acknowledge the people as an influential body; the latter, ostensibly the advocates of popular rights, but in reality a section of the high aristocracy, and incomparably more adverse to the claims and rights of the people than their political opponents, came to be regarded as a mere faction, who professed liberal opinions as a means of

paving their way to power, and who could never have any sentiments or feelings in common with those whose support they were willing to secure. Alienation and distrust were the necessary consequence; and these feelings were strengthened by that insolent and domineering spirit which, as often as they have had the opportunity, the Whigs have never failed to manifest. That they have resisted many bad laws, proposed some salutary measures, and recommended a few useful principles in legislation and finance, may be readily conceded; because truth requires that they should not be defrauded of their just merits; but these isolated and generally unsuccessful efforts have failed to secure for them the confidence of the people, and have, in some cases, even tended to foster the suspicions already entertained of them. The support which the majority of the party have invariably given to the absurd and iniquitous system of the Corn Laws, has of itself created a disgust and aversion in the public mind, not to be conquered or obliterated by their hollow declamations in favour of reform, and their laudable exertions to remove all restrictions from those particular branches of industry, where they had no private interest in bolstering up the cause of monopoly. It is not by thus coquetting with the people at particular times, and to serve special purposes, that their permanent favour can be gained. Experience has taught them that their true interests have been most effectually consulted by the men who are from principle most firmly opposed to their political pretensions: and as actual benefits conferred by those who have not thought it necessary to encumber themselves with professions, are generally received with corresponding gratitude; so it has happened, that in proportion as the Whigs have declined, their adversaries have



risen in public estimation, thus securing to themselves the indefinite possession of that power which they seem anxious to exert solely for the welfare and interest of the country.

The first substantive proof, and indeed almost a direct result, of this total separation of the Whigs from the people, was the appearance in the political field of what has been denominated the Radical party. Disappointed, cajoled, and, as they thought, betrayed by the Whigs, who were never either able or willing to redeem the pledges they had so frequently given, a large proportion of the operative classes, becoming speculative in proportion as knowledge was freely circulated, resolved to revenge themselves on their faithless and intractable advocates, not merely by deserting them, but by organizing a party which might, in a more efficient and energetic manner, represent their feelings, opinions, and interests; and that the separation might be as wide as possible, they determined to take their stand on the broad principles of the most unqualified democracy. Scorning all paltering about petty reforms, which they declared could never be productive of good, they announced their resolution to be content with nothing short of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage. This was the fundamental article in their creed; and it had one incontestable merit, that, however impracticable it might be, it was at least perfectly intelligible, and admirably calculated to recommend itself to those who were conscious that their strength consisted in their numbers, and that, should they ever succeed in realising their project, they would absorb, in the first place, all the power, and in the second, all the property of the country. Unfortunately, it is almost always in times of public distress that dangerous political theories are promulgated and imbibed. Misery

is naturally credulous. During the afflicting stagnation of commerce and manufactures that prevailed some years ago, the Radical doctrines made an alarming progress among the operative classes both in England and Scotland, who, stimulated by pestilent demagogues, had wellnigh hoisted the banner of insurrection, and plunged the country in confusion and anarchy; but with the return of prosperity, accompanied as it has happily been by a series of public measures, remarkable alike for the benefits they have produced and the glory they have reflected on the present enlightened and liberal administration, the visions of Radicalism have vanished, leaving no trace of their existence, except in the unreadable pages of Bentham, or the somnolent dissertations in the Westminster Review. It is known, however, to all who are in the least acquainted with the subject, that had the Whigs retained the confidence of the people, which, by their selfishness, time-serving, pride, and insolence, they had so deservedly forfeited, Jacobinism would not have been reproduced in a new form, and history would have been deprived of one name more by which to characterize the spirit of turbulence and anarchy.

It may seem paradoxical to allege, that, in its composition, the Whig is essentially more aristocratical than the Tory party; but the fact is, nevertheless, well known, and, indeed, the apparent paradox will vanish upon closer observation. The principle of Toryism is the unqualified support of monarchy, and, of course, of the aristocracy, considered as one of the pillars of monarchy. But the Tories have never mistaken the pillar for that which it is only meant to support, or countenanced the disproportionate aggrandizement of one branch of the constitution at the expense of the others; nor have they hesitated to rally on

their side all those interests and feelings which, properly controlled and modified, might contribute to uphold the dignity of the Crown, and to increase the strength and security of the government. The Whig party, on the other hand, being, as we have said, a mere section of the high aristocracy, engaged in a fruitless struggle for power, incessantly shifting their ground, but remaining inflexibly true to the spirit of their order,—now coquetting with the people when popular support was required, and now deserting or denouncing those of whom they were the *soi-disant* defenders,—reeling from side to side, like an inverted cone, uncertain where they might next fall,—have not only assumed the appearance of an insulated political faction, the real representative of no interest except their own, but, by an obstinate adherence to their system of oscillation, have weakened their energies, and abated their influence. Afraid of compromising their dignity and independence, anxiously avoiding to give any tangible guarantees to those whose support could only be procured on that condition, and resolved, if ever they got hold of the helm, to enter upon office unfettered, they have disgusted and estranged many of their firmest friends, and are justly regarded as a domineering oligarchy, whose exclusion from power is viewed by the majority of the nation with undisguised satisfaction.

But while the Whigs were daily becoming more and more aristocratical in proportion as they were retrograding, various causes conspired to produce an opposite effect on their opponents; and the chief of these unquestionably was their long possession of power. Many men, from the middling or humbler classes of society, who entered into the lower departments of the state, remained in office till they had gradually ascended to the higher; and

consequently brought with them to their more exalted stations, great knowledge of business, and experience of the details of government,—a thorough acquaintance with the different public interests,—a strong conviction of the necessity of watching over, protecting, and promoting those interests,—a perfect freedom from that engrossing spirit of oligarchy, characteristic of a particular order,—and a desire to attend to the feelings and interests of those classes which form the main strength of every nation far advanced in the career of wealth and civilization. The great duties of government can never be safely intrusted except to men who have gone through a similar training, and who not only understand the theory of the machine, but have a practical and experimental knowledge of the mode in which it works. The admixture of men, whose attention has been more directed to the science than the details of government, is, doubtless, a necessary ingredient, because an administration altogether composed of mere men of business, would, like that of Lord Londonderry, be one of shifts and expedients merely; but it is, nevertheless, by the experience of practical men that the best theories must be modified to suit existing circumstances and interests, and the soundest doctrines applied to the ever-varying aspects and relations of foreign and domestic policy.

It is needless to say, that, for some time past, the government of this country has exhibited a union of sound principle, practical skill, great liberality, and high talent, hitherto almost without precedent in its history; and that the happy results of this union are apparent in the increased prosperity and happiness of the empire, and in the commanding attitude which she has assumed among the nations of Europe. From the accession of Mr. Canning to the cabinet, we may date

the commencement of a new era. The absurd restraints by which commerce was formerly fettered have been removed, and, under the superintendence of the able men by whom he is surrounded, the principle of free trade has not only been acknowledged, but reduced to practice, as far as the actual circumstances of the world will admit. By enlightened views of finance, the pressure of taxation has been lightened, while the revenue has been increased. The administration of justice, in which we are all so deeply interested, has been improved by the enactment of laws, which have been hailed with gratitude from every part of the empire, because the benefits that must necessarily result from them, in the additional security to life and property, are of a kind that come home to every man's business and bosom. In our foreign policy, the honour and character of the country have not only been upheld, but immeasurably increased, by a diplomacy equally remarkable for ability, sound principle, and decision, tempered by rare prudence and moderation,—by a determination to maintain the just rights of this kingdom, mixed with a becoming regard for those of other nations. The Whigs, who are seldom injured by their modesty, take a sort of second-hand credit to themselves for the great and substantial blessings which have been conferred upon the country, by boasting that they have schooled the Tories into liberal principles, and that the latter are only now reducing to practice what they have all along recommended. It would be foreign to our present purpose to inquire what portion of truth may be contained in this often-repeated boast. It is sufficient to remark, that declamation is one thing, and governing a great country wisely and liberally another; and that the question with the public is not one of speculative originality, but

practical fact—not who first recommended, but who first carried into effect those beneficial measures, about the vital importance of which there neither is nor can be any dispute.

At the commencement of 1825, the country was in the full enjoyment of that prosperity which, in ordinary circumstances, must always be the fruit of a liberal and enlightened policy; and in that prosperity the agricultural and commercial interests partook in nearly equal degrees. The severe distresses experienced by the former two years before were forgotten; while the latter seemed to advance with an activity and energy proportioned to the increased facilities given to the development of capital and enterprise. Even Ireland, although generally backward in receiving or yielding to any beneficial influence, participated in the general improvement; and the alarming outrages, for the suppression of which, extraordinary powers were two years before confided to his Majesty, had so far ceased, as to warrant the suspension of those powers in most of the disturbed districts. In a word, had it not been for the premature and injudicious repeal of the combination laws, during the preceding session, the commercial horizon would have been without a cloud. As every man of sense had anticipated, however, the workmen instantly availed themselves of their newly acquired liberty to attempt to dictate the law to their masters; strikes became general; combinations were organized upon principles, and to an extent, which could not fail to be regarded as both mischievous and dangerous; a regular rent was levied, and an active correspondence maintained by the leaders of these associations, which, as they had now the law on their side, were regularly organized, and affiliated in subordination to central juntas established in the principal emporia of trade and com-

merce. When Parliament met, they found their table crowded with petitions; and even the supporters of Mr Hume's act began to repent their own rashness, when they discovered the extent of the mischief it had occasioned, and that they had now to examine fresh evidence, and return to the work of legislation. It has been said, in extenuation of the proceedings of the workmen, that combinations involve a principle of self-correction, capable of ultimately working out a cure; and that they must at length dissolve of their own accord. But though this might, to a certain extent, be true, it was nevertheless evident, that these associations might be rendered extremely dangerous, were the manufacturing population to imbibe, as was the case not long ago, a spirit of discontent; while, in the meantime, their immediate effect was to cripple the trade and commerce of the country, which might be irretrievably injured before the principle of self-correction above alluded to should begin its operation. Some new measure seemed therefore to be imperiously called for; first, to protect the workmen from the consequences of their own misconduct; secondly, to give a check to the riotous and disorderly proceedings by which these *strikes* had, in many cases, been attended; and, lastly, to defend the trade and commerce of the country from the ruin with which they were threatened by the pernicious tendency of these associations.

Upon the same principle, the extraordinary proceedings of the Catholic Association, though that body was ostensibly instituted for the furtherance of a legitimate object, seemed imperiously to call for the prompt enactment of some strong repressive measure. Under the fostering care of Mr O'Connell, it had become a sort of Irish Rump Parliament, filled with political agitators; and it was the more dan-

gerous, from being the acknowledged organ of so powerful a body as the Irish Catholics, and from the rapid accumulation of pecuniary means at its disposal, arising from the *rent*, or tax, it had imposed. Intimidation and corruption were avowedly the principal means by which it proposed to operate. The Catholics, it was said, would never be listened to, till, like the volunteers in 1782, they were in a condition rather to dictate their own terms, than to receive reluctant concessions; and of the large sums collected in name of *rent*, a portion was boldly appropriated for buying the advocacy of the venal press all over the empire. These, with maintaining a vigorous *surveillance* over the conduct of magistrates under the insurrection act, the Orange lodges, and all persons employed in offices, or engaged in pursuits, in any way inimical to the Catholic body, were the declared objects of the association. It is evident, therefore, that an institution so anomalous—an *imperium in imperio*, like this, whose immediate tendency was to envenom and perpetuate those political and religious animosities which have so long been the curse of Ireland, and from whose tribune the most inflammatory harangues were weekly delivered, and circulated over the whole empire, through the medium of the press,—could not fail to attract the most serious consideration of his Majesty's Government; for the toleration of a self-constituted body, which, by its own authority, and for purposes not known to be lawful, could lay a whole kingdom under contribution, would have been tantamount to legitimizing the principle of rebellion, and establishing a precedent which might afterwards be employed for effecting a repeal of the Union, or any other object equally mischievous and dangerous. It will be seen directly what course Ministers resolved to pursue in regard to this and every similar association.

At the commencement of the year, undisturbed tranquillity reigned among the nations of Europe. Our relations with foreign powers were of the most friendly character, each evincing a sincere disposition to maintain that universal peace which is the sure harbinger of prosperity and happiness to mankind. But while this general harmony prevailed among the nations of the West, the tranquillity of India, as stated in our last volume, was interrupted by the war with the Burmese, whose unprovoked aggressions, it is said, rendered hostile operations unavoidable. How far this may be correct, yet remains to be seen. It is certain, however, that the Burmese war came upon the public by surprise; for the prevalent opinion was, that, by the able, enlightened, skilful, and judicious administration of the Marquis of Hastings, the pacification of India had been rendered so complete, as to justify us in looking forward to many years of uninterrupted tranquillity. Nor from all that was at first known to the public, was it easy to discover what object the authors of this war had in view, or how they expected to improve the condition of our Indian possessions, by engaging in a contest with an enemy confined within natural boundaries, which he could never pass in any force, and protected by one of the most pestilential climates in the world. However, it is some consolation to think, that this war had not only made no additions to the public burdens, but had not even interrupted that progressive reduction of taxation which the skilful financial measures of administration have enabled them to carry into effect.

In these circumstances, Parliament met on Thursday the 3d of February. His Majesty being prevented by indisposition from opening the session in person, this was done by commission; and, after the usual ceremonies, the

Lord Chancellor read the following speech:—

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ We are commanded by his Majesty to express to you the gratification which his Majesty derives from the continuance and progressive increase of that public prosperity upon which his Majesty congratulated you at the opening of the last session of Parliament.

“ There never was a period in the history of this country when all the great interests of the nation were, at the same time, in so thriving a condition, or when a feeling of content and satisfaction was more widely diffused through all classes of the British people.

“ It is no small addition to the gratification of his Majesty, that Ireland is participating in the general prosperity.

“ The outrages, for the suppression of which extraordinary powers were confided to his Majesty, have so far ceased, as to warrant the suspension of the exercise of those powers in most of the districts heretofore disturbed.

“ Industry and commercial enterprise are extending themselves in that part of the United Kingdom. It is therefore the more to be regretted that associations should exist in Ireland, which have adapted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm, and by exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement.

“ His Majesty relies upon your wisdom to consider, without delay, the means of applying a remedy to this evil.

“ His Majesty further recommends the renewal of the inquiries instituted last session into the state of Ireland.

"His Majesty has seen with regret the interruption of tranquillity in India by the unprovoked aggression and extravagant pretensions of the Burmese government, which rendered hostile operations against that state unavoidable.

"It is, however, satisfactory to find that none of the other native powers have manifested any unfriendly disposition, and that the bravery and conduct displayed by the forces already employed against the enemy, afford the most favourable prospect of a successful termination of the contest.

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"His Majesty has directed us to inform you, that the estimates of the year will be forthwith laid before you.

"The state of India, and circumstances connected with other parts of his Majesty's foreign possessions, will render some augmentation in his military establishments indispensable.

"His Majesty has, however, the sincere gratification of believing, that notwithstanding the increase of expense arising out of this augmentation, such is the flourishing condition and progressive improvement of the revenue, that it will still be in your power, without affecting public credit, to give additional facilities to the national industry, and to make a further reduction of the burdens of the people.

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"His Majesty commands us to inform you, that his Majesty continues to receive from his allies, and generally from all princes and states, assurances of their unabated desire to maintain and cultivate the relations of peace with his Majesty, and with each other; and that it is his Majesty's constant endeavour to preserve the general tranquillity.

"The negotiations which have been so long carried on through his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, between the Emperor of Russia and

the Ottoman Porte, have been brought to an amicable issue.

"His Majesty has directed to be laid before you, copies of arrangements which have been entered into with the kingdoms of Denmark and Hanover, for improving the commercial intercourse between those states and the United Kingdom.

"A treaty, having for its object the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, has been concluded between his Majesty and the King of Sweden; a copy of which treaty (as soon as the ratifications thereof shall have been exchanged) his Majesty has directed to be laid before you.

"Some difficulties have arisen with respect to the ratification of the treaty for the same object, which was negotiated last year between his Majesty and the United States of America.

"These difficulties, however, his Majesty trusts, will not finally impede the conclusion of so beneficial an arrangement.

"In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made, by his Majesty, his Majesty has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of America which appear to have established their separation from Spain.

"So soon as these treaties shall be completed, his Majesty will direct copies of them to be laid before you.

"His Majesty commands us not to conclude without congratulating you upon the continued improvement in the state of the agricultural interest, the solid foundation of our national prosperity, nor without informing you that evident advantage has been derived from the relief which you have recently given to commerce by the removal of inconvenient restrictions.

"His Majesty recommends to you

to persevere, as circumstances may allow, in the removal of similar restrictions, and his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely upon his Majesty's cordial co-operation, in fostering and extending that commerce, which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, a main source of strength and power to this country, contributes in no less a degree to the happiness and civilization of mankind."

From the state of parties, the condition of Ireland, and, particularly, the aspect assumed by the Catholic Association, it was natural to expect that the part of the speech which referred to associations existing in Ireland, which had "adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution," and which recommended to Parliament the speedy application of a remedy, would lead to immediate and keen discussion. In the Upper House, the address was moved by Lord Dudley and Ward, and seconded by Lord Gort. The former of these noblemen drew a very favourable picture of the state of the country, and pointed out the various interests which had been rendered eminently prosperous in consequence of the joint exertions of the people and the legislature. With regard to Ireland, his Lordship noticed the improvements which had taken place in the administration of justice, and declared his conviction, that the final settling of the troubles in that country depended upon the question of Catholic Emancipation, "which, sooner or later, must be conceded." He described the transactions of the societies in Ireland as having been of "such a nature as trode upon the utmost verge of the law;" and he contended, that there was only one way by which Catholics could obtain their object, viz. "by humbly appealing to the justice of Parliament." Adverting to our foreign relations, the Noble Vis-

count took a view of the state of parties abroad, and observed, that it could not be disguised, that a spirit hostile to the interests and institutions of this country, prevailed to a certain extent on the continent. There was a party in France which evidently had for its object to bring back an ancient order of things; not that order of things which existed before the Revolution, but an unqualified system of despotism. The men who composed that party, which was not confined entirely to France, but extended into other countries of the continent, regarded our constitution with no good-will. They considered it as existing by prescription; but they held it to be anomalous, and its example dangerous. They were the enemies of all the principles of national liberty or national independence; and the institutions of this country, they above all things abhorred. His Lordship defended the manner in which the independence of the States in South America had been recognised, from the charge of tardiness and hesitation which had sometimes been brought against it; and argued, that by this slow and temperate proceeding, the government of this country had been enabled to stand equally well with both parties.

Lord Gort aninadvertent with great severity on the Catholic Association. He declared, that though its proposed object was emancipation, its real tendency was to overthrow the constitution; that, in this Catholic Parliament, the most inflammatory speeches were uttered, and Catholics taught to believe, that they were objects of hostility to government; that this association was in opposition to the constituted authorities of the land; that the Catholic and the legitimate Parliament could not co-exist; that, by means of the rent system, the former had levied taxes in every parish in Ireland; and that by means of its proclamations, and the co-operation of the priests, it



had extended its authority, and exercised a striking influence from one end of the island to the other. Notwithstanding the strength of these expressions, however, his lordship declared, that he had no wish to prevent Catholics from uniting to express their grievances, and to obtain redress by constitutional means.

The Marquis of Lansdown concurred in the favourable view which had been given of the internal prosperity of the country, and eulogized the wisdom of our foreign policy in the recognition of the independent States in South America. He liked this recognition, because of the broad principle by which it was supported—the principle that every nation had a right to choose its own government, without foreign interference. This, his Lordship argued, sufficiently distinguished our policy from that pursued on the continent. It showed that we had no community of feeling with those governments which claimed this right of interference; and it embraced a wider space than could have been done in any particular instance, without exciting resentment, or placing our system in opposition to theirs. But while his Lordship gave his full concurrence to those parts of the address, he complained that the House and the country were not in the possession of sufficient evidence, with regard to the causes, the nature, and the conducting of the Burmese war, for enabling them to judge whether so large a force as ten thousand or fifteen thousand men should be raised by this country on account of that war. With respect to that part which pointed at the putting down of the Catholic Association, the noble Marquis neither defended nor blamed the proceedings of that body; but he thought that there might be some danger in attempting to remove merely “the outward and visible signs,” while the dis-

ease with which Ireland was afflicted, would still continue in full force. He was aware, that, in any country circumstanced like Ireland, there must always exist a large fund of discontent, ready to be drawn upon for evil purposes; and that, this being the case, it was far better that public opinion should be collected and communicated by open than by secret channels.

Lord Liverpool argued at some length to prove both the expediency and the justice of the caution that had been observed, and the delay that had taken place in recognising the South American States; and he complained of the conduct of those who regarded every interference with, and invasion of, one independent state by another, as an enormity; and yet thought that, whenever a colony attempted to throw off its dependence upon the parent state, it should be acknowledged and supported as a friend. With regard to the Catholic Association, his Lordship thought that there was nothing to prevent any measure which might be in contemplation, from being discussed on its own merits, and without any reference to the Catholic claims. There might, said his Lordship, be those who would say generally that they disliked the effect of restrictive laws operating upon Ireland, and that they would do nothing to strengthen or to extend them; but whenever those persons looked at the conduct of the party which called itself the Catholic Association, and saw it actually levying a duty, unauthorized, upon the Catholic population of Ireland—would they say that the existence of such a body was consistent with the constitution of this country, or that it was compatible with its peace? He protested that if he himself stood before the House as the advocate of Catholic claims, the first act he would vote for, should be the putting down of that convention, the Catholic



Association; because, if Catholic claims were granted at all, they ought to be granted upon their own merits, and not on the demand of such a body as that association, acting in the way that that body was disposed to act. He renounced every desire—every idea—of interfering with the lawful rights of the Catholics. He did not deny their right to assemble and to petition Parliament; but that right was not now the question; the question was, whether that conduct should be tolerated which was decidedly inconsistent with the spirit of the laws. It was with reference to the authority of Parliament that he said this—of government, and of the constitution. The speech from the throne said, that in the general prosperity—the increasing prosperity of the country—Ireland was taking a large share. This statement was entirely founded in fact; the effect of that fact was apparent in the cessation of those disturbances in many parts of that country, which some had attributed to political and religious animosities, but which he had always mainly attributed to distress.

Lord Donoughmore, at some length, vindicated the Association. The Earl of Roden, on the other hand, expressed great satisfaction at the hope held out by the royal speech, of an end being put to its proceedings; and, ultimately, the address was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

In the House of Commons, the address was moved by Lord F. L. Leveson Gower, and seconded by Mr Alderman Thompson—a duty which, we believe, does not often devolve on the members of the city corporation; but as the topics introduced by the noble Lord and the worthy alderman were extremely similar to those employed in the Upper House, it is unnecessary to present any abstract of their speeches.

The speech of Mr Brougham was by far the longest and most vehement delivered upon this occasion. It embraced a vast variety of topics, and, among others, one of those coarse, illiberal, and vulgar attacks on the Lord Chancellor, in which that learned gentleman seems to take a passionate delight. But its main direction and aim consisted in forestalling, in some measure, the anticipated discussion respecting the Catholic Association; and it may be considered important, as giving an outline of the policy to be pursued by the Opposition during the session.

The learned gentleman, while he did not withhold his praise from the liberal acts which had marked the recent policy of Ministers, contended that the whole, or at least the greater part, of these had been suggested by those with whom he voted and acted; that he himself had, eight years previously, suggested the very specific changes in the navigation laws, and the silk trade, which had so very recently been carried into execution, and for which others were obtaining so much praise. He contended that, even in the most liberal and praiseworthy acts of their policy, ministers had not outrun the rest of mankind in the march of wisdom and liberality; but merely admitted into the cabinet a few rays of that general illumination, which, though their predecessors had carefully excluded it, had been cheering and invigorating the rest of the world for a very considerable portion of time. Even for the recognition of the American States, Ministers had been driven into it. Sir James Mackintosh had advocated that recognition, and had propounded the law in an eloquent speech delivered by him in opposition to the Foreign Enlistment Bill, which was supposed at the time to be a measure of hostility against the South American government.

When touching upon this subject, it could not fail to occur to him, that many a long year before Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, or Peru, had ever dreamed of independence, another people had embarked in a successful contest for freedom,—he meant the people of St Domingo. At the outset of the St Domingo revolution, England was hostile to the natives; she became so from the situation of her people as slave-masters. But the question of slavery, so far as St Domingo was concerned, had been long since set at rest; the natives had entirely emancipated themselves, and the island had become a thriving empire,—one which had a right to be included in the British system. It was clearly the interest of our own colonies that it should be so. We owed it as well to our colonial whites as to their unhappy slaves, and we ought to lose no time in adopting that just and salutary policy. He would now ask, was this display of liberal policy to stop here? Were we never to do justice nearer home; were we never to listen to the voice of Ireland? Was it there alone that policy was to be overlooked, and that, too, where a great population was oppressed by a continuance of matchless impolicy, and worse injustice? There was in the government, no doubt, too great a difference of opinion upon the Irish question, as there had been upon others. There had been something like the same difference on the silk bill; they could not fail to recollect, that it was brought into this house and carried by one minister, and thrown out in the Lords by another. An equal difficulty had been found in reconciling the conflicting opinions of the cabinet at an early period of the South American question. It might be said, that if the minister who carried the recognition of South American independence in the cabinet should persevere in this novel

course he might be compelled to resign. Was this to be the reason for delay? Was this conduct to be tolerated in a British minister? And if it were, were they, then, to consent to say, "The danger is, we admit, great, but touch it not?" Let them not, in these times, be told, that there were particular scruples in a high quarter which could not bear to be touched. This language had, he knew, been used on a former occasion; but it was unjustifiable,—it was unconstitutional,—it was intolerable. It would have been hardly used to a House of Commons by a minister of Charles II.; and sure he was, that if used in the better times which preceded that reign it would have brought a minister to the block. Now it was that if there is anything odious to be done—any political opponent to be run down, "Oh, then," ministers exclaimed, "it is not our fault; we wish to do what is right; we are above these petty jealousies; we do not wish, nor mean professionally, to injure a political opponent; but don't you see we are delicately placed?" Then followed the allusion to the Sovereign, as the imperative director of the act; so that these official personages cast upon the Crown the odium of any unpopular act, whilst they carefully preserved to themselves the popularity of more liberal measures. So it was once regarding Ireland; the name of his late Majesty had been used for the purpose of rendering it impossible, at a former period, to proceed with the Catholic question. But this plea, bad as it was, was now removed, as must be known by any person who had marked his present Majesty's most gracious conduct in his cordial and gratifying visit to Ireland. He would add, too, that in the territory in which George IV. reigned as King of Hanover, and where he acted individually, and not as in Great Britain, under the guidance of what were called responsible

advisers, they had not long since an opportunity of knowing the King's real sentiments, in the decree which he graciously promulgated at the opening of the States, and of which he had procured a copy. His Hanoverian Majesty was most graciously pleased to say, "that the general professors of the Christian faith are to enjoy a perfect equality of civil and political rights in the kingdom of Hanover, and, in conformity to the 14th article of the constitution, the pre-eminence of a predominant church is abandoned." This declaration became a sovereign who felt that a truly tolerant man never used the word. The King's decree went on further to promulgate, "that all Christian communities had a right to the unobstructed and peaceable exercise of their religious worship." Ought not that House boldly to come forward, and, consistently with the royal act, do for Ireland what had been done for Hanover? (hear, hear!) He was now putting aside the business of the Catholic Association, although the acts attributed to that body were the genuine fruit of the policy pursued towards Ireland. He had predicted such a consequence. The Catholics first came to Parliament with a respectful request, and were met by refusal and contumely; the natural result was, an insolent and unreasonable demand. Why not then revoke this policy? Why not redress grievances in Ireland, and apply conciliation instead of coercion? Did they think the great seal would be in danger if they pressed this question? Did they think the venerable and learned person who held it would quit his possession on that account? Great God! the very notion of such abandonment of office was the most chimerical of all the chimeras that ever distempered the brain of a poet, (loud laughter). Surprised indeed should he be, to find any quittance of office in that quarter

before all sublunary things were at an end. They greatly undervalued the steadiness of mind and purpose of their venerable colleague. There was nothing to equal the patient assiduity with which he bore the toils of his high station—the fortitude with which he endured to be thwarted. Upon questions of foreign and domestic trade he had at length consented to yield,—ay, and so would he upon this Catholic question if it were equally pressed upon his reluctant attention. To remove this great personage would be a real miracle; the seals were his estate,—his freehold; he had secured the term, and his last breath would be poured forth in the public service. The only question in law upon the matter was, who was to appoint his successor? He was not to be restricted to a mere life-interest; the office must in him be devisable, and for the uses of his will. Indeed, there were indications which in a measure pointed to the successor, although that successor would find himself disappointed, if he hoped to get office during the natural life of the present holder, (renewed laughter). Let the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr Canning) only make the experiment with his noble colleague, and the nation would not, he might depend upon it, be deprived for one hour of the inestimable benefit of his colleague's public services, (hear, hear!) Unhappily the right hon. gentleman made no such effort, and therefore the Catholics were put off. From year to year,—from one crisis to another,—in time of war, or in time of peace, the Catholics were to be turned aside, and for them alone the hour of redress was never to approach. (hear, hear!) Penal enactments were the answer to their petitions; and now again they were called upon to put down not the Association, but "Associations." This was one of the slyest insertions that ever crept into a form of speech. The

venerable and learned personage in the cabinet had added the letter *s*,—he knew his hand-writing,—(laughter) ; and the object was plain and palpable, “ Make it plural, and then we shall have the votes of those who are anxious to put down the Orange Associations, and who will admire by anticipation the mode in which we poise the equal balance in our hands, and determine to put down faction in Ireland.” He, however, conjured hon. members to exercise their common sense. They would soon find that the justice was only nominal ; that it partook of those subtle equities from the precincts of which it sprung ; that the strong and irresistible hand of the law would be called forth to put down the Catholics, whilst the Orange Associations would be only visited with a gentle tap. (hear !) He had never in his life approved of all the measures of any association, still less had he ever approved of all the measures of a society united by a mixed bond of religious and political principles. But he thought the moderation of the Catholics had been exemplary, and their language, which had been sneered at by the noble Lord (Gower) was moderate. “ Oh,” said the noble Lord, “ I am not disposed to treat them with contempt !” That he—that he, most noble and most honourable as he was, should have it go forth to six millions of suffering fellow-subjects, and that the very first time, perhaps, they had ever heard of his name, that he did not mean to treat them with contempt, was certainly singular. To speak of such people with contempt was quite out of the question ; not even that most contemptuous of all contemnners, *Signor Pococurante*, would have said so, (a laugh). The great bulk of the Catholic community had given to that body their hearty and unqualified support. They might not, perhaps, all think alike upon the whole of the measures of the

Association ; nevertheless the great bulk of the body sanctioned the entire of their proceedings. There were many who did not approve of the Catholic rent, or the manner of its collection, but who were still cordial friends of the Association. Besides, how were they to put down this Association, without equally extinguishing hundreds of others ? What was to become of the Bible Society, which raised, not 8000*l.* or 9000*l.* like the Catholic Association, but 80,000*l.* or 90,000*l.* ? There was also the Bridge Street Association, of which the Duke of Wellington was a president. He would fain hope that this intention would be abandoned. He conjured the ministers to pause before they advanced a step farther in such a system of legislation. The peace of Ireland was secured by the Catholic Association ; (hear, hear !) Ireland had never been more tranquil than now, through the reliance of the people upon that body. This was the fact ; this was the doing of the Catholic Association. (hear, hear !) The people of Ireland once confided in Parliament, but Parliament had alienated the Catholic people. They now confided in the Association. And why should that House complain ? Was it not their own handywork ? Swift, among his shrewd maxims, had one, that there was nothing so unreasonable as for people to make themselves ridiculous, and then be angry at others for laughing at them. He warned them against waiting, under the plea of a more convenient season ; it would be better to relent even in the twelfth hour. It was madness, it was the grossest imprudence, to keep the former course. That they might be wise enough to yield in time to the reasonable petition of six millions of their oppressed subjects, was rather his earnest prayer and wish than his belief. But his conscience prompted him to call upon them to adopt this as the fittest time for con-

ciliation and redress, while as to the policy hitherto pursued, and, for aught he knew, yet to be continued, he was determined to relieve his own mind from the guilty responsibility of acquiescence, (loud cheers.)

Mr W. Lamb said, he could admit that the subscriptions to the Catholic Association might be legal; but if he found that the Roman Catholic priesthood were engaged in collecting them, and were to be consulted as to their employment, he should deem that a circumstance symptomatic of the deepest alarm. He was notwithstanding a friend to Catholic Emancipation, and should support such a measure, if proposed.

Mr Canning next addressed the House in a speech equally brilliant with wit, and pregnant with reasoning. He observed, that the worst enemy of the Catholic religion could not have hit upon means more certain,—he could not have imagined a plan so successfully mischievous,—as the institution of the Catholic Association. The learned gentleman's mode of handling this subject was most singular. To prove that the existence of the Catholic Association was at least harmless, he ought to have shown that they were a few zealous individuals, who did not profess to represent the people of Ireland,—who had no design of assuming the character of a government. But the learned gentleman exaggerated even their own most gross and exaggerated account. "You are indebted," said he, "to the Catholic Association for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland." He entirely overlooked the administration of the last three years. He left out of view the eminent services of the Marquis Wellesley, in retrieving, by the equal justice of his government, the authority due to the laws. He forgot, that the sunshine of government was shared equally by Catholic and Protestant,

But that body, it seems, was the cause of that peace which the government had been unable to achieve! By what charm had they brought about this object? Whence did they obtain their magical elements of concord? From the pit of Acheron! Their combination was cemented by an adjuration of horror,—“Be peaceable,” they said, “by the hatred which you bear the Orangemen!” This was the charm by which they extracted peace out of hatred. Good God! was it for reasoning men to put such a bond of union into writing, and, when called upon to explain themselves, deliberately to affirm the deed? Could this be Catholicism? He trusted not; for if it were, he had been in a fatal error in advocating the Catholic cause. (cheers.) Let no one consider him, therefore, as opposing the Catholic claims. He wished to separate the Catholic Association and the Catholic question; the learned gentleman wished to confound them. The learned gentleman had asked him, “Why do not you, who have carried a particular question against the views of an opposing minister, insist on carrying the Catholic question?” He objected to both premises and conclusion. Supposing the premises true, did the learned gentleman see no difference between the South American and the Catholic question? “What had a minister to fear,” asked the learned gentleman, “with this House, these benches, all England at his back?” He would answer with another question, “What would a minister do with only these benches, and with no England at his back?” (cheers, and laughter.) In the notion that a certain member of the cabinet, who was opposed to him on the Catholic question, was also opposed to him on that of South America, the learned gentleman was entirely mistaken. He assured him that the line which divided the cabinet was not

straight but serpentine. The project of breaking it up, on account of one question, might not be difficult; that of forming a new one from the different benches of that House would be found not quite so easy. No doubt a competent ministry might be selected from the benches opposite; but if the learned gentleman could have the satisfaction of ousting him, he would not, in all probability, have the satisfaction of succeeding him, (cheers, and laughter.) All he desired of the House was, to consider rightly the terms which were objected to in the address. The King stated in the speech, that associations existed in Ireland, for whose conduct it was recommended to consider of an adequate remedy. The House replied, by promising that it would do so. What less could the House do? unless, taking the learned gentleman's description of the Catholic Association, as a body possessing the whole authority in Ireland,—enjoying undivided allegiance,—exercising all the powers of government,—issuing the only commands which were effectually obeyed,—and levying revenues; unless they were prepared to say, that a power thus formidable ought to exist,—to sit beside the government, or to tower above it,—they could not refuse their assurance to the crown, that they would take an early opportunity of considering the means of putting down so enormous an evil. The learned gentleman seemed to treat lightly all those measures which a liberal policy had adopted for the advantage of trade, and the recognition of the new states. The learned gentleman was not an unfrequent speaker in that House, and, when he favoured them, he was not remarkable for conciseness,—mixing up with the matter of debate dissertations *de omni scibili*. As, in the course of his Parliamentary life, the learned gentleman had proposed and supported every species and

degree of innovation which could be practised in a settled government, it was not very easy for ministers to do anything in the affair of South America, or any other, without seeming to borrow something from the learned gentleman. Their views might be shut up, by circumstances which they must consult though *he* need not, as among ice in a northern winter. In time the thawing came; but break away in what direction they would, to the left or right, it was all alike; "Oho!" said the learned gentleman, "I was there before you; you could not have thought of that now if I had not given you a hint." In the reign of Queen Anne, there was a sage and grave critic of the name of Dennis, who got it into his head that he wrote all the good plays that were acted at that time. At last a tragedy came forth, with a most imposing storm of hail and thunder. At the first peal, "That's my thunder," said Dennis, (loud laughter); so, with the learned gentleman, there was no noise or stir for the good of mankind, in any part of the globe, but he instantly claimed it for his thunder. One thing he had, however, kindly thrown overboard, which was to be divided between government and his learned friend, (Sir J. M'Intosh). He wished to hear from that learned member, to what degree he claimed South America for his thunder? (laughter). The learned gentleman was very cautious in his praise. If he piqued himself upon anything in the South American negotiations, it was upon the subject of time. As to the propriety of admitting states, which had successfully shaken off their dependence on the mother country, to the rights of nations, there could be no dispute. There were two ways, however, of proceeding, either recklessly and with a hurried course, by which the object might be soon reached, and almost as soon lost; or by a course so strictly

guarded, that no principle was violated, and no offence given to other powers. The three states with which government had to deal, were Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico. As to Buenos Ayres, his learned friend knew well, that it comprised thirteen or fourteen small and separate states, which were not till lately collected into a federal union. So soon as it was known that a consolidation had taken place, the treaty with Buenos Ayres was signed. Next, as to Colombia. As late as 1822, Puerto Cabello was held for the King of Spain. It was only since that time that Colombia could have been admitted amongst the independent states. Some time after that, however, —he spoke it not as imputing blame, —Colombia chose to risk her whole force, and a great part of her treasure, in a distant war with Spain in Peru. Had that enterprise proved disastrous, it would have ended in re-establishing the royal authority. The danger was now at an end. The case of Mexico was still more striking. Not nine months ago, an adventurer, who had wielded the sceptre of Mexico, left these shores to return thither and resume his abdicated throne. In neither of these cases could the time of negotiation have been anticipated even by a few weeks. He would say to the learned gentleman, that the credit of the measure might be his, or it might be that of his learned friend, (Sir J. M'Intosh); but he would claim for himself the merit of selecting the time, and of devising the mode in which the object was effected. He trusted, that by this plain conduct, this temperate, tardy policy, if they pleased so to call it, the country had avoided all the dangers which otherwise would have accompanied the recognition. He did not pretend to conceal, that, by this step, we had hurt many feelings, —run counter to many interests, —shocked many prejudices, —excited many re-

grets, much anger, and indignation; but still he hoped that these feelings would evaporate in words, and that we should have gained our object, and still remain at peace with all the world, (cheers). There were one or two points in the speech on which it would be proper that he should say a few words. He alluded more particularly to the treaty with the United States of America relative to the slave trade. At the beginning of the last session of Parliament, a proposal was received from the United States, to carry into effect a measure for putting an end to the slave-trade, by giving to each power the right of mutual search. The treaty was drawn up by the ministers of the United States; and, in the course of the negotiation, some alterations were made here. By the constitution of the United States, the right of ratification was placed, not in the executive power, but in the executive power and the senate. This country, therefore, had no right to complain, when a treaty, regularly negotiated and signed by his Majesty, was refused by the American authorities, unless alterations were made in it by the United States. But the singularity of the case was this, —that the alteration proposed by the United States had no reference to the alteration introduced by the British cabinet, but was an alteration in their original draft. By the original treaty, the Americans were to be permitted to search our ships in the West Indies, and we in return were to search their ships off the coast of America. They withdrew the clause which empowered us to search their ships. The mutual right of search was thus destroyed; and it was impossible for this government, either as a question of policy, or as a matter of justice to the West India proprietors, to allow such an alteration; for it would have been a tacit admission that our slave-laws were

evaded by the colonies, but that the American slave-laws were not so evaded. Under these circumstances, we proposed to cancel that treaty, and to send a minister for the purpose of forming a new one, which should be drawn up *verbatim* as the treaty originally stood. The whole discussion had been carried on in a spirit of the most perfect amity, and, he believed, the personal feelings of the executive government of the United States were in favour of the arrangement.

The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, Feb. 4.

In the House of Commons, on the question, that the report on the address be brought up, Mr Hobhouse, alluding to the augmentation of the army hinted at in the royal speech, was desirous to know what had occurred to render such augmentation at all necessary. Ireland was confessedly tranquil, and we were at peace with all the world excepting the Burmese, whose hostility, in the honourable gentleman's opinion, was too contemptible to justify the intended measure. The honourable gentleman concluded a long desultory dissertation upon the state of our relations with foreign powers, by joining in the general congratulations on the improvement of trade and agriculture, and the liberal changes that had been made in the commercial policy of the country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed in reply, that when the subject should be brought before the House, he would be able to prove, that the increase of the army was dictated by the soundest policy, and was liable to none of the objections that had been offered to it.

Sir John Newport, in a long speech, defended the Catholic Association for its usefulness in preserving the tranquillity of the country—to which fact he bore emphatic testimony; and censured, by anticipation, any measure that might be brought forward for suppressing it.

He was replied to by Mr Peel.

Mr C. H. Hutchinson, Sir H. Parnell, and other members, avouched their belief, that the proceedings of the Association had the concurrence of the Catholics of both Ireland and England; that, as the organ of the Catholic body, its existence had become necessary; and that to put it down legislatively would be both unjust and unconstitutional. "The sentiment," said Mr M. Fitzgerald, "which now actuates the Catholic people of Ireland for the first time, is *one and undivided*."

The views of these different Irish members were enforced by Mr Denman.

At length the address was agreed to.



## CHAPTER II.

## CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION CONTINUED.

As the mischievous nature of this Association, though alluded to in rather vague phraseology, formed so prominent a feature in the royal speech; as the national dangers to be apprehended from it were great and imminent; and as the danger with which the Association itself was now threatened would, in all probability, produce no little ferment in the minds of the Irish people; it was of obvious importance to lose no time in bringing the question between the government and it—the question which of the two should thenceforth have the real supremacy in Ireland—to a solemn and final parliamentary decision. But, be it observed, that though the hideous and alarming power which the Association had acquired served as the immediate motive to—the great impelling cause of the measure which ministers had resolved to adopt, there could be no questioning the sincerity of their declarations, that that measure was intended to put down in Ireland all politico-religious combinations whatever. They were, doubtless, particularly solicitous, that the bolts to be forged within the walls of Parliament, might, when launched, strike on the forehead this Catholic Association, as the mightiest criminal; but they no less designed that they should be impartially employed against all similar bodies which had incurred,

or might incur, the ban of the Legislature. The general censure, therefore, introduced by them in the royal speech, of *associations* in Ireland, which had “adopted proceedings” irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, by exciting alarm and by exasperating animosities,” was not so insidious or hypocritical as it has been charitably represented to be by some of the Opposition.

We do not design to speculate here, at any length, upon the causes which have rent the Irish nation with most sanguinary and implacable feuds, and reduced the greater mass of that nation to a state of barbarism unparalleled in Europe out of the Turkish dominions. It may be sufficient, for our present purpose, to observe, that the English conquest, and the suppression of repeated revolts, followed up by sweeping confiscations of property, had the natural and inevitable effect of forming two distinct and mutually inimical castes; and that distinction was greatly widened by the legislative establishment of a new religion, to which the majority of the dominant, though smaller caste, acceded, but which nearly the whole of the other caste rejected with abhorrence. Differences of religious opinions, it is true, do not, in countries where all the various sects enjoy an equality of privileges, necessarily pro-

duce any embitterment of feeling; but, in Ireland, at least since the submission of the Irish to the revolutionary government of William and Mary, all political power whatever had been virtually monopolized by the dominant or Protestant caste; and, thus politics and religion, by mutual action and re-action, had excited and exasperated mutual religious and political antipathies in both parties. The Protestant caste, no matter how great may be the poverty of some composing it, partakes, out and out, of the nature of nobility. The Catholics are the degraded caste—they are the Helots of the Commonwealth. They have long been sensible of, and acknowledge their degradation. They address every Protestant by the designation of *Master*, though they would not apply it to one of themselves in a similar situation of life. “He is dressed as fine as a Protestant,” is a common remark among them.

The Protestants have not always borne their faculties so meekly as justice and policy might have demanded. They have too uniformly indulged towards their less fortunate countrymen, in feelings which their anomalous position in the state was but too apt to engender—feelings of insolent pride, made drunk with the possession of power and other distinctions, at the same time mortified to the core by a sense of the insignificance of their own real inherent strength, as relative to that of the Catholics. They are aware, that however much the Catholics may have appeared to be tamed to the yoke, there are certain unextinguishable feelings of the human heart; and that every occasional tumultuous heaving of the Catholic body proceeded from the explosive force of their pent-up discontents, and probably their ambitious hopes. Still, protected by the power of England, they could entertain no very serious dread of the power of the

Catholics; but, in the generous and liberal spirit of the age, which calls aloud (whether justly or not we are not now considering) for Catholic emancipation; in the decline of their own influence, and in the falling off from their cause, since the question of emancipation was first agitated, of many of their own party, which has reduced them to the condition of a faction, they foresee the inevitable downfall of their political importance—to avert which, if possible, is now their sole endeavour.

The state of things that prevailed in Ireland, as we have described, was sure to beget secret and mysterious Associations, for purposes of intimidation, if not of positive violence; but it is remarkable that, of all the Associations with whose names the Irish annals abound, the first one of a purely political character was established by the Protestant Ascendancy men, about the year 1795. That Association was an Orange Lodge, (which has since prodigiously multiplied itself;) and an Association better calculated to excite heartburnings and perpetuate discord the wicked ingenuity of faction never devised. Of the avowed objects of the Orangemen our readers cannot be ignorant. Suffice it to say, that on certain days, black and accursed in the Calendar of the Irish Catholics, their custom was to parade about with their anti-popish insignia; resort with them, armed with muskets, to fairs and wakes, and omit no favourable opportunity whatever of provoking a conflict;—in short, they have been the cause of most of the bloodshed which has taken place in Ireland, since the suppression of the last rebellion. So insolent and embarrassing to the government itself had the Orange faction become, that at length it was found necessary by the Legislature to clip its wings, but without extracting its sting altogether; but previously to that, another pest had appeared as a

natural sequence to the Orange Societies." To protect themselves against the excesses of the Orangemen, in the North of Ireland, the Catholics formed a counter-association, which subsequently degenerated into one of a political nature, held together by mystic ties, under the name of Ribbonmen—one which, it is understood, is most inimical to the Government, and had so greatly increased, that it also could venture upon its insulting processions.

The remarks we have offered are meant to show, that unless it were wished to perpetuate in Ireland those feuds, which are its great bane, and to prevent the salutary influence of any anodyne which Government might wish to apply to its disordered state, Government had no alternative than to essay to put down, not the Catholic Association only—not it and Orange Lodges only—but all political combinations whatever opposed to the peace of the country. Accordingly, on Thursday, February 10, in the House of Commons, Mr Goulburn rose to ask leave to bring in a bill relating to unlawful Associations in Ireland; which gave rise to a debate more protracted and talented than any which, for a number of years, had occupied the attention of the House—which embraced not only the merits of the Association, but the question of emancipation in all its bearings, as well as the general condition of Ireland; and which was watched by the public with the most anxious suspense.

The Catholic Association, Mr Goulburn observed, had now assumed a character calculated to deprive the country of that returning peace and prosperity of which it stood so much in need. There were two subsisting acts directed against such Associations: the Convention Act, passed by the Irish Parliament in 1793, and another of the session before last. The act of 1793 prohibited all assemblies for the ap-

pointment or election of deputies, or which assumed in any manner to represent the people of that country. Parliament had now to deal with an Association which had carefully evaded the act of 1793. It was allowed by a gentleman opposite, that this body proclaiming itself self-elected, did, in fact, represent the Catholic population of Ireland. Was the law, he would ask, to be thus evaded? Was the existence of a body to be tolerated, which, to the plain common sense of every man, was intended to supersede the legal authorities of the land? From its commencement in 1823, it had unceasingly disseminated its proceedings. Its members stated in their first report, that they confined their labours to the Catholic question alone. It mattered little to him, whether this was their only object. It was enough for him to know, that whatever was their object, their means of furthering it were incompatible with good government. Another dangerous quality of this body was its indefinite duration. Imperfect as sometimes was the periodical control of the multitude, still it presented some control over other bodies: but this self-elected body continued without resorting to any fresh accession from the people. In this Association, there were certainly a few of the first class of the Catholic body—there were many disappointed individuals who sought personal aggrandizement, some of whom undoubtedly possessed considerable talents; their occupation was occasionally to discuss some real grievance, but more often to exaggerate some fancied one. There were also in the Association, surviving members of the Catholic Convention of 1793. There were men among those who had been rebels of old time, who had suffered the penalty of the law—men who were the friends of Tone, of Russell, and Emmett, traitors who had borne arms against the King's troops, when drawn out to oppose them. In this promiscuous—as-

semblage were found a few members of the Catholic peerage and aristocracy, many of the Catholic gentry, and persons of property (hear, hear! from the Opposition). In the exercise of their functions the Association proceeded according to all the recognised forms of Parliament—they had their committees of grievance, of justice, of education, of finance. These general committees had also subordinate agents, who had specific duties to perform. The first act of this body was the imposition of the Catholic rent, which was called a voluntary contribution. There were regular collectors, and regular sums assessed under this name, so that it was by many felt to be an onerous and grievous tax. And so complete was the engine for collecting this payment, that there was a regular chain through all ranks, closely linked, to encircle the different gradations of society. And this was called a voluntary contribution!—a contribution backed by the influence of the priest over his flock—his discretionary power of absolving (hear, hear). In the constitution of this fund, then, there was a heavy grievance; and when they came to consider of its application, they would find equal cause of complaint. He would not object to the members of the Association for giving briefs to one another, and paying the fees out of the Catholic rent; nor would he criticise the regard shown by them to the liberty of the press, in retaining a considerable part of the Irish press in their interest—in persecuting another part of the press—in employing Mr Cobbett, and disseminating his writings throughout the country. It was of their unjustifiable interference with the administration of justice that he complained (hear, hear). The business of the court at quarter-sessions was perplexed by them. In every case of felony or murder, they assumed it to be their business to superintend the execution of

the laws. (The honourable gentleman here related several instances of the interference of the Association with the proceedings of courts of justice.) He came next to the conduct of the Association within the last year; and he would confine himself to the month of December last. In that month they began to collect a revenue. In order still further to advance their object, they put forth an "Address of the Catholic Association to the People of Ireland," some passages of which he should advert to. In one place it said, "we advise you to refrain from all secret societies; from all private combinations; from every species of whiteboyism or ribbonism, or by whatever other name any secret or private association may be called" (hear, hear! from the Opposition). They proceeded to point out the inducements their Catholic brethren had to remain quiet—the power of the law, the inconvenience of indictments, and the number of innocent persons who, during former disturbances, had suffered for the guilty. Thus they could not caution the people to remain tranquil without libelling the laws of the country. In the name of the Government of Ireland, and those high authorities by whom it was administered, he begged to repel this charge (hear, hear). He next came to a memorable passage:—"In the name of common sense, which forbids you to seek foolish resources; by the hate you bear the Orangemen, your natural enemies (cheers from the Ministerial benches, re-echoed from the Opposition); by the confidence you repose in the Catholic Association, your natural and zealous friends; by the respect and affection you entertain for your clergy; by the affectionate reverence you bear for the gracious Monarch, who deigns to think of your sufferings with a view to your relief; and, above all, in the name of religion, and of the living God, we conjure you to abstain from

all secret and illegal societies, and Whitboy outrages" (hear, hear). And this was the doctrine infused into the great body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland! They were told to look upon the Orangemen with hatred! There was no possibility of taking the passage in any other sense. It must be inferred, therefore, that this was a principle upon which the Catholics were prepared to act if they could obtain power. The document, thus worded, was distributed throughout the country. Priests read it from the altars in preference to preaching a sermon. It was not so long since an association of this kind had existed, professing the same views—he alluded to the United Irishmen. Their object was Catholic Emancipation; but their subsequent proceedings proved that their covert intentions were rebellion and separation from this country. What, he might now ask, must be the consequence if Parliament did not interfere? Could they expect that the Protestant body, left to their own means for protection, would not constitute themselves into a counter-association (hear, hear)? Would they not be justified in assuming the same powers—in interfering in the like manner with the proceedings of the government, and of the courts of justice? They would be driven to this course in self-defence. The Association must be put down. Two years ago he had introduced a bill for the suppression of secret societies; and he believed that subsequent experience had proved its expediency. In many parts that bill had not only modified the proceedings of these societies, but in many instances the societies dissolved themselves, though they had perfectly legalized their proceedings. He proposed to extend the provisions of that act. He proposed to make all societies unlawful, whose duration was permanent, and which appointed committees to meet for above a certain

time, and levied or collected money. He proposed also to render illegal all affiliated societies, which excluded persons of any religious faith, and which took oaths otherwise than as directed by law. There would be exemptions of certain societies, which met for purposes connected merely with trade, agriculture, charity, and others of a harmless nature. The offence of belonging to such a society would be prosecuted by indictment alone; so that in cases of vexatious prosecutions, the Attorney-General might have an opportunity of interference.

The question having been put,

Mr J. Smith said, that when a great public measure was concerned, he could not rest satisfied with any details which came from the right honourable gentleman, unless they were borne out and corroborated by other authority. He should, on this occasion, take the course which had been adopted on others—he should call for evidence. The honourable member, adverting to the administration of justice in Ireland, quoted the observation of the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Redesdale), that there was one law for the poor, and another for the rich; and he added, that both were equally ill administered (hear, hear.)

Mr Abercrombie defended, at great length, the conduct of the Catholic Association.

Sir H. Parnell said, that among the numerous charges against the Catholic Association, the right honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs had stated that there was no identification between that body and the Irish Catholics. He had denied it, in the name of the Catholics themselves. But the right honourable gentleman (Mr Goulburn) had taken great pains to show that the whole Catholic nobility, clergy and laity, were united with that body in feeling and opinion; thereby taking away the whole and only grounds

upon which his right honourable colleague rested all his charges against them on the first day of the session. As to the legal proceedings of the Association, he was surprised that the heavy charges of the right honourable gentleman should have ended in two cases, in both of which he completely failed to substantiate his allegations. He must relate some cases in his turn. A quarrel between a Protestant and a Catholic was to be settled by a boxing match. The parties and their friends met; but the Protestants being provided with fire-arms, fired on the Catholics, killed one man, and wounded others. Notwithstanding this outrage, the magistrates refused to act. The whole business was on the point of being passed quietly over, like hundreds of similar cases, when the Association sent down an agent and a barrister to inquire into the transaction. The prisoners having been put upon their trials, the jury found a verdict of manslaughter; whereupon the judge assured the prisoners that they owed their lives entirely to the lenity of the jury. Another case in which counsel had been employed by the Association, was one relating to the misconduct of an officer of the police. This had excited much attention; as it was supposed to be a direct attack on the Government; yet the case was completely made out against the constable, and he was subsequently dismissed from his office. A third case occurred in the county of Cavan, in which there had been a riot and assault between an Orangeman and some Catholics. On that occasion, a Catholic counsel was sent down by the Association. A verdict passed in favour of the Catholics against the Orangeman, a circumstance scarcely to be met with throughout the annals of Ireland. Nothing could be more oppressive than the conduct of many justices of the peace in Ireland; and as far as the Association had lent their

aid to bring delinquent magistrates to account, all reasonable men approved their efforts. As to the Catholic rent, if the money were subscribed for indefinite or unknown purposes, he as well as others should have been inclined to suspicion; all suspicion, however, was removed by the regular accounts of the funds, and the appointment of controllers. The right honourable gentleman had referred to the Convention Act, and had rested the foundation of his measure on the policy of preventing delegation. But the principle of preventing delegation was not the principle which the Legislature had acted upon in 1793. The principle on which it acted, at that period, was that of checking the progress of revolutionary principles. He thought the principle of delegation a constitutional principle. The Catholic delegates were presented to his late Majesty by Mr Dundas, and were graciously received. The opinion of Burke was favourable to the principle of delegation. Mr Grattan expressed similar opinions. He would put it to the House, whether, after having agreed in 1821 to repeal the penal laws affecting Ireland, they could now consistently pass this Bill against the Catholic Association? That Association was conducted by men of great talents; it had excited general attention to the Catholic claims, and had produced an unanimous feeling even in this country in favour of Emancipation. The right honourable gentleman had said that the measure was to be only temporary. Did he mean to say, that when this bill passed, the country should hear no more on the subject? Let the House recollect what had already happened in Ireland. The penal code had for a long time enfeebled the Catholic mind; but there now existed amongst the people a more accurate notion of their condition.

Mr L. Foster took that opportunity of expressing what he thought of the Catholic Association,—which he did

at some length,—and proceeded to ask, Was it right that an assembly should be suffered to represent the Protestants of Ireland as hostile to their Catholic countrymen? The effect of this conduct was to sow disunion amongst all parties, and fill the country with alarm. In a few days after the address of the Association was published, a rumour was spread that some personal mischief was intended on a particular day against the Protestants; and to such an extent did this belief prevail, that in several districts the whole male Protestant population remained up on the night in question, with loaded arms in their hands. This was particularly the case in Cloyne. Suppose that on the night in question a cottage had accidentally got on fire, might not a whole county have been involved in bloodshed by what these people would have considered as a retaliation for a supposed attack upon themselves? The expectation in which the rent was subscribed was, that some great spiritual advantage to their church would ensue. The success of the Catholic question would never satisfy this feeling. It was this which produced the readiness to contribute, and that extensive confidence in those who were trusted with the money. He said thus much of the effect of the Association upon the peasantry. With respect to the upper classes, there appeared in the Association a bold spirit of penetrating into the affairs of private life, which, in matters of public discussion, were usually spared; save only in periods of revolution. The gentleman who was believed to be hostile to them, was held up to odium in all his public and private relations. Was it necessary to point out the injurious effects of such a system? Another effect of the Association was, the power which it assumed with respect to elections. Was it fitting that a body, with £50,000 a-year at its command, with all the influence of religion at its

back, and with such means of annoyance as it possessed through the press, should name those who should, and denounce those who should not, be returned as Members of Parliament? It was said that the Association contributed materially to the present tranquillity of Ireland. He granted it; but the tranquillity was contingent upon the granting of what they sought. Ireland, however, possessed better guarantees for her internal tranquillity. British capital was daily infusing itself into that country, and the good effects of it were felt in every part of the island. It was only lately that many restrictions upon the trade of Ireland were removed. With their removal her resources increased. Formerly she was not allowed to export cotton. In 1822, the first year after the removal of that restriction, she exported 17,000 yards. In 1823, she exported 2,700,000; and in 1824, more than 6,000,000 yards. The linen-trade was spreading its benefits over the southern and western parts of the island. Since the removal of the restrictions upon the export of Irish spirits, there had been an extraordinary increase in the distilleries. Another source of tranquillity was the excellent system upon which the police was now established. But a main cause was the tithes' commutation law, from which the greatest benefits had resulted. He was not indisposed to give the Catholic Association credit for having been instrumental in this tranquillity; but it was the only power in that kingdom which was capable of interrupting the tranquillity which it had partly caused. A duplicate Parliament was a favourite scheme with the Irish. In 1782, the volunteer association summoned a convention at Dungannon. Those who returned representatives to that assembly were amongst the most intelligent of the Irish population, who, with muskets in their hands, exercised this elective franchise. In 1793 a convention was again summoned at Athlone,

and in 1810 the Catholic Board was set up. All these assemblies had been reduced by the exertion of a proper firmness on the part of Government.

Mr J. Williams said, that as he had heard nothing that afforded a prospect of composing and conciliating Ireland, he felt it necessary to oppose the bill in its very first stage. Upon what principle did the right honourable gentleman proceed? Whence did the excesses of the Catholics, supposing them to have been committed, arise? Was there nothing to account for them in the severity of disappointment? Had no expectations been held out? Had the House of Commons never encouraged them, by the result of its own votes, to expect the boon they asked for? Was the grant of that boon never held out to them, even in the Cabinet; or had no portion of his Majesty's ministers encouraged their hopes? He would embellish his speech by higher authority than any reasoning which he could bring to the subject. In a discussion in 1813, when misconduct had been imputed to the Catholics—when "particular circumstances" existed—when the Catholics had assumed a threatening attitude,—the right honourable person he alluded to\* (Mr Plunkett) delivered this sentence:—

"Sir, it appears to me most unfair to visit on the Roman Catholics the opinions and the conduct of such assemblies as profess to act for them. If they labour under a real and a continued grievance, which justifies, on their part, a continued claim, they must act through the medium of popular assemblies, and must of course be exposed to all the inconveniences which attend discussion in such assemblies. In all such places, we know that unbounded applause attends the man who occupies the extreme positions of opinion, and that the extravagance of his expression will not dimi-

nish it. In such an assembly, there may be many individuals anxious to promote their own consequence, at the expense of the party whose interests they profess to advocate; and amongst those who are sincere in the cause, much may be attributed to the effects of disappointed hope—much to the resentment excited and justified by insolent and virulent opposition. But I should unworthily shrink from my duty, if I were not to avow my opinion, that the unfortunate state of the public mind in Ireland is, above all things, imputable to the conduct of the Government" (loud cheering). He would ask, Is it right that Ireland should continue in its present state, having its feelings trifled with—its expectations excited by one part of the Cabinet, and taunted by the other? If he were called upon to answer this grave question, he should answer, No. He should say, that to waste time in dividing and cavilling would be to surrender the best interests of the country. As long as this hesitation prevailed, what was to be expected in Ireland but that fever, that heart-burning to which the right honourable gentleman had alluded? Did ministers imagine, that if they could succeed in putting down the Association, they would put down all other organs of complaint? No—let it not be supposed that this bill would be effectual in Ireland. To give it effect, force must be employed; and upon this principle the proposed enlargement of our army was intelligible enough (hear, hear). Government have begun at the wrong end, and must retrace their steps, instead of persevering in the system of penal laws.

Mr Peel rose to state a few of those grave considerations by which his vote would be directed. He would first notice an argument of a learned member who had said that he would not vindicate the acts of the Association, and could not stand forward as their



advocate, but still he conceived that these people laboured under such a grievance as took from the House all right of interference with their proceedings. That was not his reading of the law. On subjects of grievance, the Parliament of England was the sole constitutional judge (hear, hear). Those who might think themselves aggrieved would have a right to their constitutional remedy by petition; and their petitions would be considered; but they must not act independently of Parliament. He should, therefore, unhesitatingly call for the interference of Parliament, if it could be shown that the proceedings of this Association were at variance with the constitution. This he would consider, in the first place, as a body interfering with the administration of justice. He would refer to certain doctrines that had been mooted with respect to a confederacy which was formed about three years ago, and which called itself "The Constitutional Association;" but which, by those who in that house were the advocates for decency and decorum, both in act and language, was termed "The Bridge-Street Gang" (a laugh). Although he had never patronized that society, he saw a marked distinction between that and the Catholic Association. He should now begin by quoting, with respect to such associations, the words of one whose name was dear to every friend of liberty, and one that he mentioned with that respect which was due to his private character and public consistency, although he differed from almost the whole tenor of his public life,—he meant Mr Whitbread (hear, hear):—"He did not pretend to any deep knowledge of the law, but he would contend that the Association was formed against the common law of the land, and in opposition to the Act of Maintenance. That act was passed to prevent oppression; and he thought that

subscribing to prosecute individuals at the suit of the King came under the description of maintenance, and within the contemplation of the act" (cheers). He did not know whether the Catholic Association were aware of this act or not; but if this doctrine were true, that confederacy came within it. But he would resort to legal authorities; and would first refer the House to a learned civilian (Dr Lushington), who was reported to have "commented upon the difficulty which persons, if maliciously prosecuted by the Constitutional Association, would have in recovering damages from the society. 'If counter-associations should be resorted to, nothing but dissension and ill-will would be seen, instead of that peace and quiet to which the country was so anxiously looking.'" (The right honourable gentleman proceeded to quote opinions hostile to the Constitutional Association, delivered by other learned members of the Opposition.) Having, then, these concurrent opinions from the other side of the House, that an Association founded upon such principles, was, if legal, at any rate unconstitutional; that its proceedings were fatal to the impartial administration of justice—seeing that all the arguments which applied to the Constitutional, applied with still greater force to the Catholic Association—had he not gone a great way to prove that the House ought not to reject a remedy for so acknowledged an evil? (loud cheers). He must now notice the discussion which took place in the Court of King's Bench, respecting the legality of the Constitutional Association: he need scarcely observe how strongly it bore upon the present question. A prosecution had been instituted by the Constitutional Association against Dolby, for libel. The Sheriff, Mr Garratt, who had been a subscriber to that Association, had returned the panel from which the jury were to be chosen. A chal-

lenge was made to the array. It was objected to this challenge by the sheriff, that he had withdrawn from the Association, and that he had publicly declared so, in a letter to its secretary, at the time of his being elected sheriff; yet, as he had paid his subscription, the Court held that he was disqualified. In the course of the trial his evidence was rejected on the same ground—that he was not indifferent. The same objection would apply with greater force, if a person in Mr Garratt's circumstances had been a juror. Now, apply this rule to the Catholic Association. Was not every Catholic who had subscribed one farthing to this Association disqualified from sitting as a juror on any prosecution which it might institute? They had been told that evening that every peasant in Ireland was a member of the Association. If this were so, was not justice likely to be tainted, (cheers,) when nearly every person qualified to sit upon a jury was disqualified by his own act? Parliament had recently enabled Catholics to act as jurors and grand jurors; and yet here was an act of their own body which set them aside as jurors if they had subscribed to the Catholic rent (loud cheers). For the vindication of the magistracy—for the maintenance of the laws—for the impartial administration of justice, he called upon the House to apply some remedy to this afflicting evil (loud cheers). He would proceed to call to their recollection the political nature of this body, which had now been in existence for more than a year, under the pretence of preparing a Catholic petition to Parliament. That body misstated, or, he should rather say, travestied the proceedings of that House—a matter of little importance in itself, but which, combined with others, assumed a certain degree of consequence. Its meetings were followed by alarm throughout the country; an

alarm which an honourable baronet had attributed to the Bible Societies and missionary preachers. The strange notion of the honourable baronet, recalled to his mind a fable, in which it was represented that a great pestilence had fallen on the beasts, and that they had an association to inquire into the cause. The lion, the tiger, and the other animals that delighted in blood, all asserted that they could have nothing to do with it; but having discovered that an ass had eaten a thistle on the Sabbath, they agreed that the ass must have been the animal that had called down the anger of Heaven, and sacrificed him to appease its vengeance (laughter). Did the honourable baronet make nothing of that address which had been so often quoted? Could he find nothing in it to excite alarm in the breast of every Protestant, when he found the Catholics adjured to unanimity by their hatred to Orangemen?—a phrase which meant all the Protestants of Ireland (cheers). He did not mean to say that this body was expressly organized for the purpose of mischief; but it was calculated to excite suspicion. It had its agents in every parish, and its correspondent in every town. With such machinery, how easily might it be converted into an engine of the greatest mischief? They declared it to be their intention to raise £40 or £50,000 a-year. Of this sum £5000 was to be employed in enlightening the public press of England; £5000 in preparing petitions to Parliament. Then part was to be expended in keeping an agent in England; £5000 in sending priests to North America; and £5000 more for the conversion of their haughty and heretical neighbours in England (laughter and cheers). Then it had its committees of finance, of grievance, and of education! The assumption of such powers was, in his opinion, inconsistent with public liberty. The House was

accustomed to admire the popular part of its constitution; but with what checks was it hedged round! They had their freedom of speech from the Crown, which could suspend it at any moment. If the House wished to prosecute an individual, it was done by addressing the Crown. But the Catholic Association was under no control as to its debates; and it instituted its own prosecutions, and even went to create prejudices against the accused by distributing *ex parte* statements of the evidence to be produced against him. It appeared, therefore, to him, both with reference to the political mischief, and the corruption in the administration of justice which this Association was calculated to create, that the House was bound to apply the remedy which his right honourable friend had proposed (loud cheering).

Mr Denman said, that he had been so far misled as to suppose that the argument attempted to be drawn from the Constitutional Association had been completely disposed of on a former evening. The right honourable gentleman had referred to the manner in which he expressed himself three years ago on the Constitutional Association. Did that Association meet to repel attacks made on itself, or to complain of the unequal administration of justice among its own members (hear, hear); or to volunteer the office of Attorney-General, and to undertake the prosecution of state-offences (cheering)? They acted as if the Attorney-General were either blind, or negligent, or inadequate to his duty; and thinking themselves very superior persons, when, in point of fact, they were very inferior ones, instituted a series of jobs (great cheering), which they called prosecutions against individuals for offences, for which, if they had been guilty, they ought to have been attacked with *ex officio* informations (cheers). The

Catholic Association, on the contrary, subscribed only to prosecute those who had injured Catholics, and to repel aggressions, under which he trusted that no class would ever rest quiet (hear, hear). They had, therefore, subscribed to repel injury and to organize a system of defence. The learned gentleman proceeded, in the same line of argument, to show that the Constitutional Association was essentially unconstitutional, which the other was not; but, continued he, with respect to the Constitutional Association, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench had laid it down, that it was competent for any body of men to prosecute offenders as they had done. Then why not for the Catholic Association? Had they not societies for the protection of religious liberty, formed by congregations of Dissenters, who co-operated to protect the law of toleration from being violated, and which, at every assize, were found conducting prosecutions for an obstruction of the right of worship, carrying them on with the greatest moderation and propriety, and raising money for defraying the expenses of such proceedings? They all knew what the Methodists had done, and the money they had raised, when in 1811 and 1812 Lord Sidmouth wanted to qualify the right of preaching in the Methodist congregations; and were the Catholics alone to be denied the privilege of complaint? There was no necessity, which he had heard stated, to call for a revision of the Convention Act, that consummation of legislative absurdity; an act in which a clause was inserted to put down all representative bodies, excepting the two Houses of Parliament and Convocation, and certain corporations. Although why the House of Commons should have been excepted, he could not conceive, as no man could have accused it of representing any part of the people (a laugh). The act

deprived the people of the natural vent for their complaints. They then met in secret clubs and cabals, and a political explosion was the consequence. He hoped Parliament would profit by their example, and avoid this precipitate legislation. Why did the right honourable gentleman (Mr Peel) deprecate legislative interference with the tremendous Orange Associations, and now call for penalties and coercion against the oppressed? It was time that Parliament should seek for some other remedy for the evils of Ireland than the augmentation of penal statutes. Why not try the only remedy—Emancipation? Let them not be met by excuses about the unfitness of the time. Was the time less fit now than it was two or three years ago, when the right honourable gentleman (Mr Canning) introduced his bill of relief for Catholic Peers? What right had that right honourable gentleman to say that the labours of Fox and Grattan had wrought no conviction upon the British mind respecting this measure? Was the proof of his opinion to be found in the increasing votes of Parliament? He admitted that the rotten boroughs had sent forth opponents to the question. He found such among those who represented nobody, except the treasury, the peerage, or their own pockets. He knew, indeed, that the Church, with the exception of its most enlightened members, was opposed to the Catholic claims; and if he looked round, he found them as active in getting up petitions as the other clergy were represented to be in collecting the Catholic rent (a laugh). He was not surprised at this in the Church, which, as a great chartered body, that had separated from its elder sister, was of course tenacious of its monopoly. How they flung at obnoxious tenets in the religious belief of their opponents! Thus, they had a great objection to its arrogating the power of ab-

solution. Now, where was the great difference, after all, between this branch of the doctrine of the two churches? In the ordination of the Protestant priests nearly the same form of ritual was observed. The Established Church formed a compact extensive body, which presented a dangerous hostility in such a cause; and there was a similar hostility in another high quarter in the state—he meant the Lord Chancellor, an eminent and illustrious man, remarkable for the ability with which he had succeeded in securing to himself for twenty-five years the honours and emoluments of the state—a man who had law in his voice and fortune in his hand, and who, whether he opposed the schemes of liberal feeling at home or abroad, was undoubtedly a formidable opponent. But why was the successful exercise of such power permitted, when justice, and the tranquility of the country, required concession and liberality? He was astonished that the right honourable Secretary (Mr Canning) could consent to accommodate his sentiments upon subjects of vital importance to the taste of such a person. But the cause of Emancipation had been betrayed throughout by its official advocates. The Attorney-General for Ireland had introduced the measure with his customary pomp of eloquence, and carried it through that House with his customary power of persuasion. A few months after, that learned gentleman slipped into office without the slightest stipulation for the Catholics. The Marquis Wellesley was their firm and steady friend. But no sooner was he appointed, than his Government was neutralized, and deprived of all masculine power (loud laughter), by the addition of a Secretary who was totally opposed to liberality. Another party, the Grenvilles, who had honourably sacrificed office, in conjunction with Mr Fox, rather than give up the Catholic question, had, in the

end; been no more faithful than the rest. They had, some time since, returned to office, yet nothing had been done for the Catholics. The learned gentleman sat down, after declaring his conviction that this was one of the most unjust, unfounded, and, as he believed it would prove, the most destructive measures which had ever been applied in this or any other country (cheers).

Adjourned at a quarter past two o'clock.

*Friday, Feb. 11.*—The adjourned debate being resumed,

Mr Grattan said, that justice had not been done to the Catholic Association. All the violent speeches of its members had been quoted, but none of their opponents'. When they had heard so much of the press of Dublin and the Catholic clergy on the one side, they ought to be informed of the press of Dublin and the Protestant clergy on the other. He justified the expression, "by the hate you bear to Orangemen," which was naturally provoked by the gross abuse of the Catholics and their priests, who were treated by a large portion of the Dublin press as traitors and demagogues.

Captain Maberly opposed the motion; and, in the course of his speech, attacked the Bible Societies for their exertions in Ireland, as detrimental to the public peace.

Sir N. Colthurst, after observing that the Catholic Association was at variance with the laws and the constitution, said that he had been told of a person of great respectability, who had set his face against the collection of the Catholic rent upon his estate, having received the following letter from the priest of the parish;—"Dear Sir,—A report is current here, that you have interfered to prevent your tenants from contributing to the Catholic rent. May I, in the most respectful manner possible (loud cheers

from the Opposition) request that you will give me leave to contradict, in the most positive way, a report so unworthy of you, as I am obliged, in the course of a few days, to render an account of those persons who are opposed to the collection of the rent" (renewed cheers from the Opposition). He could not but view such proceedings with alarm, and he trusted in the wisdom of Government, which had done so much of late for the peace and welfare of Ireland, to put down the Association.

Colonel Davies, upon mature deliberation, could make out no case of such exigency as would justify the passing of this bill; and without that exigency the house would not be justified in passing it. He related the following story as an example of the way in which justice was administered in Ireland:—A young man, who had been out shooting, happened on his return to pass the farmyard of a Catholic in which there was a dog. For some cause or other this person shot the dog; and when the son of the farmer came out to remonstrate, he shot him also. The father then came out, and seeing his son lying dead before him, addressed the perpetrator of the crime in no very measured terms, upon which he was shot too (a laugh.) For this, the person who had committed the outrage was tried and acquitted. He would add, that this story had been published repeatedly, without being contradicted. The honourable member concluded by expressing his determination to oppose the measure before the House.

Mr Doherty spoke at great length in support of the motion, and took occasion to defend the administration of justice in Ireland.

Mr Dominick Browne said; that whatever alarm the Association had created in this country, it had done more to advance the Catholic cause than anything which had taken place during the last twenty years. It had been said that the Association was not consonant

with the spirit of the constitution; he would not say that it was; but it was more so than the Insurrection Act, the Whiteboy Act, and the 20,000 troops kept up in Ireland (hear, hear). If this country would persist in refusing to grant to the people of Ireland their just rights, he could not feel himself justified in imposing any fresh restriction upon them.

Mr W. Williams remarked, that in his opinion, the chief cause of the present unfortunate condition of Ireland, was the religious animosity which pervaded every portion of society, and entered more or less into every transaction. On that ground, he would give his vote for the bringing in the bill, though he would not pledge himself to support it in all its details hereafter.

Mr R. Martin thought that this bill must fail in its operation, and should therefore oppose it; although he was not disposed to think the Association the less dangerous, because it had tranquillized Ireland. If they could allay the angry billows, they had the power to raise them again.

Mr Ware believed that the diseases under which Ireland laboured, required a very different remedy from the present bill. Let the Association be put down, as it might, in name;—in spirit not a week could elapse before it would be renewed.

Mr. C. W. Wynn was far from flattering himself that the measure now proposed, or any other, would tranquillize Ireland, unless accompanied by Emancipation; but he did not therefore agree that because the grand remedy for existing evils in Ireland could not be obtained, the House should sit still supinely, and not apply to these pressing evils, the best remedy which lay within its power. He regretted the conduct of the Association, chiefly for the mischief which it had done to the Catholic cause. But mischievous as the Association had been, they might

rely that worse was yet to come. He would not dwell upon the state of exasperation into which such a body would at last provoke itself; let the House look at the effect, in the way of exasperation, which it would produce upon others. The principle upon which the Catholic Association had formed itself once recognised, what was to prevent the formation of counter-associations among the Protestants? And then would such bodies proceed coolly, and with forbearance? Or would they not go on contending from day to day with increasing exasperation—one act of quarrel or violence leading only to another still more outrageous, until, in the end, the whole country became inflamed, and involved in the dispute? He had always been desirous to put down the Orange Associations, not so much from a fear of the mischief which they did in themselves, as from the dread that they would lead to the formation of such bodies as the Catholic Association. In fact, the system of association was one of the great curses of Ireland. Where the law was weak, and its administration uncertain, men would be driven into associations for the sake of obtaining justice: on the other hand, while such private leagues were in operation, public justice never could be done. This principle was universal. In Scotland, for years after the Union, the administration of justice had been most feeble; before a jury of one clan, no man of another could have a fair trial. No longer back than 1756 an instance to this effect had occurred in the trial of one Stuart. The panel had observed, that it was the first time it had been supposed possible that a Stuart could have a fair hearing before a jury of Campbells, with a Campbell (the Duke of Argyll having gone down expressly for the occasion) sitting as the judge. With reference to the present measure, had it been an act peculiarly to put down the Catholic Association,

he would never have consented to it—  
 • for he would never have consented to  
 any law which was to make a difference  
 between Protestant and Catholic; but  
 he supported the present bill, as one  
 which struck equally at societies on  
 both sides.

Mr Calcraft could conceive no ques-  
 tion more important to the empire at  
 large, than that before the House. With  
 regard to the professions of some mem-  
 bers of the cabinet, he would say plainly,  
 that so long as they held place under  
 a Government which made the conces-  
 sion of Emancipation impossible, so  
 long he should have no faith in their  
 assurances, and should caution both  
 the Catholics and the country to place  
 no faith in their assurances. The right  
 honourable gentleman (Mr Wynn) said,  
 that he would put down this Associa-  
 tion, because it led to counter-associations.  
 Why, it was in itself nothing  
 more than a counter-association, created  
 in opposition to those Orange Societies  
 which the right honourable gentleman  
 had denounced. He hoped that the  
 Catholics of Ireland would continue  
 united. He never remembered to have  
 heard a minister demand the suppres-  
 sion of meetings to discuss grievances  
 upon proof so defective as that offered  
 by the Secretary for Ireland. Here  
 was the country in an unexampled state  
 of tranquillity; a society, the proceed-  
 ings of which were all public; no in-  
 surrection threatened; no green-bag  
 produced; none of the ordinary para-  
 phernalia set out which should give  
 weight to such a demand; and yet the  
 House was called upon to pass a bill  
 which forbade the Catholics from seek-  
 ing to attain their rights. He certainly  
 would let it go on; and he believed  
 that, as far as it was attended with the  
 collection of money in one of the poor-  
 est countries in the world, however it  
 might go on in other respects, in that  
 respect it would soon go off. For, as  
 to the immense sums which had already

been collected, and of which the possi-  
 ble application gave so much alarm,  
 what might it be supposed the total  
 amount collected throughout Ireland  
 was?—L. 9,000. Why, look at the  
 Bible Societies—at the Methodist So-  
 cieties—their funds were three, four,  
 fifty times as great. It was suggested  
 that this measure had arisen on the Irish  
 side, and had been adopted in England;  
 but he did not believe this; nothing  
 should induce him to believe of the  
 Marquis Wellesley, that he had recom-  
 mended the present measure, uncoupled  
 with concession.

Mr Plunkett confessed, that he never  
 had risen in that assembly with emo-  
 tions of greater pain, nor did he ever  
 approach any question with feelings of  
 deeper apprehension, than he approached  
 this. The measure was denounced,  
 by gentlemen whom he highly respect-  
 ed, as one likely to be attended with  
 circumstances of the most ruinous na-  
 ture. These were heavy imputations.  
 Coming from persons of so much sin-  
 cerity and ability, he was led almost to  
 doubt the evidence of his senses, and to  
 distrust the proofs which the converse  
 of the proposition laid down by those  
 gentlemen was capable of receiving.  
 He trusted that it would appear to the  
 House that the proposed measure did  
 not interfere with the popular privileges  
 of this country; that it did not affect  
 the Catholic question; and he confi-  
 dently trusted that none of those dis-  
 astrous consequences would flow from  
 it which some gentlemen seemed to an-  
 ticipate. But, independently of this,  
 the question rested on another ground;  
 on one which was paramount to every  
 other, where the safety of the State  
 was involved—on the ground of imper-  
 ious necessity (hear, hear). It had  
 been argued on the opposite side, that  
 this measure attacked the privileges of  
 an association professing to support the  
 Catholic claims; but he begged leave  
 to say, that it attacked all illegal asso-

ciations, whether arrayed on behalf of the Catholics or against them. He could not, therefore, conceive, how the sincerest friend to Emancipation could object to the proposed measure, accompanied as it was by the declaration contained in the Speech. His honourable friend (Mr Calcraft) wondered why such a measure had been resorted to, when it was admitted, on all hands, that Ireland was in a state of peace and prosperity. True, she had participated in the general prosperity of the empire. She had been enabled, by the wise and temperate measures of the noble Lord at the head of the Irish government, to enjoy the blessings which were the offspring of internal tranquillity. But he could not agree in the assertion that the return of tranquillity in Ireland was attributable to the exertions of the Association. But, even if that position were true, it formed only another reason for adopting the present measure. If the Association could put down those who were illegally inclined—could they not raise them up again, if they thought proper? And here he would beg leave to say, that amongst the persons who were most active in effecting this restoration of tranquillity, were the Catholic priests of Ireland—not the Catholic Association, who arrogated all the merit—but the Catholic clergy. Having borne this testimony to the tranquillity of Ireland, it was proper to revert to the question, “Why, in so flattering a state of things, do you bring this measure forward?” He would answer, that although he never remembered a period of greater prosperity in Ireland, yet he never recollected a time of so great political excitation. That alarm had been raised in the minds of many Protestants, by industrious efforts; that it had been exaggerated by interested persons, he readily admitted. But the imperate conduct of this society had led to verify the fears that had thus conjured up. He sincerely wished to grant the Catholics their

claims; but if they could not be granted, was the legislature not to make provision for any circumstances of danger which they might have reason to apprehend? With those who contend that the Catholic question was of vital importance, and called for immediate adoption, he went to the full extent; but if it were put as a proposition, that its refusal should have the effect of drawing out the physical force against the Government, even to the Catholic question, with all his opinion of its importance, he would give his decided negative. He would remind the House what the Catholic Association was. It was clear that the Association was founded upon a different principle from any of the “numerous defiances of the law” which have been wielded in that unsettled country from time to time. A number of gentlemen had, it seemed, formed themselves into a club, not merely for the purpose of forwarding the Catholic question, but “for the redress of all grievances, local or general, affecting the people of Ireland.” With this view they had undertaken the great question of Parliamentary Reform—the Repeal of the Union—the question of Tithes—the Regulation of Church Property—the Administration of Justice, from the highest Court down to the Court of Conscience. Not content merely with an interference with the courts, they were resolutely bent on interfering with the adjudication of every cause which affected the Catholics, whom they styled “the people of Ireland.” They had associated with them the Catholic clergy—the Catholic nobility—many of the Catholic gentry, and all the surviving delegates of 1791. They had established committees in every district, who kept up an extensive correspondence throughout the country. The Association, which at first was very small, then amounted to 3000 members. They had permanent sittings for the discussion of every question connected with Ireland. But



there was also a Catholic rent; and in every parish of the two thousand five hundred into which Ireland was divided, they established twelve Catholic collectors, making at once an army of twenty thousand collectors; unarmed, he admitted, in every thing but prayers, entreaties, and influence. Having raised their army of collectors, they brought to their assistance two thousand five hundred priests, the whole ecclesiastical body of that religion, and thus provided, they went about levying contributions on the peasantry. Now this he would not hesitate to say, that an association assuming to represent the people, and in that capacity to bring about a reform in church and state, was against the spirit of the constitution. Did he deny the right of the people to meet for the purpose of promoting the redress of grievances in church and state, by discussion and petition? Most certainly not. But they had not a right to depute any persons, as a body, to obtain such redress. The moment the Catholic Association became representative, that moment they infringed upon the privileges of Parliament and the spirit of the constitution. He must contend, that if a body of people in Ireland stood forward as representing 6,000,000 of their fellow-subjects, such an assembly was illegal. It was not the amount of the rent; it was the principle that he complained of. The Association, through the medium of the priests, declared to the people, "We are the persons who represent the Roman Catholics, and who, in case of necessity, ought to wield the physical force." Was this to be endured? If they did not put it down, could they answer to themselves, and the people for such a dereliction of duty? By whom were they to be tried—by whom were they to be rebuked? If the Executive wielded great powers, the constitution pointed out the mode in which they were to be exercised. But the society assumed both the le-

gislative and executive power, and rejected all the checks by which the latter was surrounded. Many members of that house were not aware of the formidable power—more formidable than the sword or the purse—the power of public opinion, which was exercised by this Association. They went into the relations of private life; they denounced individuals on public and private grounds, with so little moderation, that it required more courage than belonged to ordinary men to defy them. The numbers of the Association were increased in consequence, by a body of unwilling conscripts. Even persons of high rank and character had been, some persuaded, others compelled, by the terrors of public opinion, to swell their ranks till that body which, in its outset, was viewed without jealousy, had actually met 3000 strong. There was but one other topic, to which he wished to refer—he meant their interference with the administration of justice. He could not conceive a more deadly instrument of tyranny than this. For who are the persons who interfered? They were persons claiming to represent 6,000,000 of people; claiming the right of denouncing, and of bringing to the bar of justice any individual whom they chose to accuse of having violated the rights of that people. Could the party so accused come safely to trial, when the grand inquest of the people of Ireland, with the people's money at their disposal, were his accusers? Magistrates and persons in authority must yield to such a power, or array themselves against it. Party would be opposed to party, and the courts of justice would become scenes of factional contention. Such being the state of things, was the Marquis Wellesley to be reproached for not having allowed this institution to die of its own folly? Of what materials did gentlemen believe the Protestants of Ireland were composed, if they were content with being passive spectators of

such conduct? Would they not combine for self-defence? He did not believe that there was any present intention amongst the Catholics of having recourse to force. But they were not their own masters; they must obey the commands of those who professed to represent them. He would not say that it was the intent of those leaders to adopt violent measures, but if the population they commanded became irritated, however good their intentions might be, desperate men would take the lead of them, and produce a catastrophe which they did not contemplate. They would be forced over that precipice where they now meant to stop, like a man pressed forward by millions. It was, therefore, no answer that the intentions of the Association were honest (hear, hear). Then *sulus populi*, which was truly *suprema lex*, called on them to interfere and put an end to this institution. But it was said, although the mischief were great, there was another remedy. On this subject he would state his opinion once for all. He considered Catholic Emancipation as a measure, without which all others must be ineffectual. As a claim of right and justice, it would baffle human ingenuity to furnish any argument against it. He lamented that it should be deferred a single hour; for the longer it was deferred the more difficult it would be to grant it. But when this alternative was proposed, instead of the present measure, the question was, "Can we have it?" He thought not. Then said those who opposed the present proposition—"Because we cannot have that measure, do not put down the mischief." If there were persons who had the power to do away with the necessity for the present proceeding, and neglected the means, they were answerable for the consequences (hear, hear.) He would now, with the leave of the house, endeavour to examine that question, and to meet it fairly, and would

be ready to take his own share of the responsibility (hear, hear.) (The learned gentleman here entered upon a defence of his joining the administration, which he ascribed to a conviction that a ministry united on the question of Emancipation could not be formed, and that the question might be carried independently.) He had, on four occasions, since he accepted office, received the public thanks of the Catholics for his services in their cause, accompanied with expressions of confidence in the continuance of those services. That confidence was not withdrawn even when he refused to present the petition as from the Association. In November last, when it was resolved that the Catholic petition should be confided to the honourable baronet (Sir F. Burdett,) it was resolved, on the motion of Mr Wolfe, that the Catholics, though they confided the petition to another, still relied confidently upon the continuance of his usual support. He did not think they could have placed their cause in more efficient hands than those of the honourable baronet, and when the measure should be introduced, the honourable baronet might feel assured that he would not walk out of the house leaving him (the honourable baronet) in the unpleasant situation in which he (Mr Plunkett) had been placed on a former occasion (hear, hear! from the Treasury benches.) He did not blame the honourable baronet, for he believed that neither in nor out of Parliament there existed a more just or consistent individual, whether viewed in the various relations of public or private life (hear, hear.) The honourable baronet needed not any praise of his, but justice compelled him to say so much.—One word more as to the effect of the Association. It was calculated to check the disposition of the people of this country, which he perceived was daily inclining them in favour of the Catholic claims. He differed from his right honourable

friend (Mr Peel) on this point. The people of England were beginning to see that the game of governing by division would no longer succeed, but that success could only be bought by conciliation. They began to be aware, that if a great deal were not done to blight the gifts which Providence had bestowed upon her, Ireland would become one of the most fertile sources of British prosperity. The idea of the separation of the two countries was idle and absurd. But it was said that the Association spoke the sentiments of the Irish people. So they did—so did he, and so would every man who advocated the cause of Emancipation. But beyond that, the Association did not represent their feelings; and he denied that the people of Ireland would resent its abolition. The clergy and the country gentlemen were tired of seeing their usual influence with the people taken from them by this body. Even the members of the Association would acquiesce quietly in the law which would put an end to their power. They were, many of them, sensible men, who would be aware of the inutility of opposing the will of the legislature. Mr O'Connell himself would be of this opinion. Mr O'Connell was a man of great talent and acquirements, although in his political opinions somewhat wild and extravagant; nevertheless, he was persuaded that neither he, nor Lord Fingall, Lord Gormanstown, nor any other gentleman connected with the Association, would descend to any pettifogging tricks to evade the operation of this measure. He believed that the great body of the people would regard the bill as an honourable excuse to get rid of the influence of that body (loud cheers.)

Mr Tierney observed, it had so happened that he had never before opened his lips in any debate on the question of Emancipation: nor should he have done so now, did he not consider the subject to be a crisis of great danger

to the empire. The cabinet could not agree upon a measure of general conciliation; so, in lieu of it, they hit upon an expedient which was to have directly the contrary effect (hear, hear). Was it not strange that this Cabinet could never pull together, except when some privileges of the people were to be invaded, and that when a measure of conciliation was proposed, then nothing was agreed upon except not to agree at all (hear, hear)? His habits and opinions were all with the Established Church, although he was not blind to its imperfections; and no man would be more zealous than himself to oppose the Catholic claims, if he thought them injurious to the church. In offering his reasons against this measure, it was unnecessary for him to go into the Catholic question. The dangers of a Popish pretender, and the chance of a Popish succession to the throne, such as they were, had gone by; but there was a danger of another kind, and to that he would confine himself;—it was the danger arising from the discontent of the Catholic population. He should observe that it was unprecedented in the annals of Parliament, that they should legislate against a particular body, without having one fact before them that the acts of that body were wrong. In the case of this Association, it was assumed throughout that all their acts were the result of bad intentions. What right had any man to make such an assumption? There was complaint enough against them, but no evidence. It was complained, that the Association had taken upon themselves to inquire into the Catholic grievances—into the administration of justice in the law courts—into the abuses of tithes, and other matters. Now it was quite competent to them so to do, and they who called upon the legislature to prevent them were bound to show that there was something bad at the bottom of all those things. He implored the House

to consider that they were not dealing with a little knot of men, who might be ill-disposed but powerless; they were dealing with six millions of people; with the great body of the Irish nation. He had not very minutely followed the proceedings of the Association; but as far as he had seen accounts of them in the newspapers, he saw nothing to create an apprehension of danger. He saw a few intemperate speeches. Oh! but those were made by men who assumed the functions of an executive government; and the House were told of the pernicious effects of having prosecutions carried on by such men, of the ill temper it generated, and of the difficulty of obtaining impartial trials under such circumstances. No doubt these things sounded highly, and were likely to catch the country gentlemen; but how was this account borne out by facts? It appeared that one of the magistrates appointed to preside at these trials (Mr Blackburn) had publicly thanked Mr O'Gorman for the temper and humanity with which he had conducted those proceedings (hear, hear). The learned gentleman had surely made use of exaggerated statements, when he alluded to the dreadful consequences that must follow upon the acts of the Association. Among other alarming assertions, he had stated that they had an army—an army, as he was pleased to call it in a parenthesis (a laugh)—of 30,000 men; armed with a leather bag in their van; and a slate to register their collections. And this army was headed by 2500 priests (laughter)! If the learned gentleman meant to insinuate, that these 30,000 collectors and 2500 priests applied their collections to an improper purpose; or if he meant that they collected subscriptions to a dangerous amount, why did he not speak out plainly (hear, hear)? Let the House hear that this general contribution of all Ireland amounted to £10,000 (hear, hear). When the right

honourable gentleman (Mr Goulburn) stated the details upon which he had framed this bill, he did not understand that he felt any alarm upon this subject; it would be ridiculous to suppose that he did. But if the learned gentleman thought so, did he think this bill could put a stop to the collection? If he did, he was utterly mistaken. That collection was confided to the priests. Priests might be prohibited from collecting rent for the Association: but it was well known that they collected moneys among their flocks for other purposes beside those of the rent; and did the right honourable gentleman suppose that he, or any body else, could find out, if the Catholic population continued their weekly subscriptions of three-halfpence each, what became of the odd halfpenny (laughter and cheers)? He could not be so absurd. Why, then, the only difference which the bill could make, would be to convert an open contribution into a secret one. And what could be worse; more impolitic and foolish, than to compel men, who now acted in the face of day for a known object, to work in the dark? It was far from his wish to make any inflammatory observations; but he must say, that their grievances pressed heavily upon the people of Ireland, and that if these collections were so employed as to serve the great object of obtaining redress for those grievances, they were very laudably appropriated. Now, that was the declared purpose of this Association. But now came the learned gentleman, and objected to the Association altogether; because, he said, it was contrary to "the spirit of the constitution." This was a phrase much used in that house; and particularly by gentlemen on the other side, when they brought in any measure like this bill (hear, hear). The worst of it was, that much as was said about "the spirit of the constitution," no body could learn what it was (a laugh),

There was no getting at the definition of the words even from the speaker who used them: especially if they fell from a lawyer (a laugh). It was in vain that you explained and inquired: he directly met you with some Act of Parliament; and there was an end of you and the spirit of the constitution too (a laugh). But what was the learned gentleman's own version of the words? Why, that for a body representing 6,000,000 of people, labouring under admitted grievances (hear, hear), to meet together for procuring redress by their own exertions, and with their own means, was contrary to the spirit of the constitution! For his own part, he thought that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were right in taking up the matter themselves. They had been driven to it, by repeated disappointment from the failure of many promises and the treachery of many friends. Why had they been led to believe—and most honestly as regarded the learned gentleman, to whose exertions their cause was, beyond doubt, exceedingly indebted—why had they been led to believe that their cause was espoused by the most enlightened men in the country? But why was it impossible to carry this question? He would ask that learned person to look back—not to 1813, nor to the circumstances under which it presented itself to Parliament in 1813; but to 1821, when the Bill which had been adverted to was carried in that house (cheers), and when, according to the learned gentleman—a fact that it must be very satisfactory to the right honourable Secretary for Ireland to hear (a laugh)—Ireland was a wreck upon the breakers" (loud cheers, and some expression of dissent from Mr Plunkett). He was much mistaken; his memory must have totally failed him, if the learned gentleman, when speaking of Ireland, and reviewing the progress of events in that country, did not, after regarding

his own handy-work since he had been in office, with great complacency, declare that Ireland was then "a wreck upon the breakers" (laughter). And, indeed, he had thought at the time that the learned gentleman's neighbour, thereby the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, would have to add a new stanza to his old song of 'the pilot that weathered the storm,' in compliment to this new pilot. For now he found that we are all in sunshine again; there were no more breakers; not a thought about a wreck; and the water we were sailing in was as smooth as a mill-pond (loud laughter). All this beautiful tranquillity, too, was owing to the learned gentleman by whom, together with the Marquis Wellesley, it had been entirely effected. But he desired to learn what they had done towards ensuring the peace of Ireland? The learned gentleman had carried the Catholic claims through that house: but it was afterwards defeated in the other. It was important to look back at that majority and minority. In that house he obtained the great majority of 90 (cheers); in another house—a place which he did not feel himself at liberty to describe, at present, in any other way than by saying it was a place wherein there sat certain gentlemen who had the privilege of wearing *white sleeves* (laughter)—there was a majority of 38 against him. But of those 38 individuals, it happened that no less than 25 were adorned in the way he had mentioned. Now, was it quite impossible to believe, that if Government had sincerely backed the measure, these white sleeves might have been found in the other part of the division (a laugh)? Certain it was that the Catholics were again disappointed; and that, in the autumn of that very year, the learned gentleman took office. He imputed no motives. He was ready to believe that the learned gentleman accepted office with the most honourable inten-

tions. But he did take it; and at the same time strode over from that side of the house to the other. Why the learned gentleman was made Attorney-General for Ireland, except for deserting the Catholics, he was at a loss to know. But if he had been made Attorney-General for deserting them, he might reasonably expect to be made Lord Chancellor for attacking them (laughter). But the learned gentleman had informed them, "that he had since changed his opinion;" and that he had changed it upon the purest and most conscientious principles, there could be no doubt, for he had told them so himself (a laugh). But, however irreproachable his motives might be, he owed a duty to others as well as himself. When he joined that administration, did he reserve this point? Did he stipulate for this vital question? Did he make his own price?—He did not mean in an offensive sense: he was speaking only of the conditions which an individual, who took with him such talent and influence as the learned gentleman had done to ministers, might honourably propose and expect. Did he say to those ministers, "Here I come, with my wares in this bag (a laugh). You see what I have done for Ireland on this important subject; take me with my talents and my eloquence, but secure to me the successful result of my exertions for this question (hear, hear)." But the learned gentleman had done nothing of all this; and he said his reason was, that no administration could be formed on the opposition side that could carry the Catholic question. Perhaps he was right; though his reason was not very complimentary: but surely he might have found members enough on that side to make up half such an administration. Pray did the learned gentleman, in his difficulty, ever try the experiment of forming an administration, half from that side of the house and half from the ministerial

side (laughter and cheers)? Had he proposed any such experiment in 1821, when he brought the Catholic question forward? No such thing; and the reason seemed to be, that at that very time he was about to take up his quarters on the other side. He was at that moment, to use a sailor's phrase, with his anchor a-peak for the Treasury benches (a laugh). He did not mean to quarrel with him on that account; for he confessed that at that time a sort of cloud hung over the Opposition, which was not very encouraging to old practitioners. The learned gentleman said, he had never been attached to any party; but when he crossed the floor, they made him Attorney-General for Ireland; and to make a man Attorney-General used always to be considered as attaching the individual to the party of the administration (hear, hear). But then he was not attached to a party, but only to Lord Grenville. Now he would say, that he very well remembered when the learned gentleman was once as warmly attached to a noble friend of his (Mr T.'s), as he had ever been to Lord Grenville. Some differences arose between that noble friend and Lord Grenville upon the question of the war, and the learned gentleman came down to him (Mr T.), and told him, that notwithstanding his attachment, he thought Lord Grenville had taken the most wise, and enlarged, and statesman-like view of the case, and that therefore—he should vote with his lordship (a laugh). No blame was attributable to the learned gentleman on that account. He probably foresaw that the greater number of people would take the same view as Lord Grenville; and the Grenvilles, in fact, soon came into favour. It was curious enough to mark the effect of circumstances upon the opinions of the learned gentleman while he sat with the Opposition. On the question of the war he was much alarmed; the six acts put

him in a state of dismay; then something else happened which threw him into an absolute panic; and then—he took a place (continued laughter). He begged to know why it was that this Catholic question should now be openly avowed by the learned gentleman to be one that nobody but an insane person would imagine capable of being carried? Let the House consider the anomalous situation in which such a declaration placed it. The Secretary for Ireland brought in a bill, the penal consequences of which must seriously affect a vast body of the people of Ireland; but here was this Catholic question, which, if carried, would make that bill unnecessary. The learned gentleman had said, that Emancipation would tranquillize Ireland at once. Why, then, delay? Why was not this remedial measure brought forward? “Oh,” says the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, “would you have me to break up the Government?” He would not break up the Government on any consideration; but he had every reason to believe that the measure he spoke of would have no such effect: and if it should compel some members of the Cabinet to retire, the minority of six would not be the men to turn tail (cheers and laughter). There was one noble and learned person, of great influence in that Cabinet, too, who, he felt quite sure, would not go away on that account, notwithstanding the apprehensions that some gentlemen entertained for him. The legal habits and precaution of that learned person would not desert him on such an occasion, but there would be so many hearings on the case—such rehearings, and such arguments and exceptions, that the end of these wise and prudent delays would be, according to a phrase which often occurred in the newspapers, that the noble and learned personage would say to the parties, “Oh! you may mention this matter to me

next Tuesday” (cheers and laughter). Let the friends of that great question be stout; and they might be assured that its enemies would be weak. He had no doubt that all the members of the Cabinet would be as reconciled to the matter, and as friendly; in the space of one week, as they were at present, if the minority of six would only do their duty as well in the cabinet, as they did theirs who were out of it. The question should be passed without delay. From a beneficent decree of the most illustrious personage in this kingdom in another country, it might be inferred, that when he was not fettered by his ministers, he was strongly disposed to measures of this enlightened nature. Let gentlemen look at the consequences of the measures they were pursuing, and not suppose that the Catholics would be satisfied with this bill. In 1821, they were required to suffer under their grievances with patience; but with that, at last, they were not satisfied; they took their affairs into their own hands, and they thought, and they thought justly, that this was their only mode of gaining ground. The Catholics were no longer what they had been. They had increased almost to the extent of the whole population; they engrossed nearly all the cotton manufactories and all the distilleries. In time, Ireland would assume a high and commanding situation. She would then obtain what she required. The only difference would be, that what Parliament might to-day grant as a boon, would be imperiously demanded, and obtained as a right to-morrow (hear, hear). In the event of a war between this country and a continental power, it would be well to consider the state of Ireland. He would ask whether, in case of war, the discontent of Spain at our recognition of the independence of her colonies, might not induce her to return the obligation by acknowledging the inde-

ce of Ireland, (hear, hear!) The learned gentleman had said to-night, that he was ready to vote for emancipation whenever the honourable baronet would propose it. He must say, that the learned gentleman had found Catholic emancipation, in all respects of fortune and honour, a very profitable concern for the last five-and-twenty years. All that the friends of the measure asked of him in return was, that he would now be good enough either to retire from office, or to change his opinion again (a laugh). The learned gentleman might reasonably, nay, gracefully state, that he had exerted himself to the utmost in this cause, and in vindicating his own principles: but finding the sense of the country to be against him, he must retire. That object could never be carried but by a government unanimous in its determination. Such a government, he knew, might be formed. It had been said that this country was never more indisposed to grant Catholic emancipation than at present. Now, he doubted that much. He certainly saw "No Popery" chalked upon a few walls; but that was not the sense of the country. Education had extended, and with it a corresponding spirit of liberality, which might truly be said to pervade all orders. If the right honourable gentleman to whom he had alluded, would withdraw from the government, the Chancellor would not merely have to find one, but almost all the new ministers. He must find a new Lord Privy Seal, a President of the Council, a first Lord of the Admiralty, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, an Attorney-General for Ireland, and a President of the Board of Control. He could as soon raise the dead as do all that (laughter). Then let not right honourable gentlemen delude

themselves by saying that the measure could not be carried; for, if that were done, it could and would be carried triumphantly, (loud cheering). He, therefore, would not vote for the measure now proposed; he would not vote for any such measure, unless it were preceded by Emancipation, (loud and continued cheering).

The debate was further adjourned, at a quarter to two o'clock.

*Monday, Feb. 14.*—The adjourned debate being resumed,

Mr G. Lamb spoke against the motion at considerable length.

Mr Dawson said, that no man who had marked the state of Ireland for the last thirty years, could support any political association in that country. With one single exception, the convention of 1782, parties had been ruinous to Ireland. The funds of the Association were openly disposed of, in engaging a paid press to disseminate the pernicious principles upon which its members acted. The orators stuck at the assertion of no falsehood, which might exasperate the lower orders of the people. The priests who had leagued themselves with it, were influenced by an unceasing hatred of the constitution of the country. In the finance report, when the collections of the rent had not been very successful, the people of Ireland were exhorted to awake from the sullen silence which they had so long kept, and to prove that they were men, and deserved to be treated like men. Mr O'Connell, a few weeks afterwards, when the rent had been more successful, said he would not press the claim of arming the Catholics, lest their enemies should think they were going to make war at once (hear, hear). What would be the effect of this on the mind of the peasantry, followed up by the quotation—



"Hereditary bondsmen ! know ye not,  
Who would be free, himself must strike the  
blow ?"

Mr Sheill had recently declared, that "the British legislature requires the degradation of a whole people,—it is the asylum of intolerance!" and this character of the legislature was disseminated throughout Ireland! When Lord Redesdale, in the House of Lords, gave his opinion on the Catholic question, and said he would do so although his destruction had been publicly preached in a Catholic chapel in Ireland, the Association immediately decreed, that he was more of an assassin than the priest he had denounced, and that his speech was an assassin-like speech. The Duke of York, too, had been assailed by the Association, and described in broad terms as the enemy of Ireland. One prudent person, at the meeting in which this took place, wished to have the resolution altered; but this was opposed by Mr O'Connell, who said, that "the heir-apparent ought not to forget, that there was once a Duke of York who lost his crown and his kingdom." It was in vain that benefits were conferred upon the people; they were either forgotten or misrepresented by the Association. Mr O'Connell had given, at the last meeting of the Association, a friendly hint to his adherents for getting rid of the Protestant clergy by wholesale. He alluded to the proceedings of the Covenanters of Scotland, who, he said, did not patiently bear the attempts which were made to oppress them, and to impose upon them a form of religion to which their consciences were averse, but hewed down, with the sword of the Lord, the archbishops and bishops who tyrannized over them; and when, at length, they were overcome by the British force which was sent against them, they retired to the mountains, and, having recruited their forces, they

came down again, and carried desolation to the dwellings of their assailants. This language, he knew, operated very powerfully on the minds of the peasantry of Ireland. The same strain of vituperation was indulged in by the Association towards the judges and all who were engaged in the administration of the law. Mr O'Connell, in speaking of the bench of Ireland, said, "the Chancellorship of Lord Manners, and the Attorney-generalship of Mr Saurin, had sullied the dignity and degraded the independence of the bar." To say that the object of the Association was the redress of grievances, real or supposed, was wholly untrue. Upon a recent occasion, a Mr Devereux and a Mr Hamilton Rowan had been admitted members of the Association, when the name of the latter was received with thunders of applause. Mr Hamilton Rowan, it would be remembered, was one of the United Irishmen. He had been implicated in seditious practices in the year 1796, for which he was imprisoned. Previously to his trial he contrived to escape, and remained many years in exile. He was attainted of high treason, but was afterwards, by the lenity of the government, allowed to return to Ireland. The name of this convicted traitor was received with thunders of applause! Much as he objected to the practices of the Association, they would, he believed, be comparatively harmless but for the sanction which they received from the Catholic priesthood. Most of the evils under which Ireland suffered were, in his opinion, to be attributed to the influence of that priesthood. The whole tenor of their conduct, for the last six or seven years, convinced him, that it was their object to overthrow the Protestant Church, and to establish that of Rome in its stead (cheers). Dr Curtis, the titular Primate of Ireland, told the archbishop of Dublin openly,

that he was a usurper,—that he held his see only by sufferance,—and that he had no more real title to it than he had to the dukedom of Leeds! Dr Doyle, another Catholic priest, in a letter to Mr Roberts, said, that if rebellion raged in Ireland from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no excommunication would be fulminated by a Catholic priest. One O'Sullivan, also a priest, saw a man murdered before his face, and refused to give evidence to the facts. Mr Duggan, the priest of Kilrush, informed the Association, that in his parish many of the farmers had promised to devote the whole amount of the corn crop to the Catholic rent, no matter whether their creditors went unpaid, or though the very wants of nature should go unsatisfied. The priest of Mallow, Mr Kelly, told his parishioners, that money was the sinews of war; and exhorted them, therefore, to contribute as much as they were able to the rent. Who was it that industriously sowed sedition throughout Ireland? Who was it that, at elections, added to the natural excitement of political feeling the fuel of religious animosity? It was the Catholic priesthood. They opposed every undertaking but such as had for its object the extension of their own power, and the erection of their Church on the ruins of the Protestant establishment. This was their dream by night, their work by day; and this it was that made them the indefatigable allies of the Association. (Hear, hear!)

Mr Carew said, that this attempt to check the public feeling would be wholly ineffectual.

Mr Spring Rice lamented sincerely the existence of any associations, whether Orange or Catholic; and if it were proved that they were dangerous, and that the remedy proposed was an efficient one, he would be the last man to oppose it. But where was there any evidence before the House which it

could safely receive? The honourable gentleman had quoted speeches which had been made at the Association. He could not justify those speeches; but he knew of no assembly, not even that in which he had the honour of standing, of which the proceedings and debates could be wholly justified. As to the alleged violence of the Association, it should be remembered, that the two parties were not upon equal grounds. If the party in possession of all the power and influence should use violent language, it could not be too severely blamed: but if the excluded party, smarting under a sense of wrongs, loaded with burdens, and degraded into an undeserved inferiority, should utter its complaints in language partaking of the violence of its grief, could not this be in some degree excused? But the honourable gentleman had not acted fairly. He knew there were many speeches of a directly contrary tendency. Lord Killeen had lately observed, from the chair of the Association, that “the Catholics of Ireland could not obtain their emancipation without the co-operation of their Protestant countrymen.” He recommended them, therefore, to be temperate. He added, “Let me adjure you, not by the hatred you bear to any men, or to any class of men, for I hope you entertain no such feeling; but by your regard for your own rights,—by the love you bear to your children,—by the memory of your forefathers, whom neither promises nor threats could induce to forego that faith which they prized more than their lives or happiness,—by your love of liberty, and by your veneration for the constitution,—by all these, I adjure you to abstain from all threats, and from all violent measures. I recommend you to meet the facts of the legislature, whatever they may be, with the firmness of men, but with the submission of subjects.” This speech had been received with great applause by

the Association. It had been made apparent in a committee up stairs, that there was a general disposition on the part of the people of Ireland against the law. That was not at all surprising, considering the manner in which law was administered. By a return which had been laid upon the table, it appeared that, in the course of six years, 6000 persons had been committed under the distillery laws. Those persons were of the poorer classes, upon whom those laws pressed with peculiar severity. In the examination before the commission of inquiry, a witness was asked, "Did it ever occur to you, that it would be desirable to distil fine spirit, in order to supply the tables of those who have been accustomed to use *poteen*?" (illicit whisky); the witness answered, that he thought not; "for, except from the dignitaries of the church, the officers of the army, and the magistrates, there was no demand for illicit spirits," (a laugh). These, then, were the persons who countenanced the violation of the law. It was lamentable to contrast the present with the last reign, which was, with respect to the Catholics, a reign of concession. But in the present reign, and under different circumstances as regarded the feelings of the Sovereign, they were called upon to pass penal laws against the Catholics. If the right honourable Secretary should succeed in putting down the present mode of discussion, the Catholics would seek for other modes; so that the bill would be inoperative for good, though not for evil.

Mr Brownlow defended the honourable Secretary for Ireland, and affirmed, that under the beneficent administration of the Marquis Wellesley Ireland had passed from rebellion to tranquillity. That tranquillity was again in danger from the effects of the Catholic Association. He must state, that at the meetings of the Association,

the Orangemen, sworn or unsworn, and indeed the whole Protestant population, had surpassed all former examples of forbearance and moderation, as the Association, in the insults and threats which they directed against them, had exceeded all former instances of violence. The Protestant gentlemen of Ireland, in the relations of parents, landlords, and magistrates, followed the precepts of their religion, by studying the good of all committed to their charge, in a manner not to be surpassed by any similar body of men in any country. The disturbances in Ireland had been ascribed to the exertions of the missionaries, and to the introduction of that wicked book the Bible. He was sorry to hear such an effect attributed to a book which had ushered peace and good will into the world. He denied that the respectable gentlemen, who had proceeded to Ireland on the part of the London Hibernian Society, had been sent on an expedition of proselytism. The fact was, that it was not to proselytizing that the Catholics were opposed, but to education of any kind.

Sir J. Mackintosh rose to employ the first moments of returning strength and health in performing a great duty on a question of vital interest. He rose to protest against the stigma thrown on the Catholic cause, by the alleged misconduct of the Catholic body; he rose to protest against the new attempt to silence the complaints of the Catholics without redressing their wrongs—to protest against this new discouragement, added to the discouragement of centuries;—to protest against a measure, which had been justly characterized as "a bill to relieve the government from the necessity of doing justice to Ireland, (cheers)." He reiterated the Reformation, and the principles upon which it had proceeded—freedom of opinion, and security from persecution. They who did not up-

hold those principles were no true reformers. Protestants they might call themselves, but they were only Papists in Protestant clothing,—men desirous of setting up small Poperies in the Protestant church; in lieu of that greater Popery which had covered all Europe with its shadow. The principles of civil and religious liberty, established at that glorious Revolution,—revealed first to the world, in the Reformation, by men who neither understood nor sought to practise them,—but since appreciated, acted upon, and fought for, by men whose hearts were purer, or whose intellects were more enlightened,—those principles formed his creed; in them he had lived, and in them he hoped he should die; and in support of those principles it was—never on any occasion pressing on his mind more strongly—that he now rose in defence of the Catholic cause, (cheers.) It was now thirty years or more since two systems had uniformly prevailed with regard to Irish affairs. One set of gentlemen ascribed all evils to the conduct of the Catholic priesthood and laity. Another party, he must say, of higher bearing in the world, had adopted a more comprehensive theory; they believed that the miseries which preyed upon Ireland arose from the hatred which burned between two factions, the conquerors and the conquered; and that the successful plan for restoring health, would be, to negotiate a reconciliation between the parties, on the basis of equal rights and privileges, (hear, hear, hear.) Their remedy, however, was not proposed as a nostrum—not as any thing which would effect a sudden cure, but as something absolutely necessary to apply in the beginning, in order to render the body politic capable of enduring and profiting by all those circumstances which slowly contribute to the advantage of communities, (hear, hear.) Now, if there were

any truth in what the author of the Irish Union (Mr Pitt) had uttered during his life, or in what his friends had declared for him after his death, this remedy—in fact, Catholic emancipation, had been the only real ground for that Union. Accordingly, Lord Grenville, a distinguished follower of Mr Pitt, observed, in presenting a Catholic petition to the House of Lords in 1805:—“We are now called upon to perform the duty imposed upon us by the Union.” He meant to speak disparagingly of no man on account of his political opinions; but he would say, that ever since the Union, all the talent and genius of the British nation, with one distinguished exception, had ranged itself on the side of emancipation. The House of Commons had passed a bill for this purpose; and the House of Lords, in 1812, had rejected, by a majority of only one, a resolution proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, pledging itself favourably to entertain the question. The same feeling prevailed throughout the kingdom, not merely among the educated, but amongst those who were most likely to be swayed by habit and prejudice. Were he a Catholic, he should feel much disappointed, if, in the 25th year of a union formed expressly for the sake of emancipation, he found the Government practising the old tricks, and repeating the old measures of coercion, and engaging in an inglorious scuffle with Boards and Committees, in which there was no honour in victory, and great danger in defeat, (great cheering.) The first argument set up for the bill was its necessity. No man was more disposed to hold necessity to be “the plea of tyrants and the creed of slaves” than he was; still it might sometimes form the justification of rigour; where it existed, it was, truly enough, not only *suprema*, but *sola lex*. In the first place, it was of great importance that he should dis-

tinguish between convenience and necessity; because he, by no means, allowed the same force to the first of those pleas as to the latter; and, for the rest, he never meant to deny that all associations or leagues, holy or unholy, were both inconvenient and undesirable. But he would entreat of any gentlemen intending to address the House, to look back at the history of all such associations, and see whether they had ever existed in a sound state of any community. If they looked to the most remarkable associations, would they find one which had been destroyed by coercive laws? Would they not find that laws, prosecutions, arms, had all been employed in vain? and that they had never died unless of a natural death, through exhaustion of the zeal which produced them, or in consequence of concession, or the removal of grievances? But the question was, how far a necessity existed in this case? The grounds of necessity were commonly mischief intended, mischief done, dangerous language uttered, and so forth. Now, with respect to mischief intended, the Attorney-General for Ireland had distinctly acquitted the Catholic Association of any such intentions. But if no mischief were intended, had any been actually done? The case for mischief done consisted in certain circumstances which had occurred in two particular trials at law; and it turned out that these prosecutions had not merely ended in acquittals, but that the Judge upon the bench had thanked the counsel for the Association for his conduct of the prosecution; and that, in the other, the same compliment from the same quarter had been paid to the Association itself. These were the mischiefs done, in virtue of which it was proposed to suspend the constitutional rights and privileges of six millions of persons. (hear, hear.) Now, the Right Honourable Secretary Peel

went beyond mischief done, or even intended; and declared, that if the Association continued, and especially if counter-associations among the Orangemen were formed, an end must soon be put to the administration of justice altogether; "for," he observed, "we stand in this predicament: every Catholic who subscribes to the rent, will be interested in any trial in which the Association may be concerned; and so, *pro defectu juratorum*, we shall have no prosecutions; for such was the law in the case of *The King v. Dolby*. He gave the Right Honourable Secretary full credit for his argument—it had argued his bill out of the house; for, if there could be no prosecutions at the instance of the Association, where was the necessity for suppressing it? As to the charge of warm and indiscreet language, he should not follow it at length; if true, then that had only happened in the Association, which must happen to all bodies of men in a similar situation. But the next charge was a heavy one; it was right that the House should well consider it. It consisted in two sentences of an Address to the People of Ireland, published by the Association in 1824. (The learned gentleman commented upon this address; and alluding to the adjuration, "by the hate you bear to Orangemen," thus continued:—) Dr. Johnson had said of some friend of his, that he was a good hater—he hated a Whig, and he hated a Scotchman. Now, he had the honour to appear in both those characters; and was, moreover, a member of an institution which the doctor himself had founded. But he had very little doubt, that, if the learned person could rise again, he should be able to conquer that hatred; indeed, he should only fear that the doctor might hold him very silly if he went so far as to notice it; for, who supposed that hatred to a party im-

plied any thing like hatred to the individuals who composed that party? Suppose he should say, he hated Tories—he should only use a natural language (laughter and cheering)—because he disliked their opinions. But, if these words were taken in their strictest sense, he should receive great injustice, inasmuch as many individuals, for whom he had the highest respect and love, had chosen to take the name of an enemy to the house of Hannover.

Mr North, as a friend to the Catholics, supported the measure. Every man who paid the rent was pledged to every object of the Association; but the evil was their rent-meetings, which were minor associations in the country, and were pregnant with incalculable mischief. The people were harangued from their altars by men as devoid of caution as of education, not controlled by the censorship of the press, or the force of public opinion, like the leaders of the Association in Dublin. If the Catholic Association had been instituted when the Orange Societies were in their pride and strength, though he might have questioned its policy, he would have admired its courage: and if those societies had been again rallying, it might have been produced by their re-action; but it was instituted at the very time when a command of the government had gone forth to discountenance those societies, and when the arm of government was lifted up to crush them. If, therefore, the Association had been in any way produced by the Orange Societies, it had been produced by their fall.

Dr Lushington thought that the unceasing condemnation which had been passed upon the Catholics of Ireland was a libel upon the Catholic religion, and had given publicity to sentiments which, if generally prevalent, would annihilate all respect for the Catholic priesthood, even among those whom

they were called upon to instruct. He then urged the necessity of conceding the Catholic claims, and described the Bible Societies as being among the number of those who disturbed the peace of Ireland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer complained of the severity with which he and such others of his colleagues as were friendly to the Emancipation of the Catholics, were treated by certain members of the Opposition. After the death of the late Mr Perceval, an attempt had been made by negotiation among parties, to form a government, by which that measure might be carried. This had failed, as he thought, through a blunder on the part of those who were friendly to the measure; and the result was, that a government was organized, in which it was agreed that the question should not be carried; and at the present moment it was admitted, that the administration was doing well, and he thought he might add that the country was satisfied with it; but to persist in attempting to carry the Catholic question in the cabinet, would be to break up this government, a step which he could not think would be justified either to parliament or to the country. So far as his observation went, the feeling in the country generally was not very strong against this measure; and what there was of it arose, he thought, in a great measure, from the acts of the Catholic Association. In consequence of the feeling of the country generally, the measure might pass in the Commons, as it had already passed, by a large majority. In the other House there was a strong feeling against it; among the middling classes, a feeling still stronger, and a highly powerful one in that very influential body the clergy. Strong as these feelings were, he did not despair of a great ultimate and beneficial change. All his own early impressions, he might almost say all his hereditary

prejudices, had been against Catholic Emancipation. He had been taught to believe that the Papal faith was always connected with arbitrary power; and he was as strongly disposed against any measure of concession, as any of those gentlemen who still oppose it. He had changed his opinion, upon sufficient grounds, he thought; he was not ashamed of the change of it; and from what had happened in his own case, he had great hopes in that of others. He considered the interferences of the Catholic Association in the administration of justice, as directly contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and fraught with the greatest practical evils; he felt convinced that the language of the Association's address, where it alluded to the hatred borne to Orangemen, could not be mistaken; that the alarm on the part of the Protestant population of Ireland was not only well-founded, but necessary and unavoidable; that, if the Catholics found themselves in possession of political power, it would be quite natural in them to attempt, or at least wish, to possess themselves of the Church property; that if the claims of the Catholics were granted while such an Association was in existence, the condition of the Protestants would become far worse than it would easily be imagined; that under present circumstances it would be impossible to carry the Catholic question; and that the Association ought to be put down as the bane and curse of Ireland.

One o'clock having arrived, and the question—at least the number of those anxious to express their opinion upon it, not yet being exhausted, a third adjournment took place, on the understanding that it was to take precedence of every other subject.

About this time, the news arrived that the Catholic Association had adopted the resolution of sending to London a

deputation, and petitioning both Houses to be heard by two of its members as counsel at their respective bars. The deputation was to consist of Earl Fingal as head, of the four Catholic Archbishops, and all the Catholic peers—the last of whom joined the Association at that meeting, of as many of the Bishops as could conveniently attend, of Messrs O'Connell and Shiel, barristers, and an unlimited number of the members of the Association. At the same meeting which passed resolutions appointing this deputation, a statement of the amount of the Catholic rent, by which it appeared that there had been nearly £9000 collected, and about one-eighth of that sum expended, was brought forward; and it was announced that some Protestant noblemen and gentlemen had sent their donations to the rent. Thus, even after the knowledge of what was recommended in the King's speech, and while the bill was in progress, the Association showed a determination to act in all things as a legally constituted body. Those circumstances, no doubt, gave animation to both parties in the debate, which was extended to a fourth evening, upon the mere motion for leave to bring in the bill, and before the details of that bill were made known, at least officially, to most of the members.

*Tuesday, February 15.*—Upon the fourth night of the debate, the opinions delivered were so much a repetition of what had been formerly stated, that a full account of the speeches does not appear to be necessary. Sir Robert Wilson thought that in opposing the measure he was fighting the battles of civil and religious liberty. Mr Lockhart said, that to levy money without authority of Parliament, was clearly unlawful; and the Association had done that. Mr Grenfell was of the same opinion. Mr Robertson thought it would be better to repeal the penal statutes already in

force; Sir John Newport defended the Catholics; Lord Althorp thought that if the Catholic claims were granted, the Association would dissolve; and Mr W. Lamb thought that a society causing persons to be brought to trial before juries, many of whom must be its own members, ought to be put down.

Sir Francis Burdett addressed the House, upon all points of the case, and at very considerable length. It was worth while, he said, to look at the condition in which this society, so ill spoken of by all parties, stood. It had so conducted itself as now to be the organ of six millions of people in Ireland, including the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, and the merchants, as well as the peasantry; and forming, in fact, six-sevenths of the population of the country. Was the Association confined to Catholics? On the contrary, among the names of Protestants connected with it, appeared that of Earl Fitzwilliam—a name which no man could pronounce without sentiments of veneration—which implied unceasing generosity of character, courage which shrunk not in the hour of danger, and benevolence such as exceeded, and such as alone, perhaps, could exceed, even the powers of that ample fortune, the blessings of which it so nobly dispensed. Then, should he be told, after this, that the Catholic Association deserved any one of the imputations which had been cast upon it—that it meditated mischief against the country, when he saw such a name in the list of it as this? Men might differ upon some points; they might disagree as to what might probably be the result of the proceedings of such a society; but while he saw such names as Lord Fingal upon the Irish side of it, and Earl Fitzwilliam on the English—while he saw the Catholics of England aiding and sustaining it, those persons who had ever been ranked among the most respectable portion of

the British community, and who, if ever they were held in disesteem, had only fallen into it because they bore with too much patience those wrongs and grievances which some thought they should have stirred more actively to redress—was it possible to see the Catholic Association of Ireland supported by such names, and assisted and adhered to by such characters, without feeling that it stood cleared of those aspersions which the honourable advocates of the present bill, thought fit to cast upon it? And for the charge that the Catholic Association prejudged cases, that, from the nature of the spirit which it assumed to be in action, called for some reply. The Catholic Association had prejudged nothing; it desired to prejudge nothing. It existed in a country the population of which was impoverished, and in which the lower classes, for the profession of those religious tenets which itself maintained, were exposed every hour to abuse and to persecution. The Catholic Association sought only to obtain justice for their poorer fellow-subjects, who had not the power of obtaining it themselves. They were not likely to expend the funds intrusted to them needlessly or fruitlessly—what cause, what interest, could they have for doing so? The course adopted in detail by the Association was this—they received a complaint; heard the evidence as to it; referred it to a committee; that committee took legal opinion on the question; and, according to the result of that opinion, proceedings were or were not instituted. Now what was there in all this, or any of it, like prejudging? To examine certainly was necessary, or how could they decide if assistance should be given? Could an association like this be called an association which prejudged matters which were afterwards to be decided at law? He should rather have called it a committee of justice, which only



collected facts for the purpose of laying them before the proper tribunal for decision. Looking at the general conduct of the Association, if he had been called upon when the question was first put to give his opinion, he would have said that, whatever other Catholics might do, the Association would not oppose the measure. But he had that evening come to the House armed with the answer of the Association itself to this question: They would submit, implicitly, to the measure when it passed—they would enter into no unseemly conduct respecting it—they would give no opposition to the act of the legislature—but in declaring this, they expressed an humble hope, that, before the measure passed into a law, they might be heard at the bar of the House. In justice to them he had made this statement, and he trusted that, from its own sense of justice, the House would grant the request. The right honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the learned Attorney-General for Ireland, had both, as friends to the Catholics, expressed their anxiety to get rid of the Association as an incubus upon the Catholics of Ireland. He would ask the right honourable gentleman where he could have dwelt, to be ignorant of the sentiments of the Irish people in that respect? Was it possible that Gloucester Lodge was so secluded from the world, as to be impervious to what was passing in it on so important a question? Had he dwelt in such Cimmerian darkness, as not to see that which was visible to all others in the country? If he had, let his darkness be enlightened by his learned friend the Attorney-General for Ireland, who had stated the fact that the Association owed its origin to the confidence of the Irish people. Was it not strange that such a difference should exist between two members of the same cabinet on a fact so notorious? He would wish to impress upon

the House that this was not an Irish question; it was an English one; it applied as much to meetings in Yorkshire as to those in Dublin; its influence would be felt in one part of the empire as well as in the other. The object was to put down certain associations; but the Catholic Association was particularly aimed at. Why condemn this Association as illegal? Was it so in itself, or was it so in its acts? An association might be legal, and its acts illegal. A legal assembly might be guilty of illegal acts. Now, on which of those grounds was this objectionable? The Attorney-General for Ireland had never attempted to disturb it on the ground of its illegality, but he had tried it by the acts of one of its members, and a jury of their country had declared, by their verdict, that there was no ground for the charge. On what ground, then, was it attempted to be put down? On the ground of its illegal tendency—on the ground that it might have an injurious effect hereafter? This was nonsense—a childish tampering with the liberty of the subject, which no liberal policy should ever countenance. The language which ministers had used in stating those views was any thing but the language of wise and able statesmen. They said, forsooth, that they would not allow themselves to be bullied into the granting of the Catholic claims!—to be bullied into doing an act of justice!

Mr Canning divided the subject of debate into four parts:—the first, the immediate subject of the discussion, the Catholic Association; the second, the subject connected with it, the Catholic question; the third, the conduct of government; and the fourth, his own personal conduct. With respect to the first, the question which the House had to decide was properly this—whether, having received a description of the evil from the Crown, and having pledged themselves to consider

of the means of remedying it, they would now proceed, he would not say to adopt, for that would be a question they had afterwards to consider, but to receive for their consideration, the means that the government had devised; or, whether they would turn round upon their former pledge, and say, "We have, on deliberation, determined that the Crown has been deceived—that the description in the speech is altogether unfounded—that true it is, that certain associations do exist; but untrue it is that they are either hostile to the spirit of the constitution, or productive of animosities or obstacles to the natural improvement of the country; that the Crown has been misled when it gave us the advice contained in the speech—and our duty is to leave the evil, which it stated to exist, without remedy, and to establish, confirm, and strengthen these associations in the exercise of all the power which at this moment they are said to enjoy." With respect to the Catholic Association, he would ask, whether any other epithet could be so fit as that of unconstitutional, when it was recollected that it was a self-elected, a self-appointed, a self-controlled, and a self-adjourned association; acknowledging no equal, and admitting no superior; levying money on the people by the force of its resolutions; interfering, laudably according to some, criminally according to others, with the administration of justice; prejudging; no, he must not say that, but condemning beforehand, in published debates, individuals whom it was going to submit to trials in the various courts of justice; and in some cases, where individuals whom it accused had been acquitted, revising the judgment of the court, and condemning those whom the law had acquitted of all crime! If such were the character of the Association, which was complained of in the King's speech and if they were

of opinion that such a character could be reconciled with the spirit of our constitution, then they must have formed a very different idea of the constitution from that which he had formed, and must have read its history in very different volumes from those which he had perused. The next question to be considered was, did the Catholic Association promote animosity? Upon this subject he must beg leave to advert to an expression which he had been the first person to bring under the notice of the House, but which had since been frequently referred to in the debate—he meant the expression—"By your hate of Orangemen," which was contained in the Address to the Catholics of Ireland, which had issued from the Catholic Association. It had been said, that it was unfair to fix upon a particular expression, and to give a character from it to all the proceedings of a public body. Granted, if the expression had slipped out in the warmth of debate, if it had been generated by the collision of argument, if it had issued in haste, and had been afterwards recalled; but if it were found in a document which had been prepared with care, and considered with deliberation—if it were notorious, from the published debates of the body who used it, that it had been pointed out to them as objectionable, and had yet been retained—then they were justified in considering it as an expression which showed at least the *animus* of those who had used it. The next question which the House had to consider was—whether the Catholic Association was conducive to the prosperity of Ireland, or whether it retarded the progress of its improvement. Was it possible to entertain two opinions upon this question? The indications of the prosperity of Ireland were known to the inhabitants of that country, and through them to the inhabitants of England; but did that circumstance

prevent the existence of an evil which retarded the increase of that prosperity, by rendering its continuance doubtful—which destroyed tranquillity for the present, and confidence for the future, by setting neighbour against neighbour, and arming the prejudices of one class of the inhabitants against those of the other, and which thus diverted from Ireland all the superabundant capital of England, by which it might make the most rapid advances in agriculture, in manufactures, in commercial wealth, and in all the arts which civilize and dignify social life? His learned friend knew well, that the tide of English prosperity had been lately setting strongly towards Ireland, and must see that this Association was at present acting as an obstacle to stem its force, if not totally to divert it. Was it not then the duty of the House to remove this obstacle, and to restore the natural course of things which was so well calculated to raise Ireland in the scale of nations?—Mr Canning said he would have concluded his speech at that point, upon the conviction that the House had no choice as to the course which it ought to adopt, and which it was imperiously called upon to adopt, in consequence of the information which had been given by Sir Francis Burdett—had it not been that the Catholic question had been mentioned in the course of the debate, and therefore it behoved him to state his opinion upon it. He thought that the asperities of putting forth this society as the depository of the opinions of the Catholics was the most fatal thing for Catholic emancipation that could have been said. Another thing which had made the cause of the Catholics retrograde in this country was the introduction of bills into that House declaring that the church property in Ireland was public property, under the control of the legislature, and recommending an enquiry into the expediency of

reducing the number of churchmen in Ireland. These proposals, Mr Canning contended, had indicated a disposition to go beyond the principle laid down by Mr Grattan—that of inviolability to the established church in Ireland; and he warned those who desired the carrying of the Catholic question, that if the preamble should not manifest the most anxious regard for the safety and inviolability of that church, they could not hope to carry the question. And with regard to the divisions in the cabinet, it was singular that those of 1825 should be fastened on, when similar divisions had lasted during the whole period of the Union. During Lord Sidmouth's and Mr Pitt's administrations, there was a bond of union, which effectually silenced all speculative differences among the individuals composing those administrations. During the administrations of Lord Grenville and Mr Fox, there were two persons in the cabinet the most adverse to the Catholic claims that could have been selected. These individuals were sought out; the one of them was Lord Sidmouth, and the other, as if to show how determined that administration was in discountenancing the question, was taken from the Court of King's Bench—a quarter in which he hoped a member of the cabinet would never again be sought. In the administrations of the Duke of Portland and Mr Perceval, there were similar divisions. When, in 1812, the restrictions were taken off the Regency, Mr Canning supposed that his colleagues would have felt themselves as unfettered on this question as he did; but he found that not to be the case, went out of office, and when office was again proposed to him, refused to accept it, upon receiving the same answer to the same question. At no period of his life would office have been such a temptation to him as that very period when he so refused it. He had been in of-

fice before; he had been the author, in a great measure, and in that House, the responsible defender, of the Spanish war; had borne all the reproaches that had been heaped upon ministers on account of the reverses which attended its commencement. In 1812 the prospect began to brighten; and he would ask every honourable member who had the spirit of an English gentleman within him, whether greater temptation could possibly be held out to any man than was then extended to him—when he might have reaped the fruits of what he had sown under such discouraging circumstances? He complained of the disingenuous inference drawn from his refusal to accept office in 1812, namely, that such refusal was a virtual pledge never to enter office until the cabinet was agreed as to the Catholic claims. Why, were it so, what madness was it, within one fortnight after, to endeavour to form an administration which would have been divided upon that question? These were the circumstances which preceded his motion upon the Catholic question, which was carried by a majority—would to God he could see it again!—of 129. A similar motion, made a fortnight after, in the House of Lords, by Lord Wellesley, was lost only by a majority of one. Since then the cabinet had gone on acting upon the same basis, with respect to this question; and he agreed to its principles. The right honourable gentleman observed, that to be taunted with a want of feeling for the claims of the Catholics, when he thought he merited their gratitude, was a species of treatment which called upon tameness itself to vindicate its claims; and he concluded by cautioning Mr Brougham against supposing that he would enhance his popularity by identifying himself with the Catholic Association. Differing, as he did, from the learned gentleman as to that Association, he would, for the sake of the

Catholic question itself, take his firm stand by the present measure.

Mr Brougham stood before the House as the defender of the Catholic Association; as the advocate of the right of the Irish people to meet, to consult, to petition, to remonstrate, ay, and to demand; and he would declare his solemn opinion, which, he hoped, would reach the whole of Ireland, that the firmer and stronger their remonstrances were, provided they were peaceable, the greater would be their prospect of success. He would now proceed to advert to the first and gravest of those charges against the Catholic Association—namely, that they interfered, mischievously interfered, with the administration of justice. Had they really interfered with any effect? Their offences in this way were limited by the honourable and right honourable gentlemen to two cases, in neither of which had their attempts been successful. He came to other charges against their proceedings. The first of these was, that they were a body acting openly and without reserve, showing their designs and intentions in the face of day. Now, if they had skulked from the public eye, and carried on their proceedings in secret meetings, would they not have heard the opposite charge, that their designs must be dangerous, because they were secret? Boldness and impudence were now ascribed: then it would have been perfidy and fraud. They were accused of aping and emulating the forms of Parliament—those solemn and authoritative forms which were so often the theme of praise. Had they done otherwise, would not the charge have been inverted? They would then have been accused of the love of innovation, of showing in the very order of their proceedings the revolutionary spirit, of imitating the French Convention, and envying its powers. But now—astonishing impudence!—they encroached upon

Parliament—they borrowed and abused its forms—they made orders, they raised money—they, who represented six millions of people only virtually, though really, while the House represented twelve millions, the greater part of whom happened to differ from them continually. The Association did contribute to the tranquillity of Ireland, and that, too, without exercising any other control than the fair exercise of their talents by men who sympathised with the people in opinion, who participated in their sufferings, and felt their wrongs—men who were the most considerable for rank and intellect in the country. Was the House really afraid of them, as it affected to be? He could tell how to annihilate them in an hour. Ere the morrow of that evening in which he was speaking, they might be scattered and heard of no more. Take the advice of the Attorney-General of Ireland—his opinion might have more authority. Take away the grievance which oppressed Ireland. Though late, yet there was time: let them begin to do justice. The Catholic Association would vanish, and Ireland would bless them, as she would curse them if they began at the wrong end,—if, instead of redress, they rivetted their fetters. As to the expression in their proclamation, which had given so much offence, he would not defend it or special plead it away: it contained no unchristian nor illegal meaning. One great objection to the Catholic Association was: that they collected rent; that they were a self-constituted body, and had the audacity to collect revenue. When this statement was made, it was loudly cheered. He would ask, how was revenue collected by any body of private individuals, except by the mode which that body adopted? It was a voluntary subscription. A man paid his penny, or if he could not afford that amount, he gave many; he paid his shilling, that was more convenient; his sixpence was not unacceptable. And

if he paid nothing at all, he still received the advantage of the funds of those who were able to advance a trifle. With their money he was defended from unjust prosecution—with their money he was enabled to bring his oppressor to justice. Such was the system on which these men acted; such was the compulsory manner in which these funds were collected. He called upon the members of the government, by the responsibility of their stations, by their characters as statesmen, by every principle of policy and prudence, to deal with the Catholics, not by feelings of hatred but of charity—not by measures of oppression but of conciliation; and to reflect, ere it was too late, on the consequences which must result from the passing of this bill. It would alienate the Catholics from them for ever. It would turn discontent to rage, and it would arm rage with new weapons. "On your head," said Mr Brougham, addressing himself to the ministerial benches, "on your head be the consequences of this misguided policy; and you, not we, must have to answer for it, if your present measures should have, as they must have, the effect of tearing Ireland from this country."

This debate having been protracted till past three o'clock, no further adjournment was proposed, and the members divided; for the motion 278—against it 123—majority in favour of bringing in the bill 155; and the bill was brought in accordingly, and read a first time.

*Friday, February 18.* Mr Brougham, having presented a petition to that effect from the delegates of the Catholic Association, moved that those delegates should, previous to the bill's passing into a law, be heard at the bar of the House by themselves, their counsel, agents, and witnesses. He concluded that the question which he submitted to the House stood upon grounds so distinct and clear, that he trusted that even those

members who had rationally and consistently opposed the view which he had taken of the bill might, with equal reason and consistency, support this proposal. It was contrary not only to the spirit of sound legislation, but to the practice of that House, to condemn any body of men without their being heard; and if this was not to be done in ordinary cases, much less ought it to be done in the case of a measure which suspended the free constitution to so large a number of his Majesty's subjects. The facts upon which the measure was founded were not very many; and the Catholics of Ireland had come to this country of their own accord, to disprove by a cloud of evidence, parole and documentary, every tittle that had been alleged against them. If the House would not open their doors to this evidence, then they ought to shut them for ever upon the bill. As a specimen of the way in which this evidence would meet the alleged facts, he would mention (what had never been brought forward on the other side) that one of the cases in which the Association was accused of interference with the administration of justice, was one in which they had procured the prosecution—not of an Orangeman, but of an Irishman and a Catholic, who was going about the country administering unlawful oaths. The witnesses, to whom he particularly alluded, had all arrived in London, and they might be examined without any delay, even to-morrow, if the House should think fit. They consisted of between twenty and thirty of the most important members of the Catholic Association. Before they could be examined, all the others would have arrived, and the whole of the evidence might be taken consecutively. These gentlemen did not come here with the intention of making speeches to the House. They were all men of splendid talents—men, who were not less remarkable for their profound knowledge of the professions to which they belonged,

than for their general information and acquirements; and to whom had been conceded on all hands the full share of panegyric, to which they were justly entitled. They did not ask the House to hear them declaim or reason upon the measure now in progress; but they asked for an opportunity to clear up their own conduct, which had been aspersed—to explain their motives, which had been aspersed—to vindicate the Association, which had been aspersed—to rescue their country and their religion, both of which had been aspersed. By examining witnesses, whether the evidence of those witnesses should procure the rejection of the bill or not, the House would have showed a spirit of favour and conciliation towards the people of Ireland; but if the examination of witnesses was refused, those people would feel as though the House had said to them, “We dare not hear your remonstrances, we dare not listen to your proofs; but all that we dare to do is to gag you, and to impose upon you penal disqualifications.”

The motion was supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Mr Hobhouse, Mr Spring Rice, and others; and opposed by the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr Secretary Peel, Mr Wynne, and others: and when it came to a decision the numbers were, for it 89, against it 222, majority against it 133.

Several members of the Association, and among the rest Messrs O'Connell and Shiel, who it was understood would have pleaded in its behalf, had leave been obtained, were at the bar of the House during the discussion.

*Monday, February 21.* The second reading of the bill was moved by Mr Goulburn. A pretty long discussion took place upon it, but no new argument was adduced either for or against the measure. Lord Nugent believed that this attack upon the Association had produced the closest sympathy, not only between that body and the Irish

Catholics, but between it and those of England, every one of which, from the Earl Marshal, the Howards, the Talbots, and the Arundels, down to the meanest peasant, was pledged to link his fate to that of the Association. The right of free discussion was the only plank left to the despairing Catholics, and to that they would cling to the last moment. Mr Maurice Fitzgerald thought that the bill would be useless, for instead of preventing intemperate language, it would but irritate the Catholics, and thus tend to render their language even more intemperate. The bill would be worse than useless, unless accompanied by some measure of practical relief. Several other members said a few words, and the second reading was carried by a hundred and forty-six, 253 being for it, and 107 against it.

*Tuesday, February 22.* The bill was committed; and Mr Hume proposed the introduction of a clause providing "That any person now holding, or who might hereafter hold, office under the Crown in Ireland, should take an oath that he does not now belong, and that he will not hereafter belong, to any Association declared illegal by this act." This motion was opposed by Mr Goulburn upon the ground that it might be compelling persons to criminate themselves; for if an individual had refused to take the oath, it would be indirect evidence that he was a member of an unlawful society, and if a servant of government was discovered to be a member of an illegal Orange Lodge, he would not only be dismissed, but subjected to legal punishment. Mr G. Lamb replied, that as no man was bound to take office against his will, and as every man had to take some test oath before he entered office, he saw no reason why this one should not be taken in addition. The clause was rejected without a division.

*Friday, February 25.* Mr Goulburn moved the third reading of the bill, to which Mr Spring Rice moved a negative in the usual form. A debate ensued; in the course of which there was some animated discussion, especially between Messrs Peel and Brougham. When the House divided there were, for the third reading 226, against it 96, majority 130; thus the bill passed the Commons.

The bill having thus passed the Commons, was, on the first day of March, carried up to the House of Lords, and read a first time. It was debated and read a second time on the 4th; but previous to the discussion on the general question, the Earl of Carnarvon presented a petition from certain members of the Association, praying to be heard at their Lordships' bar. His Lordship argued at considerable length in favour of the prayer of the petition, in which he was supported by Earls Grey and Darnley, and Lord Holland. This motion was opposed by the Earl of Liverpool, upon the ground that, as the Catholic Association was not so much as named in the bill which was brought up to their Lordships after having passed the Lower House, or in the recommendation from the Throne, out of which that bill had originated, their Lordships, by consenting to hear counsel in behalf of the Association, would be obliged also to hear counsel in behalf of every other Association which might conceive itself to be affected by the measure; and that any information which those members of the Association who were then in London could afford respecting the state of Ireland, and the necessity of any measures connected with that country, might be obtained before one or both of the committees of their Lordships and of the Commons, which had been re-appointed, and were then sitting. His Lordship was supported by the Lord Chancellor; and when the House divided on the Earl of

Carnarvon's motion, there were—for it 23, against it 69; majority against hearing at the bar, 46.

Lord Liverpool then proposed the second reading of the bill. He did not deny that the prominent object of the bill was directed against the proceedings of the Catholic Association, but it was coupled with the sweeping operation which equally denounced all parties of men acting upon a similar principle. Thus the question was to be taken in two ways; first, as respecting the evasion of the Convention Act, and then to the dangers of associations of this description. His objection to the Catholic Association was, not on account of any individual peculiarity which belonged to it, but that no such body could exist without producing dangerous effects. Without wishing to speak harshly, he had always thought that, taking all its acts and circumstances into consideration, the existence of such a society was inconsistent with the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, or, indeed, of any other country. At the same time, he denied that the suppression of such societies was inconsistent with the constitution of the kingdom. The people had, undoubtedly, a right to meet and petition the Legislature for the redress of grievances, and they had a right to state their opinions for the purpose of giving those petitions due effect with the Legislature. But while he admitted those sacred rights of the subjects of the British Empire, he was as well convinced, that an assembly not meeting for the express purpose of redressing these grievances—an assembly that had permanence in its sittings, a varied plan of organization, which was to redress unspecified grievances, and which interfered with the due administration of justice, formed no part of this undoubted and sacred right. Any man who looked at what had been done, would admit, that more had been done, and properly

done, for securing the peace, and promoting the peace and prosperity of Ireland, within these last few years, than had been done for centuries by preceding Governments. The whole revenue system had been reformed, taxes had been removed to an unparalleled degree, direct taxes had been swept away, Ireland had fewer imposts than any other country in Europe, at the same time she had an equal benefit in the market of England—the country which had taken upon itself the burden of the whole of the Irish debt. The administration of justice had been reformed, the magistracy had been reformed, petty sessions had been instituted as the best security against legal wrongs, and every disposition had been shown by Government to suppress those societies which had a tendency to produce dissensions among the people. But in the midst of all this, the Catholic Association had been formed, and had assumed far more extensive influence than that exercised by the Catholic Convention, although it had avoided coming within the letter of the law by which that Convention had been suppressed. Such bodies must always become irregular, and often intemperate, and they were apt to be hurried on by indefinite means to indefinite objects, and to produce evils of which those who had originated them had no anticipation. But if they would be dangerous anywhere, they must be doubly so in Ireland, where there existed at all times but too much of the bitterness of party animosity, without any direct incentive to stir it up. Some noble Lords might think this Association a good instrument for effecting a particular purpose—Catholic Emancipation for instance; but he would ask these noble Lords, if a body like this would stop with any one question? The Association had set no limits to the sphere of its operations; it had no specific objects, after the accomplish-



ment of which it was to disperse. On the contrary, a statement had gone forth, upon what authority he (Lord Liverpool) knew not, that when this body had been asked, they had declared that they would not be satisfied with Catholic Emancipation. From this, it appeared that they would never be satisfied; but, when object after object had been accomplished, they would still continue their exertions for ulterior and indefinite objects. He would pass over the details of the system, and come at once to the money collected—not as Catholic subscription, but as Catholic *rent*, implying, as the term always did, that there was a previous obligation. But whatever name this collecting of money was called by, it kept up a steady communication between the Association and every parish in the country. It could not be called voluntary, for where the whole country was cast into factions, the appeal made to their sincerity, their zeal, or their passions, had all the effect of compulsion. Who collected it? The Catholic priests. Where? In the Catholic chapels. No man, therefore, who knew anything about the connexion between these priests and their flocks, would hesitate to call it compulsory. He had even heard of an instance in which a peasant had been distrained for non-payment of this Catholic rent; and where the quarter sessions had stepped in and saved him from the illegal exaction. Some paid this money for religion, others paid it for politics; and, in his opinion, nine out of every ten paid it, because, if they had not, they would have been looked upon by their neighbours with an evil eye. It had been said of this Association, that it had done no harm; and, again, it had been said, that it had done good. With respect to the first, any man in Ireland could tell how much party feeling had been exasperated since the existence of this Assoc-

iation; and with regard to its tranquillizing the country, he was prepared to deny that; but even though it had done this, still that only proved the extent of its power, and, therefore, the extent of the danger which it involved. By a reference to the History of Ireland in 1798, it would be found that the leaders of the Rebellion had been preaching peace to their countrymen up to the very moment when it broke out; and a member of the Irish House of Commons (Mr Beresford) had taken credit to himself and his party for coercing the people into open rebellion before the pre-arranged time, and thus securing their defeat. So that men's intentions were not always to be taken from the statements they put forth. The improved state of Ireland was partly owing to the measures of Government, and partly to the participation of Ireland in the general prosperity of the empire, which latter circumstance the existence of the Association was calculated to retard. Such were some of the grounds upon which his Lordship supported the measure.

Earl Grosvenor opposed it, complaining of the means which were taken to propagate the cry of "No Popery," and repeated what had been said in the Commons respecting the perfect toleration granted to all sects in Hanover.

The Duke of Sussex considered the measure as inconsistent with the general principles of liberty. He thought the concession of the Catholic claims could be made, not only without danger, but with the happiest effects.

The Marquess of Lansdown, after describing the state of Ireland, complained, first, of the injustice of the measure, and then of its inefficiency. Ministers could not (and God forbid that they ever could) prevent Catholics from meeting; they could only take away the power of convening the meeting by adjournments, and this threw an air of ri-

dicule over the whole measure. If ministers were still determined to withhold from the Catholics the light and warmth of the sun of the British Constitution, they must not be surprised that they should follow after wandering lights. He did not mean to oppose the bill in its future stages with so much pertinacity as he had once intended; but hoped that the measure of Catholic Emancipation would succeed, and produce the happiest effects upon Ireland.

Earl Harrowby complained of the injury which the Association had done to the Catholic cause; and supported the measure, not as the enemy, but as the sincere friend, of Emancipation.

Their Lordships then divided,—for the second reading 146—against it 44—majority 102.

On the seventh of March, the bill was read a third time, there being no division, and very little discussion—the only new matter introduced being a hint by Lord Ellenborough, that a government provision for the Catholic clergy, and an alteration of the qualification of the forty-shilling freeholders, would probably render the question of Emancipation more palatable to some of their Lordships.

The bill received the Royal assent by commission, on the ninth—the following is an outline of its clauses.

“1. The first section enacts, that “Every society, committee, or other body so constituted, or hereafter to be constituted in Ireland, assuming in any manner, or, by any means or contrivance, exercising the power or acting for the purpose or under the pretence of procuring redress of grievances in church or state, or the alteration of any matters of law established in church or state, or for the purpose or under the pretence of carrying on or assisting in the prosecution or defence of any cause or causes, civil or criminal, which, or the members thereof, or any of them, shall continue or renew their meetings, whe-

ther under the same, or any different name or names, by adjournment or otherwise, for a longer period than fourteen days from their first meeting, or which, or the members thereof, or any of them, shall appoint any committee or other such body, or any president, secretary, delegate, or other officer, to act for them or under their authority, unless such appointment, authority, or employment be limited to a period not exceeding fourteen days from the first meeting of such society, committee, or other body of persons, or to report to them after the expiration of such period as aforesaid; or which, or the members thereof, or any of them, shall appoint, authorize, or employ any select body or bodies, or any treasurer, collector, or any person or persons to levy or receive, or which, or the members thereof, or any of them shall receive, when levied, any money as contributions from his Majesty's subjects, or from any of them, or from any member or description of them, shall be deemed an unlawful combination and confederacy, and the meetings thereof or of any of the members thereof, for the purposes or under the pretences aforesaid, or any of them, unlawful assemblies.”

2. By the second section of the act, any society which shall employ any committee, &c., of any former society, in like manner declared unlawful.

3. By the third section, every society composed of separate branches or divisions, or corresponding with any other society, or excluding persons of any religion allowed by law, or taking any lawful oath, at any time or place not required by law, is declared to be unlawful. This section was more immediately directed against Orange societies, which had continued to evade the statute, by taking the oaths of allegiance, &c., before magistrates.

4. By the fourth section, two justices of the peace may, and are enjoined to command unlawful meetings to disperse.

5. By the fifth section, persons being or becoming members of unlawful societies, are declared guilty of misdemeanour, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

6. By the sixth section, persons who cease to be members of unlawful societies upon knowing that they are unlawful, are exempted from punishment.

7. By the seventh section, persons in whose houses unlawful societies meet, to pay five pounds for the first offence, and be deemed guilty of unlawful confederacy and conspiracy.

8. The act not to affect societies for religious or charitable purposes, or merely for the purposes of science, agriculture, manufactures, or commerce.

9. The ninth section provides that "nothing herein contained shall be deemed or construed in any manner to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his Majesty's subjects to petition his Majesty, or both Houses, or either House of Parliament, for the redress of any public or private grievance, or to assemble for that purpose; or to prevent the appointment of any committee for the sole purpose of preparing or forwarding any such petition; provided that such committee shall not exceed the number of twenty persons, and shall not have power to appoint any other committee; and that such assembly or committee shall not have continuance by adjournment or otherwise for any period exceeding fourteen days from the time of such first assembling or appointment respectively; and shall not collect or receive any money or contribution from any of his Majesty's subjects other than such as may be necessary for the specific purposes of preparing and transmitting to the King, or either House of Parliament, such petition as aforesaid.

10. The tenth section enacts that all actions brought in consequence of any thing done under this act shall be brought within three months, and, in the county where the act was commit-

ted; that the general issue and the penalties of the act may be pleaded, and that in the event of judgment for the defendant, he shall have double costs.

11 and 12. Section 11 provides for the operation of the act during the session; and Section 12 provides that it shall commence within ten days after the passing (19th March) and continue for two years, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

While the Catholic Association bill was pending in Parliament, the lay and plebeian members of the deputation were not inactive out of doors. Messrs O'Connell and Sheil, on finding that they were not permitted to play the lofty part of supplicants for an injured and suffering people before the Imperial Senate, took every opportunity at Catholic meetings in the metropolis, of declaiming upon the subject of Irish grievances, with a view to producing an effect upon the public mind, if not upon that of the Legislature. O'Connell and Lawless, in a fit of infatuation which only the ardour of their temperaments can excuse, and which the former has already had reason to deplore, concluded a treaty with Cobbet—a person who has never yet served a cause without degrading it, and which he did not afterwards betray; by which treaty Cobbet undertook to wield his pen in defence of the Catholics. He, for once, was as good as his word; for immediately he commenced railing with his usual scurrility and coarseness against the Reformation, as the greatest curse which had ever afflicted England—a strange method, it will be thought by some, of propitiating for the Catholics the good will of the English people. Dissensions soon sprung up between Mr O'Connell and his colleague, the uncompromising Mr Lawless. The former, in a letter to the chairman of the Association, dated 7th March, had paid a high compliment to the candid and liberal spirit of the English; and, speaking of the future conduct of the

Association, he thus expressed himself:—"Obedience to the law is our first duty—our next is the peaceable and loyal pursuit, by all the constitutional channels left open for us, of that emancipation, which would not be the victory of party, but would be the means of consolidating the empire, by making the people of Ireland part and parcel of the common strength of the great British nation." Against this conciliatory recommendation of Mr O'Connel, Mr Lawless entered his protest, in a letter addressed to the editors of the London newspapers. The discussions between those co-champions, speedily waxed to the height of a seemingly irreconcilable quarrel, owing to the support given by Mr O'Connel to the celebrated *wings*, which was the name given to two hills, supplementary or rather auxiliary to the Catholic Emancipation bill, of which we have yet to give an account; and a war of words commenced between them, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter.

The Association dissolved itself in obedience to the act; but upon the 13th July, a special committee of its members gave in a report to an aggregate meeting held in Dublin; in which they recommended a plan of a new Association, such as the law could not touch. According to this plan, the new Association was to include persons without regard to their religious tenets; and it was not to assume or exercise in any manner the power of acting for, or under the pretence of procuring the redress of grievances in church and state, or for the purpose or under the pretence of carrying on or assisting in the prosecution or defence of causes civil or criminal. The following, it was proposed, should be its only objects; to promote public peace and private harmony among all the people of Ireland; to promote

education, upon the basis of Christian charity and fair dealing; to procure Catholic chapels and burying grounds; to encourage in Ireland, science, agriculture, manufactures and commerce; to encourage a liberal press, circulate works calculated to promote just principles, and vindicate the Catholics; and to refute the charges brought against the Catholics. The committee farther recommended the collection of a new Catholic rent, of which Mr O'Connel undertook the care and responsibility, for the purpose of upholding the machinery of the Association, and of promoting its objects; and also aggregate and parish meetings throughout Ireland, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for Emancipation. Though it was held out by the committee, that those meetings should be unconnected with the Catholic Association, that, it was obvious, was a mere colourable pretence; the real design being that they should be as the lesser lights and satellites to that great luminary.

There can be no doubt, that the new Association as proposed, was, by the terms of its constitution, secured by a double fence against the operation of the law; and, at the same time, that, as its objects were really, though not avowedly the same as those of the old one, it in effect defeated the law. It served as a rallying point to the Catholics, and an image of their unanimity and strength, which, to the enemies of the Catholic claims, were the most dreaded features in the old Association; and the limitation of its views to a few specified objects, only gave a concentrated strength to its exertions.

We need scarcely add, that the report of the Committee was received with unbounded applause by the aggregate meeting, and received its formal sanction.

## CHAPTER III.

## CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

THE extremely slow progress which this cause, backed as it has been, by the authority of all whose names are illustrious in the philosophy of legislation and politics, and its occasional retrogressions, present one of the most singular anomalies in the history of the human mind; an anomaly which makes it doubtful whether man, as he advances in knowledge and civilization, does not impair the stamina of his common sense; and whether the general spread of education (imperfectly as it ever must be conducted among the lower orders,) has not the effect, at least in the first instance, of propagating and confirming delusion and prejudice. The stubbornness with which this cause has been resisted, may be ascribed in a great measure to the extreme sensitiveness of danger which characterizes the English people, when any change is meditated, in what they have been taught to consider are the vital and distinguishing principles of the constitution. Many of these principles are most supposititious—directly opposed to the true principles of the constitution, and may be resolved into mere sentiments, which have been transmitted from generation to generation; and acquiring, in the course of the transmission, additional strength, like the superstitions, in its descent, they not unfrequently warp, perplex, and stultify the most rigorous understandings.

Among those sentiments, or supposed constitutional principles, may be ranked that of regarding Catholics with such abhorrence as to determine to exclude them for ever from any participation in the management of state affairs; and to treat them, however strongly they may be knitted by affection and interest to the laud of their birth, as mere aliens to it, who may be tolerated, but cannot be trusted. Those who entertain the sentiment, and advocate it as a principle, entirely overlook the history of the penal and disqualifying laws against Catholics, which were enacted to suit a most dangerous crisis; and declared by those who proposed them, to be laws of exception, irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, dictated by necessity, and meant to serve only a temporary purpose. If such was the language of the authors of those laws—men who did not remotely apprehend, but were actually beset with dangers arising from Catholic influence and intrigue—when the cicatrices which had been inflicted on the constitution by the machiavelism of a Sovereign who was a Catholic at heart, were “raw and red,” with what regard to truth can it be alleged, that those laws were designed to be an integral and unchangeable part and parcel of the constitution?

There is a certain line of argument

pursued by the opponents of the Catholic claims, which terminates, in our judgment, in a logical nonentity; but which nonentity is as a barbed shaft in the breasts of the multitude, which there is no possibility of extricating. It is contended that many of the tenets of the Catholic faith are anti-scriptural and superstitious; and great stress, in particular, is laid upon the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sacrament of confession. That matters of religious faith should ever have been brought to bear upon a political question, will astonish posterity. Men, in their political relations, are little, if at all, influenced by their religious opinions. Among the ancient nations, with whom the grossest Paganism prevailed, there was no want of patriotism or of public virtue: And, *prima facie*, it appears hazardous to allege, that Catholics, who, judging by the Church of England's standard, are more essentially Christian than many other sects, against whom the doors of the constitution are not shut, cannot safely be entrusted, by reason of their faith, with the political privileges which are enjoyed by their fellow subjects. Many of their tenets, we grant, are most superstitious; but it is a perfect *non-sequitur* to affirm, that on that account alone they must be destitute of every one quality which goes to constitute a loyal citizen.

But there are reasoners who, not content with proving what the friends of emancipation are at no pains to deny, that the Catholic church is superstitious, would deduce from the peculiarity of its regime, and its practice in past times, that it is essentially and necessarily persecuting, and hostile to political freedom. It cannot be denied that, in modern times, Popery has been the great stay and support of

most despotisms; but no less true is it, that it has existed in some countries, as the established religion, along with institutions which were substantially free, and even democratical, without at all endangering them. If historians do not deceive us, the people of England are indebted for their constitutional freedom, not to Catholic barons only, but in a great measure to the Catholic priesthood, who, having sprung from the lower orders, were their natural protectors against tyranny, whether baronial or regal. So long as Popery felt itself secure in the universal religious bigotry of the people, it could have no inimical feeling towards the extension of their political privileges. On the contrary, it must have been secretly pleased with every addition made to the influence and power of the democracy, the effect of which was to limit the authority of the monarch, whose resentments it was incessantly provoking, by its incessant encroachments upon his rights and prerogatives. In those days, high-spirited kings were the natural enemies of the clergy, as the bigotted multitude, on the other hand, were their natural allies.

But the Reformation speedily brought about a most important change in the policy both of sovereigns and of the Catholic church, as regarded each other. That memorable event not only shook the pillars of Popery, but "portended fearful change to monarchs;" and, therefore, it was felt necessary to establish between them a closer and more amicable connexion. In most countries, the monarch undertook to employ the sword in the extirpation of heretics, and to exclude knowledge from the minds of his subjects; and the church, sensible that a free government necessarily implied freedom of discussion, became the active as-

sertors of arbitrary doctrines of government.\* In adopting this policy, the Catholic church only acted on the law of self-preservation; and it is very doubtful whether, *at that period*, any other incorporated priesthood, similarly situated, especially if possessed of the splendid temporalities which were involved in the fate of Popery, would have pursued a much different course. This much is certain, that in countries where the reformed religion became that of the state, the Protestant clergy did not scruple to employ, now and then, both the sword and the fagot against those who dissented in the least from their doctrinal code; and, in the Confession of Faith of one reformed church at least, it is laid down that the extirpation of heretics is one of the most sacred duties of the civil magistrate. No one, in those days, imagined the possibility of different religious sects, in the same political society, existing peaceably together, or perceived the iniquity of punishing opinions as crimes. Power is always dogmatic, and disposed to impute a dissent from its opinions to wilful blindness and obstinacy, (which being an error of the heart, is supposed to require the most severe secular correction;) and when united to ignorance, is too prone to act upon the monstrous fallacy. All dominant sects, therefore, were equally intolerant and persecuting; and though more hecatombs of human beings were offered up on the altar of bigotry by the Popish church than by Protestant ones, it is to be considered that the authority of the former was more widely extended; and that innovations, in religion especially,

naturally excite a greater abhorrence than sanctified abuses and errors. In progress of time, however, reason and philosophy asserted their empire over the human heart, which became sick of the shedding of human blood and the cremation of human bodies, on account of opinions; religious persecution was abandoned by all the nations of Europe, as if by common consent; and it is not a little remarkable, that though the last persecution of the kind, if we may apply that term to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was undoubtedly Popish, the penult one, which preceded the other by but a few years, and was the most bloody and remorseless of the two, was instigated and directed by a Protestant priesthood against a Protestant sect, which comprised nearly the whole of a nation. We allude to the persecution of the Scotch Presbyterians during the reigns of the two last of the Stuarts.

The corollary we would draw from the above observations is, that the Catholic church is not necessarily nor peculiarly persecuting or hostile to liberty; and that in the instances where such has been its character, we may refer it to the dark spirit of an age which has fled, and to that church having been converted into an engine of state by despotic governments. It is the temporal condition of that church—its relation towards the state in some kingdoms, rather than the nature of its faith, (erroneous as that is,) which has corrupted her clergy. Let the clergy of any other denomination of Christians whatever be similarly circumstanced—render them irresponsible to public opinion, or rather, for

\* We do not mean to insinuate that there were no Popish persecutions previously to the Reformation. The priesthood never failed to persecute heresy when they could get a weak-minded prince to second their views. We are just now merely considering the influence of Popery upon civil government—its supposed *inherent* hostility to political freedom.

their sakes, annihilate the thinking principle in a nation, so far as religion is concerned, and we doubt much whether they also would not degenerate into state tools, bigots, and tyrants. However holy and sublime are the truths which it is their duty to inculcate, there is no order of clergymen who do not partake of the leaven of human infirmity; and to preserve them pure both in doctrine and practice, it is necessary that they be not led into temptation.

But it is said, that the Catholic Church is immutable in its doctrines; and therefore, that if those doctrines sanctioned persecution at one period, they will sanction it for ever. It is forgotten that *immutability* is of the very essence of every Church whatever: if it make a change in any one of its tenets, it ceases to be what it is. Who ever heard of the Convocation of the Church of England innovating upon its Thirty-nine Articles,—or of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland tampering with its Confession of Faith? The thing is most absurd in supposition. But who will say that the exclusive spirit and fiery zeal which distinguish the creed of either of those churches, have not been in practice greatly mitigated, and rendered more conformable to the mild spirit of Christianity, by the influence partly of time, and partly of reason? And is it not too much to affirm, that the Catholic faith alone has resisted such influence? They who affirm so, must be prepared to assert, that the Reformation has not, in some measure, reformed Popery itself,—that the fires of the Inquisition still burn as fiercely as ever,—that Catholicism everywhere presents the same revolting aspect, and is equally uncontrolled by public opinion,—that the clergy of France are as desotted, lazy, and licentious, as those of Spain; and that the Catholic priesthood of Ireland, whose exemplary conduct we have been in the

habit of hearing officially commended, are fully as bad as either.

It really seems to us, however, that the whole argument regarding Catholic emancipation, may be compressed within a nut-shell. No one alleges, that the Catholics, were they admitted to political power, could, by their mere votes in Parliament, accomplish any measure which would be injurious to either Church or State. The only dangers which the most timid can apprehend from that formidable sect is, that it may, by making proselytes, increase and multiply to a degree which, in respect both of numbers and wealth, would give to it a decided ascendancy; and that it may eventually employ physical force to establish its pretensions. With regard to the first of those dangers, to maintain its reality is to libel Protestantism, and to deny the moral impregnability of its character. But, we would ask, is this danger, supposing it to be real, likely to be increased by granting emancipation to the Catholics? Is that measure to have the effect of whetting the controversial faculties of Popish doctors, and stimulating them to the work of conversion? The probability, we think, is, that its effect would be the very reverse: that by dislodging Popery from the vantage ground which is occupied by every oppressed or degraded sect, it would prepare for Protestantism a speedy and illustrious triumph. How are we to account for the extraordinary solecism of Ireland, which has basked for ages in the sunshine of the Reformation, having hitherto resisted its quickening influence? The penal laws alone afford a satisfactory solution of the question. Persecution or oppression gives the odour of sanctity to every religious sect which is exposed to it; it gives to its clergy an intrepidity and devotedness which in prosperity they would not possess; and to its laity a fanaticism which disdains to be reasoned



with. Their pride, their resentment, their generosity, are all enlisted in support of the faith for which they and their ancestors have suffered, and in hostility to that other faith, for rejecting which their sufferings have been unmeritedly inflicted. This, indeed, is a very trite remark; but, strange to say, there is no truth which has been more practically neglected.

The other danger to be apprehended from the Catholics, is, that they may wield against the State, the immense physical force which undoubtedly belongs to them. We ask, is this danger in the least diminished, by keeping the Catholics in perpetual irritation, and ministering matter of declamation to their demagogues, by the exclusive system which obtains? Would not rather that danger be greatly diminished, were we to reconcile them to the State, by making to them those concessions which abstract justice so obviously demands?

We have confined our attention to the more popular objections which are usually offered to Catholic emancipation, and which do not rest upon reason, but spring out of mere hatred of the Catholic faith, and undefined dread of its priesthood. We shall now proceed to notice the very ample and profound discussion which, this year, the question underwent, in both Houses of Parliament.

The question was introduced in the House of Commons, on 1st March, by Sir Francis Burdett, upon his presenting the general petition of the Catholics. Sir Francis described the petition as containing a greater number of the signatures of His Majesty's Catholic subjects than any petition that had previously been presented to the House. Sir Francis said, — It would be injustice in the greatness of that petition, to view it as involving the cause of the Catholics — unjust and weak to treat it as involving the cause of the whole people of Ireland. The question to

which it applied, was one which affected no partial interests, but involved the safety and happiness of the British community at large. Notwithstanding that something like a liberal system of administration, that in latter times had begun to prevail in Ireland, had produced the beginning of prosperity in that country, until the claims sought for in that petition were once conceded, the prosperity of Ireland could not be permanent, and her union with England could not be safe and advantageous for either country. Even at the time when England was in her greatest danger — at the period immediately after the Revolution, she would have insisted upon no such disqualification as that to which the Catholics were exposed at the present time of her strength and tranquillity. Yes, with a new government organized and unsettled — a king just driven from the throne for principles of arbitrary power, and governed, too, as it happened, by the principles of that religion which first incurred the antipathy of the English, from their viewing it as a means by which arbitrary power was to be supported; — yet, under those circumstances, a more free and liberal policy had been hazarded than that we now proceeded on. With respect to the connexion of Catholicism with arbitrary rule, in all times there had been a distinction between the Catholic of religion and the Catholic of the state. The former had always been safe; it was the last who had been crushed and persecuted — suspected of correspondence with the See of Rome, the exiled family, and the enemies of the new government. With a new government, therefore, at home, a Popish pretender supported by foreign powers abroad, it was not wonderful that the people of England had looked with jealousy on a faith which they thought naturally connected with principles of tyranny and slavery. But after William III. had

made good his footing in this country, and after James had been expelled from it, and sought protection from his subjects in Ireland—after, by his weakness and pusillanimity, he had disgusted even these last who adhered to him, and William had, in the meantime, won some admiration among them by displaying qualities of a contrary character, the King of England, to win and pacify Ireland, sent over an offer of any terms. They entered into a treaty, which provided only for the free exercise of their religion; with all those advantages to be possessed by them which were enjoyed by others, the King of England's subjects in general. Previous to this arrangement, the Irish had not stood in the condition of insurgents. At that time England and Ireland were not united. James was King of Ireland when he went over to that country; and Ireland, in defending him, only fought the battle of her lawful sovereign. In fact, the English were rather the rebels; they were justified in what they did, because the interest of their country was at stake; but still, in fighting several battles for James, which they did with great devotion and courage, the Irish had only taken up arms in defence of the constituted King. Then, afterwards, when King William was desirous, by almost any treaty, to put an end to that dangerous war, they had submitted, on their liberty of conscience and participation in civil rights being granted to them. It was a curious fact that, at that time, the Irish Catholics had not been compelled to take the oath of supremacy; and notwithstanding that there were persons who thought the terms granted to them too good, Parliament had never been prevailed upon to reconsider the subject; the treaty of Limerick had been fully completed; Ireland had been restored to peace and tranquillity; and William, relieved from apprehensions at home, had been enabled to bend all

his force against his opponent, Louis XIV. Now, of all the infringements which had since been made upon the treaty of Limerick, no one could be held to have been taken as a security. In the hour of danger, these new guarantees had never been found wanting; it was in the hour of triumph and security that an angry faction had lost sight of justice and sound policy. Infractions of the covenant had then followed, by degrees, one after another; each constituting some infraction of the most atrocious character upon all honour and good faith; and the whole ending by imposing upon Ireland a tyranny the most sanguinary, and a yoke the most oppressive, to which any nation had ever been subjected. The effect had been immediately to bend the people of Ireland to the earth. If followed up, it would, probably, in the end, have rooted out the Irish as a people; and though wicked—tyrannous—murderous—there would have been something, perhaps, like common sense and meaning in it. But in better times, the establishments of latter days had deemed such a course too inhuman to be persevered in. By degrees, those severities had been relaxed; and the Catholics of Ireland ought never to forget that, year after year, they had been receiving benefits from this country, benefits to which, no doubt, they were entitled; but which they, nevertheless, would do better to keep in mind than the injuries they had suffered. They advocated claims which were borne out by reason, by humanity, and by the soundest principles of rational policy. If they would but exert themselves to forget old injuries—injuries which bade fair to cease for ever—if they would only use common forbearance, and prudence, and discretion, it was impossible but that those claims must be successful. With only reasonable care, their cause, both out of doors and in Parliament, must triumph; because, they might rely on it,

unless the peace of this country was disturbed, the feelings of the enlightened part of it were making rapid progress in their favour. Bred up in the religion of the Church of England, that alone, in his mind, would be a good reason to give for his preferring it. If, however, he was a disciple of the Church of England, his first care should be, not to forget one of her purest precepts—to do unto others as he wished others to do unto him. The constitution of England held, that all men capable of bearing equal burdens, were, in a free state of society, entitled to the possession of equal rights. Upon those two grand axioms he fortified himself; and upon their authority, he declared the present to be so little a Catholic question, that, in fact, the Catholics now stood upon Protestant arguments, and maintained their claims upon the principles which assured the security of England. It was a little extraordinary that the ministers of government, or at least that portion of them who were most hostile to the Catholic claims on the ground of their apprehension of the Pope—it was rather singular that they should be the very persons who had expended the blood and treasure of this country to replace the Pope, with great difficulty, in that very place in which they now thought fit to be afraid of him. Surely it was a little unreasonable for the right honourable gentlemen first to raise this phantom, and then go out of their wits with terror at it. If there existed now, as had been the case on a former day, a league of foreign Roman Catholic princes abroad, combining with a Catholic King of England at home, to subvert the liberties through the religion of the country—if there existed any danger at the present day, of this description, then, perhaps, there might be some ground for apprehension; but if any danger like this did exist, he should say that ministers ought to be impeach-

ed for having created it. They themselves were the authors of the existing continental system. They had caused English soldiers to mount guard at the Vatican, to protect this dignitary, who was now the cause of their alarm. The peril from the Pope was so imminent, that it was better to meet the hostility of six millions of people in Ireland than to face it! Why, this was a pleasant situation! We had agreed to the destruction of all the secondary powers of Europe; we had given up all those minor states which England had been accustomed wisely to support, and, up to a certain point, always to rely on; everything like the balance of power was gone; we had distributed Europe out among two or three great powers, who might at any moment take offence at our conduct, and were not unlikely to do so, if we refused to keep pace with the measures of their unholy alliance. It was avowed, that one of these potentates was galled already at our having consulted our own interest by recognizing the independence of South America. We had obliged another, so far as to allow him to lay hands on Spain—to, continue military occupation of that country, which at no former period England would have suffered for a moment. We were surrounded by these holy allies, whose strength we had created or upheld with the loss of our blood and of our money, and at the expense of the liberties of Europe. These powers were, every one of them, objects of alarm to us rather than security; and yet we still refused to secure that best of all alliances—the firm adherence of our own subjects—by keeping six millions of men close to our own shores in a state of constant hostility against our government. If ever England was destined to sink, Ireland was the sea in which she would be swamped. Our holy allies? Ireland was worthy of English alliance. Our holy friends? In the hour of danger, we should call upon them in vain;

and yet we obstinately refused to make the best of leagues with six millions of the brave inhabitants of the sister kingdom. Could any man repress his astonishment—could he account, on any principle short of miracle, for the facts, when he reflected on the hair-breadth escapes which England had got out of with respect to Ireland during the late war? The fleet which arrived in Bantry Bay—had it not so happened that the commander-in-chief had been separated from his force—had it happened that the second in command had possessed enterprise enough to land:—let either of these have fallen out, and Ireland was gone, and the sin of England would have set in eternal night. And what, after all, did the Catholics ask? What was the power which, if everything was granted them, they would obtain? A few Catholic gentlemen, of great respectability would possibly get seats in the House of Commons; a few Catholic noblemen would be entitled to sit in the House of Lords; and the King would have so much increase of his prerogative, that he would be empowered, if he thought fit, to place a certain number of Catholic gentlemen in the high offices of the state. And what would be the effect of this power or the danger of it? In good faith, and justice, we were bound to do all the Catholics desired. The understanding at the Union had been distinctly, that the Catholics might expect from a British Parliament that justice which the mean and corporate spirit of their own, they were aware, gave them little hope of. Liberty of feeling could alone produce a conciliation; and nothing but conciliation could afford a chance of prosperity. The only ground of objection to the motion which he could suppose, was, that of some contingent danger to the state. When such an objection was urged he would grapple with it, and endeavour to show—that, in the pre-

sent state of society, the fear was unfounded. For the present he would say nothing on that subject, but would conclude by moving, "That this House do resolve itself into a committee to consider of the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in their civil rights, and whether any and what remedy ought to be applied."

After this motion had been seconded by Mr Croker, who at the same time declared that he would support no arrangement, unless the same were accompanied by a provision for the Catholic clergy, Mr Leslie Foster opposed the motion. No allusion, he said, had been made for preserving the Episcopal Church in Ireland, and as he had heard from Mr Hume, a declaration that that Church ought not to be suffered to retain its present possessions, he thought that danger to it would result from the measure. It had been said that the King of France cast an eye upon Ireland, but that was an eye of religion, not of politics. In short, he thought granting indemnity to the emigrants only the third measure, the principle of legitimacy the second, and the complete re-establishment of the Catholic religion in every country where it had once been professed, the first object of the French government. The Jesuits were again established, not merely in France and Spain, but in England and Ireland; the Catholic religion was dealing out its miracles and indulgences, and displaying a spirit of persecution which it had not displayed in the seventeenth century. The present was, therefore, the very worst time for any change of religious opinion; and he was peculiarly hostile to the change, because he saw the Catholics mixing up politics with their religion, an alliance which he knew always to be dangerous. He admired the union of church and state in this country, and he could not but be hostile to the proposed measure.

Mr Secretary Canning appeared to

support the motion, though he was so much indisposed, that he was forced to lean upon a staff during the whole time that he spoke. Although, he observed, there were circumstances which made him consider the present as an unfavourable time to the discussion of these claims, personally, he was not sorry that they had been brought forward. The principles upon which this proposition appeared to him to be worthy of the consideration of the House were so plain and simple, that he could hardly imagine on what grounds it could be opposed. He could easily understand the reason why any person who was called upon to vote in favour of it might demand that many modifications should be made in it, many concessions qualified, many difficulties solved, many inconveniences provided for, and many dangers—some of them, in his opinion, imaginary, and others real—guarded against; but he could not, by any process of reasoning, understand why all the subjects of the same kingdom, all the inhabitants of the same soil—those who lived in the same country, and mingled in the daily offices of life, and professed a common Christianity, should be excluded from the common benefits of the constitution of their country. Mr L. Foster set out by saying, that nothing was so dangerous to the peace of society as the alliance between politics and religion; and how did he conclude his speech? By a laboured eulogium on the alliance between Church and State. There was an inconsistency in this which he could not reconcile. He could not see how the mystic words “Church and State,” which his honourable friend was more accustomed to hear in his convivial than in his sober moments, could be construed in any sense which did not countenance the alliance of politics and religion. He would give his vote for the honourable Baronet’s proposition, but in so doing, he by no

means considered himself pledged to support the details of the measure.

The Solicitor-General declared himself hostile to any further concessions to the Catholics.

Mr Stuart Wortley said, he thought that this was exactly the time when they ought to show the Catholics, that though they would not permit them to overawe or usurp the functions of the constituted authorities, yet they would not deny them the enjoyment and exercise of those privileges which the constitution conferred upon the people of a free country.

Mr Banks opposed the motion.

Mr Plunket said, that his decided and inalienable conviction was, that this measure could not be too speedily carried—that no time was too early for its adoption; and none could arrive when it should not have his most zealous support. He supported the question, therefore, because of its perfect reconcilableness with the stability of the Protestant Church; and he supported it further, because he thought the passing of the bill would be found a measure eminently qualified to support that Church. He had heard, indeed, a good deal about the Catholic Association, a good deal about the avowed intentions of the Catholic clergy, but nothing, or nearly as little as nothing, of the constitutional grounds, on which it was meant to oppose the question. The claim of the Roman Catholics was a claim to be admitted members of a free representative government. He did not say that the right would admit of no exception or control. There was nothing in the social fabric concerning which he would venture to make that assertion. The legislature provided—first, for the absolute and unconditional integrity and inviolability of the Church; further, for the spiritual prerogative of the crown, forbidding at the same time the exercise of any other than the esta-

blished religion. What were the mischiefs dreaded, or what were the provisions of the legislature? To prevent the claims of the Pope, or any other foreign power to interfere with the Church. Did they hear of any claim to that interference, or to the right of deposing kings, or dissolving the allegiance of their subjects? Was that believed or asserted by any man in either Kingdom? Dangers were there still, but of a different kind. Those enactments were, therefore, gradually done away. The law forbidding the exercise of any other religion was done away by the repeal of the act against recusancy. The only remaining one which could be at all supposed to contain that spirit, was the act of uniformity, which could not be at all affected by the proposed measure. So far did Parliament go down to the time of the Reformation. The wisdom of our ancestors watched the progress of time, and took their measures accordingly. In the reign of Charles, they observed a new danger, a monarch careless about religion, or secretly affected to an unconstitutional one, who was to be followed by a popish successor. Here their providence was as remarkable as before. They provided a remedy, not adapted entirely to meet the evil, but the only one they could obtain; which was, to require certain oaths to be taken by those who were ready to take seats in Parliament. That was found insufficient on the accession of James II., who openly maintained the Roman Catholic religion, against the constitution and the rights of his people. The legislature finding this resource fail, then prudently shifted their ground, and had recourse to a measure at once wise, bold, and salutary. They drove the monarch from the throne for violating the constitution, and they resolved that the sovereign power should be held inevitably and unalterably in Protestant hands. Did he deny that

the throne must be Protestant? Was he doing anything to weaken its Protestant supremacy? Was there any mode or device to make that supremacy surer which the genius of any man could suggest? He was ready to incorporate it with the proposed bill, or to have it introduced as a separate yet concomitant measure. What were the dangers which afterwards threatened the establishment? The claims of an exiled family driven from the throne, and the plots and agitations of a disaffected party retained in its interests. He admitted freely that the Roman Catholics of that period were suspected justly. What was the course taken by Parliament? All the former measures against the papists were continued. They were held not to be good subjects, and were to be trusted neither with honour nor power in the state. They were coerced in their persons and property—they were deprived of their civil rights—they became sunk and degraded into that wretched state, from which they were relieved by the benignity of the last reign. In 1791, a new danger and an entirely new difficulty presented themselves. The Roman Catholics had proved themselves truly submissive; they had been uniform in their peaceable conduct. If the annals of that period were to be properly read and considered, the late king would be for ever illustrious in history, as he was entitled to the especial gratitude of every Roman Catholic in Ireland. That system of beneficence which he introduced had been now in practice forty years—it had raised the Roman Catholics of Ireland to a state of affluence, comfort, and respectability—it had given them a perfect equality of civil rights—it had caused them to participate in the advantages of the institutions. What was the danger which they had to dread? Not the Pope—not the claims of foreign potent-

tates—not the assumption of a power to dissolve the allegiance of the people—not the interest of an exiled family. The Roman Catholics had perfected the proofs of their obedience, and had been admitted to their civil rights as good subjects who were entitled to every thing which they could reasonably claim. The danger now to be apprehended was perfectly new, though not inferior, he admitted, to that of a dispute concerning the supremacy or the succession to the crown. Better measures had prevailed—the state had acquired sounder health—a current of wholesome blood was felt—feelings of conciliation had been manifested—the Roman Catholic subjects, though not directly raised to power in the state, had acquired possession of the means of danger, and were, on a par with Protestants. The honourable member for Louth had spoken alarmingly of six, or five, or four millions of persons in the communion of the Roman Catholic church. What he feared was to see four millions, taking them at the lowest, of subjects having wealth, power, and respectability on their side, and awakened to a full sense of their condition, coming up year after year to claim the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, and retiring dejected and disappointed continually. Did he admit that the danger here was serious? He did not, therefore, inculcate dread. If those persons were to come down to the bar to claim their rights with clamours and shouts, he would laugh at them. Parliament could subdue any force raised on their side. But if they merely claimed the rights of a free constitution, he had no answer to oppose to them. He had no mode of dealing with them but to open the arms of friendship—to admit them as allies, as equals, to share the benefits, and join with him in aiding the defence of the constitution, be it against

foreign or domestic enmity, be it in peace or be it in war. It was asked, what have the Roman Catholics to complain of? They are only excluded from Parliament, the bench, and the offices of state; which meant, that they were only excluded from the making and administering of the laws, from all posts of honour and dignity in the state. These were bagatelles, for which, according to the argument, it was not worth while for the Catholics to contend, and therefore it was scarcely worth the while of the Parliament to refuse. He begged to ask if these were not the very nothings for which Englishmen would cheerfully lay down their lives? Did they still talk of the danger of admitting the Catholics? He put it to the House to consider if they would willingly see such a body represented anywhere but within the walls of Parliament? The Roman Catholics of Ireland were, at present, loyal and tranquil: they were determined to remain so. But he wished for something from them far beyond loyalty: he wanted their affection and cordiality, and their unrestrained confidence; and he would obtain these by giving them an equal participation in the blessings of the constitution.

Mr Secretary Peel argued, that those constitutional rights of which the Catholics are said to have been deprived, and to which they claimed to be restored, did not appear to have been heard of, at least, in that House, before 1790. Before the Reformation there could be no exclusion on account of religious differences, because only one religion was permitted by the state. For three hundred years since that event the oath of supremacy had always been taken by those who aspired to seats in parliament, or to offices in the state, or in the administration of justice. In the Union with Ireland there was an article which permanent-

ly excluded Catholics from certain offices in that country; that article had been invariably acted upon, and yet it had produced none of those consequences which were alleged to result from a similar disqualification in Ireland. If gentlemen would look back, at the debates in 1771 and 1774, they would find that Earl Camden and Lord Chatham both contended "that the oath of supremacy was the great charter of the established religion of the kingdom, that it was as obligatory to be in force as Magna Charta itself, or any of our greatest and most valuable acts." It was the theory of the constitution, that no man could be bound by laws in the passing of which he had not a vote; but every man knew that this general theory was modified in the practice—a man who had only two hundred pounds a-year was not for centuries allowed to sit in that House, and a man who lived in a town which was not corporate, had no power of voting at all. The real question for the House to determine was, whether there were sufficient grounds for retaining, in their present form, the laws against Catholics. If he could persuade himself to believe that the mere passing of this measure would heal all those unhappy animosities, which all must unite in lamenting, he would not oppose the mere theory of the constitution to a practical advantage so immense. But the removal of disabilities to the extent that they had hitherto been removed, had never had the effect of tranquillizing the people. In 1792 the Catholics asked admission to the magistracy and votes upon twelve-pound freeholds. More than they asked was granted them—they were admitted to the elective franchise to the very same extent as Protestants, and they were also admitted to be upon grand juries. But did that tranquillize them? Even if the

civil offices now sought were opened to them, the exclusion of a Catholic applicant, however casual or however necessary, would always be set down to the fact of his being a Catholic. Besides this, it would be mockery to suppose that mere civil offices would satisfy them. The temporal property of the Church had belonged to the Catholic clergy at the same time and to the same extent that civil offices were open to the Catholic laity; and if the latter were granted, that very grant would be a plea upon which to demand the other. But besides these, there was the spirit of the Catholic religion itself, and that did not appear to have undergone the beneficial change which the friends of the present measure were anxious to have believed. As a proof of this, he might appeal to the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe. It was not, however, in the matter of miracles alone, for a book understood to have been written by Dr Doyle, one of the titular bishops of Ireland, and being a communication to the whole Catholics of Ireland of the rescript of the present Pope, had these words: "The power of temporal princes will, we trust in the Lord, come to your assistance, whose interests, as experience shows, are always concerned when yours are in danger; for it never hath happened that the things which are Caesar's are given to Caesar, when the things that are God's are not given unto God." If any thing were wanting to show the necessity of continuing the oath of supremacy, it would be found in such letters as these. He was of opinion that the concessions to be made by the measure proposed would neither allay the animosities of the Irish nor satisfy their demands; and, therefore, without dwelling upon the time chosen for the measure, or its present expediency, he openly objected to it upon principle.



Mr Brougham said that one clause of the treaty of Limerick was, that the Irish Catholics should be restored to the same privileges which they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second; in that reign they had access to all the offices of the state, excepting corporations, and also the privilege of being elected to parliament; and from all of these they were now shut out. But it was folly to say that it was only from political rights that the Catholics were excluded. Were they not shut out from all that dignified and exalted the character of man in society? Were not the portals of the temple of honour shut against them? Were not the entrances to the legislature barred? Had they any voice in making the laws which they were compelled to obey, or in the imposition of the taxes which were levied upon them? Were they not deprived of all share in the civil government of the state; and did they not endure all this because they desired to be honest, and to worship God according to the religion of their ancestors—the religion of their own hearts? The right honourable gentleman had read with a triumphant air a passage from a letter of Leo XII., in which His Holiness had expressed a hope that Bible societies would be put down by the assistance of George IV., and other temporal princes. But the Pope was not alone in this wish to prevent the dissemination of the Bible without note or comment. The same sentiment had been avowed by the heads of the universities; and there was a very injudicious, ill-written pamphlet by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which this Romish doctrine was most intemperately enforced. But the House was told that, in this case, right, justice, and expediency must be thrown aside; because if the Catholics were admitted to temporal power, the Church would be in danger. What

would the Roman Catholics do if they were in power? Had they no power at the present moment? They had much power—as great in degree as if they were admitted into parliament; but much more than it could possibly be if they were admitted into the bosom of the constitution. It had been said that concessions had already been made to the Catholics, and with those they had not been satisfied; and that if their present claims were conceded to them, they would go on to ask something unreasonable. The proper reply to this was, “Wait till they shall so ask, and then refuse them.” It had been stated that no bill would be introduced, in the preamble of which the safety and integrity of the Protestant Church was not provided for—in which that Church would not be preserved inviolable. This security had been introduced into all the former bills, and he (Mr Brougham) distinctly understood, not only that it would be introduced into this one, but that a new security, that of a provision for the Catholic clergy, would be added. He earnestly entreated the House to take the opportunity, while a measure of another description was pending in another place, to adopt a line of policy which would improve the state of Ireland—would reconcile the Protestant and Catholic body, and put an end to those disturbances which had long distracted that country.

After a few words from one or two other members, in which no new argument either for or against the measure was adduced, the House divided, for the motion 247, against it 234, majority for it *thirteen*.

The bill was brought in, and *pro forma* read a first time. The substance of it was as follows: The preamble stated that “Whereas the Protestant succession to the Imperial Crown of this United Kingdom and its dependencies, is, by the act for the further

limitation of the Crown and the better securing the liberties of the subject, established permanently and inviolably: And whereas the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, and likewise the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, are by the respective Acts of Union between England and Scotland, and between Great Britain and Ireland, therein severally established permanently and inviolably."

It then went on to state, that after due consideration of the "situation, disposition, and conduct," of the Catholics, it appeared just and fitting to communicate to them the benefits of the constitution, in order that dissensions and discords might be extinguished, the Union of Great Britain and Ireland consolidated, and all his Majesty's subjects united, for the defence of his person, family, crown, and government, as well as for the defence of their own common rights and liberties.

After this preamble its first enactment went to repeal the oaths at present required to be taken, and which are in these words:

"I, A. B. do declare, that I believe that there is no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine after the consecration thereof, by any person whatever."

"I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatever. And that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and

idolatrous. And I do solemnly and voluntarily, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted to me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

This oath, which it was obvious no honest and conscientious Catholic could take, and which accordingly formed the disqualification, by excluding Catholics from all offices for which it was required, was to be absolutely repealed; and the Catholics, in addition to the usual oaths of allegiance and abjuration, were to take the following:

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his present Majesty, and will defend him to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to discover and make known to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treason and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown, which succession, by an Act entitled 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and the better securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and always stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress •

and Duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person or persons claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms: And I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as unchristian and impious, the position, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics or infidels; and also that unchristian and impious principle that faith is not to be kept with heretics or infidels; And I do further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any other authority of the see of Rome, or by any other authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever; And I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other Foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, or superiority whatsoever, directly or indirectly, within this realm: And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of instituting a Roman Catholic establishment in its stead; And I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb the Protestant religion, or Protestant government of this kingdom: And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivoca-

tion, or mental reservation whatever, and without thinking that I am or may be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or authority whatsoever, should dispense with and annul the same, and declare it to be null and void.—So help me God.”

After declaring that persons taking, making, and subscribing this oath, should be as capable of enjoying all rights, franchises, and offices, as though they took the present oath of supremacy, the bill went on to provide:

First, That nothing contained in it should alter, repeal, or dispense with any of those statutes which secured the Protestant succession, or the uniformity of public prayers and sacraments in the Episcopal Churches of England and Ireland.

Secondly, That it should not be considered as allowing any alterations in the admission of persons to ecclesiastical benefices in England, Ireland, or Scotland, of officers in ecclesiastical courts of judicature, or to any cathedral or collegiate foundation or establishment, any office or place in any of the universities, their colleges or halls, or the colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, or to abrogate any rule or statute which prevented Roman Catholics from being admitted into, residing in, or taking degrees in, these, or any of them. That no Roman Catholic should exercise any right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice, in any other manner than that right had been previously exercised, excepting where the presentation should belong to any office in the gift of his Majesty; and that no Roman Catholic should hold the office of Lord High Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for Great Britain or Ireland, or Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy, or any other Chief Governor or Chief Governors of Ireland.

Thirdly, That by taking the above oath before a competent officer, and in open courts between nine in the morning and two in the afternoon, Catholics should be entitled to hold property, and to enjoy any civil right or office not specially provided against.

Fourthly, That a Board of Commissioners under the Great Seal, should be appointed to see that persons chosen as Bishops and Deans of the Irish Catholics, were loyal and well-disposed toward the throne, the constitution, and the government, with power to revoke this commission as his Majesty or his successors should see cause; every commissioner so appointed to take an oath for the due performance of his office, for advising his Majesty faithfully, and for not divulging, except to his Majesty, anything that he might become acquainted with in virtue of his office as commissioner. The persons appointed, to be duly certified to his Majesty as loyal and well-disposed persons; and a copy of this certificate to be furnished to the person verified.

Fifthly, Every Catholic Bishop or Dean to take the aforementioned oath, and at the same time deliver the copy of his certificate, in order that it might be indorsed with a further certificate, of his having taken the oath, and that he should not be appointed unless he should be in possession of such indorsed certificate.

Sixthly, The original of bulls, dispensations, or any other instruments received in Ireland from the Pope, to be transmitted to the Board of Commissioners, and by them reported to the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor of Ireland. But if such bull or other instrument should relate wholly and exclusively to spiritual matters, it should be sufficient for the party receiving it to make oath to that effect before the Board of Commissioners, or any other court or party com-

petent to the administration of an oath. That parties who should thus either deliver up the original instrument for inspection, or make oath to its being wholly of a spiritual nature, should be exempted from the existing penalties; and that parties refusing or neglecting to comply with these injunctions, or either of them, should be punished as for a misdemeanor, and not incur the existing penalties.

The second reading took place upon the 19th of April, and was adjourned to the 21st. Previous to the debate, a number of petitions were presented for and against the measure, the most important, of which, perhaps, was one of the former description, from the English Catholics, presented by Lord Nugent, and the most singular one, of the same description, from seventy clergymen of the county of Norfolk, presented by Mr Coke.

The debate was opened by Mr Brownlow, who declared that, though formerly a very strenuous opponent to the claims of the Catholics, he had now very good reason to alter his opinion, and would support the present measure. He did so because he thought the political situation of the Pope had been considerably altered, and because the provision for the Catholic clergy, which he understood was to accompany this measure, or to follow it, would draw them toward the state.

An amendment which, if carried, would have had the effect of throwing out the bill, was moved by Mr Banks and several members spoke for and against the measure; and the debate was adjourned till the 21st.

On that day Mr Canning said he was certain that among the petition presented against those claims, there were some which displayed an extreme ignorance of the state of the existing law, and the merits of the general question. They prayed that ther

might not be given to the Catholics facilities which the Dissenters did not enjoy. Now, the fact was, that at present the Dissenters had facilities for getting into that House, and into offices, which were not enjoyed by the Catholics. What was it which kept the Catholics from taking their seats in that House? The oath against transubstantiation. But did the House forget that there might be among its members men who believed in consubstantiation, the doctrine which had been avowed and taught by Luther? Did they believe that man a traitor whose creed embraced the one but rejected the other? He did not say there was no difference between the opinions, but was either a difference of a nature to warrant political distinctions? The next objection was the doctrine of exclusive salvation: but almost all Churches held some exclusive articles, and let not honourable members who urged this doctrine forget that the Church of England held the Athanasian Creed. The doctrine of absolution was the next objection. That, no doubt, was an absurd doctrine; but the evidence before the Lords showed that that depended upon the future conduct of the person seeking absolution, and not upon him by whom it was granted. But this opinion was not confined to the Catholic Church, for let any man read the instructions for the visitation of the sick in the formulary of the Church of England, and he would there find the doctrine of absolution. The next objection was, that the Catholics attached an overweening value to human actions. This he certainly should not have expected to hear, for those who set a value upon good actions had a better chance of being good members of any state, than those who did not. Neither could he see any valid objection in the argument drawn from the supremacy of the Pope. The question was, Was it acted upon

in such a way as to make it dangerous? and to this he thought the negative had been made out. It was further said, that the Catholics had an idolatrous regard for their priests; but even granting that they had, the fault was in those who allowed them no other objects of political idolatry; if they bowed down before idols, it was our persecution that had set those idols up. Did we fear that, after we had emancipated the Catholics, they would turn their newly-acquired power against us? That was not probable, and though they were to make the attempt, so great was the power against which they had to contend, that they would be quite harmless. As to securities, he thought those in the bill quite sufficient. He had a few words to say as to the measure with which it was proposed to accompany this bill. He was very willing to take the bill as it now stood, without any of those measures; and with regard to one of them, he had much to say before he could bring his mind to support it. The leaning of his mind, however, was, that if by doing a little wrong, he could accomplish a great right—if by raising the elective franchise—upon the supposition that a franchise in Ireland was very different from one of the same nominal value in England, he should be able to carry the greater measure,—if, as he expected, it could be shown to him in the committee, that by striking at this semblance of freedom he was not destroying the essence of free election, he should be ready to take his share in the obloquy of disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders. The other measure he looked upon with considerable favour; and he did not see why the Protestant population could object to this *regium donum* to the Catholic clergy, when their ministers had for some time been in possession of a similar allowance out of that public re-

venue to which the Catholics contributed. He was not, however, wedded for life to those measures; but to the great measure of Catholic Emancipation he was wedded for ever.

Mr Peel said, the question was no longer whether the House would admit the Catholics to a share of political privileges, but whether to a qualified establishment of a Roman Catholic Church. In the articles of the Church of England it was stated that the administration of the sacrament in a language which the vulgar did not understand, was contrary to the word of God—that the adoration of saints, the worshipping of images, and the sacrifice of the mass, were not sanctioned by the Bible; and that the Pope had no jurisdiction either temporal or spiritual within this realm. Now, when the clergyman of the Church of England was told that the doctrine, discipline, and government of his church was “established permanently and inviolably,” and yet saw that it was intended to erect a modified establishment for another church, those articles which his church condemned as contrary to the Bible, and not sanctioned by the word of God, had he not reason to think that the time was come when it behoved him to insert into his petition matter which trench upon theological discussion? The bill was in part an alteration of the constitution—a virtual repeal of the Bill of Rights. That bill provided that the oath taken by every person upon his admission to office, should be the oath of supremacy, which asserts, “That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.” This oath was now to be repealed. The House of Commons had, no doubt, a right to alter this oath—in the same manner that they had a right to repeal the Bill of Rights, or

any other statute; but when they spoke of security for the Church of England, and went about to make this repeal thoroughly, he had a right to demand of them what security they were to propose? The maintenance of the Protestant succession was no doubt an important security as far as it went; but what did it amount to? That the individual who came to the throne should make a declaration against transubstantiation, and be in communion with the Church of England at the time of his accession; but by this bill, he was left at liberty to select all his councillors from among his Roman Catholic subjects. How was it that James II. attempted to effect his purposes? “By the assistance of divers evil counsellors,” said the Bill of Rights, “judges and ministers employed by him, did he endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom.” Now, if a king or queen should, at the accession, move to become a convert to the Catholic faith, and were to declare adherence to it, the peace and tranquillity of the country would rest upon the will of a single mind. In the reign of James II., those consequences had been produced, and in that of Charles II., the suspicion of such an event had given rise to those precautions which the object of this bill was to get rid of for ever. A Roman Catholic must, without any imputation on his moral character, view our establishment in such a light as would make it unsafe for him to legislate upon it; and he, therefore, thought it safer to exclude him at once, than to call him to give securities in a long oath for his good conduct. Dr Doyle said, the Protestant church was the most heart-rending curse on the landowners, and that, like the scorpion, it stung, and drew the blood of the people. As to the incorporation of the Roman Catholic clergy with the state, he would fairly own that he objected

to it, not because they believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation, but because he could not reconcile himself to the operation of that civil influence which he believed to attach to their religious system, and which held a sway over the temporal conduct of mankind. Then, as to the doctrine of indulgences, and their natural influence upon the temporal conduct of the people, it afforded no satisfaction to him to hear Dr Doyle describe the scale upon which such indulgences were estimated, their extension to seven years, beyond which they could not prevail, or their shorter quarantine of forty days; enough for him was it to know what must be their effect on the popular notion of the remission of the temporal punishment of sin; and these were the difficulties which met his view whenever he looked at the question. He was most anxious to reform and relax the penal code so far as it was consistent with the security of the Protestant establishment. He would make all reasonable concession to the Catholic, while he would maintain the Protestant character of the Throne, of the Parliament, of the Church, and of the judicial bench,—short of all these he was ready to concede, but more he could not relax. With respect to the measure of raising the qualification of freeholds, he hoped the House would not accede to it without very grave consideration. The same objection which he had to the alteration of the franchise, he likewise had to the other measure for the payment of the clergy. He objected to it not so much as a financial question, as opening a precedent for the payment by the State of other classes of religious dissenters; and with respect to the oath, he really saw no additional security provided by it: these proffered securities were each and every of them, to him, perfectly nugatory, and did not, in any shape,

reconcile him to the principle of the bill.

At the close of this debate, which lasted till nearly three o'clock in the morning, the House divided; and there appeared—for the second reading, 268; against it, 241; majority for the second reading, 27.

While the main question was in this stage of its progress, Mr Littleton, on the 22d of April, introduced the measure for regulating the Irish freeholders, which was one of the two measures alluded to in the previous debates, as intended accompaniments of the Emancipation bill, and which were afterwards sneeringly designated its *wings*.

Upon moving for leave to bring in his new bill, Mr Littleton did not go into any very clear explanation as to the nature of his measure, or into any detailed argument, in order to prove either its justice or its expediency. Its principal enactments appeared intended to be that, after its passing, it should not be lawful for any person to register a freehold in any country at large, made for a less term than for lives renewable for ever, unless the same should be of the annual value of (ten pounds was the sum proposed) at the least, over and above taxes, charges, and impositions payable out of the same; and that a new oath should be taken by freeholders, who, after the passing of the act, registered by virtue of leases for a less term than lives renewable for ever.

This bill having been read a first time *pro forma*, was fixed for a second reading, and for the explanation of the principle, and the debate upon it on Tuesday the 26th of April; but on Monday the 25th, an occurrence took place in the Upper House, which excited a very strong interest, and led to a probability—indeed almost to a certainty—that the bill for the relief of the Catholics, even if it should pass

the Commons, would be thrown out there. This occurrence was the appearance of the Duke of York, the heir-apparent to the crown, in his place in the House of Lords, for the purpose of presenting a petition against any further concession to the Catholics. His Royal Highness was pleased to say, "I hold in my hand a petition from the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St George, Windsor, praying that no further concessions may be made to the Roman Catholics. I am sure that any representation from so learned and respectable a body will be received with the attention which it deserves; and therefore I should not have troubled your Lordships with any observations in support of it, if I did not feel that this was an occasion on which any man may well be permitted to address your Lordships. I do this more readily on the present occasion, because, feeling that I have not the habit of taking part in your discussions, I will not interrupt the progress of the debate on the bill to which the petitioners refer, if it should come into this House. It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events that discussion was at that time connected. It was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more; it was connected also with the temporary removal of one of the ablest, wisest, and honestest ministers that this country ever had. From that time, when I gave my first vote on this question, to the present, I have never seen any reason to regret or to change the line which I then took. I have every year seen more reason to be satisfied with my decision. When the question comes regularly before your lordships, it will be discussed much more fully and ably than I can do it; but there are two or three subjects on which I am anxious to touch: one is, that you place the

church of England in a situation in which no other church in the world is placed: the Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or Parliament to interfere with his church, and yet he requires you to allow him to interfere with your church, and to legislate for it. There is another subject still more delicate, on which I cannot, however, help saying a few words. I speak (I beg to be understood) only as an individual: I desire not to be understood as speaking for anybody else: but consider, my Lords, the situation in which you place the Sovereign. By the coronation oath, the Sovereign is bound to maintain the church established, in her doctrine, discipline, and rights, inviolate. An act of Parliament may release future sovereigns and other men from this oath, or from any other oath to be taken; but it cannot release an individual who has already taken it: I speak, I repeat it again, as an individual; but I entreat the House to consider the situation in which the Sovereign is thus placed. I have been brought up from my early years in these principles; and from the time when I began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction; and in every situation in which I may be placed, I will maintain them, *SO HELP ME GOD!*"

On the 26th of April, Mr Littleton went into the explanation of his measure: most of his observations were drawn from the evidence that had been taken before the committees; and the two principal grounds upon which he argued for it seemed to be the perjury to which the existing system led, and the assistance which the measure would give to the question of emancipation.

After a few words from Mr Leslie Foster, Mr Brougham rose and complained that the House was in possession of no evidence sufficient to warrant the disfranchisement of so large a



number of his Majesty's subjects as were threatened by this bill, and that the little evidence which was before the House was vague and even contradictory. The commission of perjury was stated to be one of the greatest evils of the present system. But let it not be supposed that the practice was confined to the Irish peasantry, whom it was proposed to disfranchise in order to prevent it. He would say nothing of the Irish grand juries and their presentments; that was forbidden ground. But he knew what took place nearer home, not on the part of the electors, but of the elected—not in the county of Tipperary, but on the ten or twelve square feet of ground on which he was standing. Did it become those whom he was addressing, to declare that they could not contemplate without abhorrence that a man should swear he possessed certain qualifications, which, in fact, he did not possess—to hold up their hands and bless God that in this country, people could not be found, as in Ireland, to take the dreadful and sacrilegious oath that they were worth forty shillings a-year—to rush down with a bill to save the souls of the Irish peasants? The cry was, Disfranchise the Irish freeholders, and put a stop to perjury. Let the House take care that they did not disfranchise themselves. He was credibly informed, that certain members of that House, of a former Parliament, of course it could not be of the present that he was speaking—did sacrilegiously make oath in the Lord Steward's office on one day, and at the table of the House on another, that they were worth three hundred pounds a-year in lands and tenements, when some of them were not worth a shilling, and others had no land at all. The members of the House who were not connected with the army entertained a more religious feeling on the subject, and talked of the sacrilegious

nature of perjury; but officers of the army, being men of honour, would in all probability express their surprise and indignation that any being could be found so far degraded as to swear that he was worth forty shillings in land, when in fact he was not. These very officers, however, when the question was about the buying of a commission—did not swear to be sure, that was out of their line—but always declared upon their honour that they had given no more than the regulation price, though they knew all the time that they had given double. It grieved him much to say that the church itself was not without a stain, and particularly because it would be the means of taking much preaching out of the mouths of those persons who were once described as people with a curious dress in another house. Those reverend persons were in the habit of talking of perjury as a crime not to be heard of without abomination—they declared that truth, sincerity, and frankness were the essence of religion. Now what did these reverend persons do? He would suppose that a reverend gentleman was about to be inducted into a bishopric of about four thousand a-year. He declared, in the name of God, that he felt inwardly moved—yes, that he felt inwardly moved at that moment by the Holy Ghost, to take upon himself the office of bishop, and the administration thereof, and for no other reason. Now here was this reverend person solemnly declaring, that he took upon himself to discharge the duties of bishop in consequence of a call from the Holy Ghost, and for no other reason; although he knew at the same time that he had opposed the Catholic question and the claims of the Dissenters on a thousand occasions. How all this could go forward was a mystery which he professed himself unable to understand; but he supposed

it was calculated for the end which the parties had in view. He could not, however, help thinking that the members of that House who took one oath, and the bishops and clergy out of doors who took another, were the last persons in the world who should be so exquisitely squeamish with regard to the conduct of the Irish Catholic freeholders, whom they had all along treated, and still wished to treat, as if they were the only mortals under heaven who had ever been guilty of perjury. He would say nothing with regard to Custom-house oaths, because they went to the support of the revenue. A great and flourishing revenue was doubtless a great blessing, and God forbid that he should do any thing to injure it. These, however, were the grounds of some of the doubts which he entertained with respect to the measure before the House, in a moral and religious point of view. It was said that the bill was to smooth the way for Catholic Emancipation. If any thing could induce him to vote for the measure in the dark, the great boon which was held out would be the most powerful bribe that could be offered him, if any bribe could induce him to desert what he believed to be his public duty. But if the bill should, on consideration, be found to be improper, let it be rejected, even though by that circumstance the Catholic Question should lose the support of the three votes which had been promised in consideration of the passing of the bill. If the proposers of any measure were to offer to one member the command of a ship, and to another that of a regiment, to induce them to support it, he should certainly consider it a bad mode of legislation, but not so objectionable as that of bribing members to support one measure by passing of another. Our ancestors, it should be remembered, had always been most cautious in meddling with

the elective franchise. Still more cautious, however, had the House always been in adopting any such measure. He would remind the House of the conduct pursued with respect to Gram-pound, a little borough, having not more than about thirty voters. Corruption on the part of the electors had been clearly proved in that case; yet committees were appointed, evidence heard, and the bill for disfranchising the borough did not pass through the House in less than two sessions. The bill for disfranchising Helston was before the House for three sessions, and was finally rejected. Yet the House was now called upon, without any inquiry whatever, to disfranchise a whole class of voters. Who in that House would be blind enough to say, that if the present bill and the Catholic Question should be carried, the one measure would recommend the other,—the one giving an immediate benefit to a certain class of Catholics, and the other taking away a privilege from another class not immediately benefited by the former measure? If any man would say that, he might admire his boldness as a prophet, but he would not feel disposed to take him for his guide. It was said, that by agreeing to the present bill in the dark, the Catholic Question would be carried: he did not believe that. He thought that those persons who said so, were reckoning without their hosts; at all events, he was afraid they were reckoning without their Lords. It was not for him to allude to what passed in another house of Parliament, except as matter of history; but he would say, that he had heard of passages in another place which gave him an alarm, not only for the good government, but the safety of the constitution of this country, and for the stability of the monarchy as by law established, and at the Revolution of 1688 settled. The passages to which he alluded,

had given him so deep and serious an alarm, that he protested before God he could not believe his ears when the news were brought to him that morning. It was impossible, even now, to believe what was stated. The papers were filled with libels that must be false. No man living could believe that a Prince of that House standing on the revolutionary settlement of 1688, should promulge to the world, that happen what would, when he came to fill another situation—if all—

Mr Plunkett rose to order; and

The Speaker said, "If the anticipation of what was coming from the honourable and learned member was right, there could be no question that the honourable and learned member would eventually be out of order."

After some animated conversation upon the point of order, and a spirited defence by Mr Brougham of his own conduct, and an attack upon the House for their apprehension on this subject, which was closed with these words:—"You may attack the Bishops—the Woolsack—the Lords, collectively or individually, if you will; but if you only glance at the Heir Presumptive of the Crown, privilege shall rise up against you, even before the words which are to constitute offence can be uttered—an honourable and learned member (himself the most disorderly in all the world,) shall get up and complain that you are out of order, infringing upon precedent and rule, and this, absolutely, not because any thing irregular has been said, but *quia timet*, merely because he apprehends that something possibly may be;"—Mr Brougham was again called to order by Mr Wodehouse, because that gentleman did not understand what he meant by *quia timet*; and Mr Secretary Peel recommended him to abstain from the topics upon which he had touched, as it would unfit the House for the business immediately before it.

Mr Brougham proceeded: There had been some show of temptation, while it could fairly be said, "Give up the rights of these freeholders, and the Catholic Bill will pass;" but what he said to them was, "Do not believe that anything will ever carry the Catholic Question but a powerful majority in the House of Commons." But if a large increase in the majority on the Catholic Question might be hoped for, the present moment—the present reign was the time for its appearance. A little time, and it would be too late,—a brief time, and the opportunity would be gone for ever,—a little rest,—a little slumbering—a little folding of the hands to sleep—a little more pausing in apathy, as we had gone on to do session after session, parliament after parliament for twenty years,—a little more of this, and we should find despotism and intolerance coming upon us like an armed man; and the power of pacifying Ireland, and of saving England, would be gone for ever. He was no lover of discord; and those who would deem him such, were themselves lovers of discord only, because they prefer to what they call discord and commotion, the solitude and silence of passive obedience and bending before absolute and uncontrolled despotism. He respected the conscientious feelings of every man. Heaven forbid that he should not give to the honest differences of opinion in other men the same degree of tolerance which he claimed for his own. He said—he had said it out of doors, and he repeated it now in the House—that a want of conscientious frankness was the last charge that he would bring against any man. But it did happen, that the men sometimes who had most of that frankness, unless at the same time they were men of enlightened understanding, were, of all others, the most irreclaimable; and that, in fact, all hope of recalling them

from their errors—so help them God! was but visionary. Under these circumstances, then, it did become the House to set itself in order, and to embrace the very earliest opportunity—for to lose one might be fatal—of going up to the other branches of the legislature with an overpowering majority upon the Catholic Question; nothing short of an immense majority—little short of unanimity—could be successful. There was not an hour—a moment to be lost; for the time might come when even such a majority would be ineffectual. There might come a time—and honourable gentlemen would do well to recollect it—when the unanimous votes of both Houses of Parliament, joined to the expression of opinion from the whole community, would have no other consequence than to lead to an irreparable breach with the Crown.

Sir John Newport contended that the measure did not destroy any existing right; every body at all acquainted with the subject, knew the miserable condition of those people mis-called freeholders, which the existing system kept up.

Mr Plunkett said, that instead of the measure before the House having, as had been alleged, no connexion with the Emancipation of the Catholics, it had a very close connexion. The doors of Parliament were to be opened to Catholics, and this measure was demanded as a provision against the rush of an immense Catholic mob. The Act of 1793, was a most preposterous act; it had begun completely at the wrong end—had let the rabble into the elective franchise, while it shut out the gentry, and ever since, the country gentlemen of Ireland had set about making as many freeholders as ever they could, for no other purpose than that of trafficking in them.

The measure was further supported by Mr Vesey Fitzgerald, who, how-

ever, complained that it did not go far enough; and by Mr R. Martin.

Mr Brownlow thanked Mr Littleton for bringing in the bill, as he was convinced there was no measure more intimately connected with the welfare of Ireland. No person out of doors, who is not actuated by private motives rather than the public good, had objected to the measure. He would mention a case which showed how the system worked: a gentleman of large landed property in Ireland, and a man possessed of every virtue, save that of residing on his estates in that country, was called upon by the government to discharge the duty of High Sheriff in the county in which his property was situated. He endeavoured to get rid of the duty imposed upon him, but not finding it possible, said, "By God, if I am obliged to go to Ireland by the government, I will make myself an M.P. to vex them." The consequence was, that he took with him to Ireland 2600 leases, and when he got there, parcelled out his estate into 2600 sub-divisions, so minute, that to live upon one of them would be complete beggary. He now said, "I will walk into Parliament without asking the vote of a single man in the independent county in which I have the honour to reside."

Sir Francis Burdett expressed his concurrence in the measure, coupled as it was with the great measure of Catholic Emancipation. He did not talk of it as a measure meeting all the evils which were attendant upon the exercise of the elective franchise in Ireland; but he thought that it should be allowed to go into a committee, and that those who had objections to it could state them there.

The second reading was opposed by Mr Banks, who moved an amendment, and by Mr Secretary Peel, who agreed with Mr Brougham, that it would be most precipitate to make such a change

in the franchise without the most careful investigation. As to raising the freehold from forty shillings to ten pounds, having any effect in preventing perjury, he thought that those who could be brought to swear publicly in one case, would also swear falsely in the other. He could not see that the forty-shilling freeholders were any cause of the disturbances in Ireland, or that their disfranchisement would strengthen the Protestant interest; for the greatest number of forty-shilling freeholders had been created in the north of Ireland where the disturbances had been but comparatively few; and as to these freeholders giving their votes in favour of the Catholics, he found that, in the county of Kilkenny, where only 3760 forty-shilling freeholders had been registered since 1795, two Catholic members—members supporting the Catholic claims, had been returned to Parliament, while the county of Fermanagh, in which 26,900 had been registered during the same period, sent two members, who voted against those claims. Mr C. H. Hutchison also opposed the measure, and condemned the uniting it with the Catholic Bill.

Lord Milton expressed great doubts of the measure; but would vote for at least that stage of the bill.

Mr Denman would make no such concession as that involved in this question; for by introducing it in conjunction with the measure for the Catholic claims, it seemed as though there were a feeling that if those claims were conceded, it mattered not by what kind of laws Ireland should be governed. But this question did not belong to Catholic more than to Protestant—to Ireland more than to England—it belonged to all, and all ought to view it with equal alarm.

Mr Lambton said, that, from any thing he had heard, he did not believe

that the forty-shilling freeholders were so bad as they were represented; and, following that principle which had ever guided his public conduct, he never would consent to any measure having for its object a limitation of the elective franchise of the people,—as representing a large body of English electors, he could neither support this bill, nor tolerate its principle.

The debate lasted till nearly three o'clock; and the numbers were, for the second reading 233, against it 185, majority in favour of it 48.

On the 10th of May this bill was debated in the committee; and an amendment was proposed to this effect: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire what faults and abuses exist in the exercise of the elective franchise in Ireland; and to ascertain whether any and what measures can be adopted, with a view to correct the same." This amendment was negatived by 168 members to 53, the bill was reported *pro forma*, and the report deferred and ultimately dropt, in consequence of the rejection, in the interim, of the Catholic Relief Bill by the Lords.

The other auxiliary measure, that of a provision by law for the secular Roman Catholic clergy, was brought forward on the 29th of May. The leading arguments in favour of this measure were, that it would unite the Catholic clergy more firmly to the State, and render Catholic Emancipation both a more palatable and a more safe measure; and the arguments against it were, a denial that it would have these effects, the inconsistency of making Protestants pay for the Catholic priests, and the injustice, if this provision should be granted to the Catholic clergy, of refusing a similar provision to the ministers of the various sects of Protestant Dissenters. After a long, but not a very interesting,

debate, the House divided, and the numbers were, for the resolution 205, against it 162, majority for it 43.

As the time appointed for reading the Catholic Bill a third time approached, the number of petitions forwarded to both Houses for and against it increased, those against it being the most numerous, especially in the Lords. The third reading, upon Tuesday the 10th of May, was supported by Messrs Curwen, C. Grant, Huskisson, Brougham, and others, and opposed by the Solicitor-General and Mr Secretary Peel. It was ultimately read a third time and passed by a majority of 21, there being 248 for it, and 227 against it.

On the 11th of May the bill was carried up to the House of Lords and read a first time, with the understanding that the debate upon it should take place on the second reading. That reading came on upon the 17th, upon which day the Earl of Donoughmore moved the second reading, without making any speech. Among the petitions presented, was one by Earl Grey, from the English Catholic Peers, and thirty thousand other English Catholics. In presenting this petition, his Lordship regretted that his Majesty's Ministers had not taken up this question as a Cabinet measure, instead of abandoning all the duties of government to the chance-medley of interests. The reverend prelates opposite disclaimed any interference on their parts to excite public opinion against the Catholics. He was bound to believe them, satisfied that they would state nothing in that house which was not true. But were not their opinions generally known on this subject, and was it too much to say that efforts would be made by others to recommend themselves to their favour by promoting those petitions? However that might be, active exertions had been made to

excite those opinions against the Catholic claims. Hitherto they had not succeeded, although they might yet succeed, in rekindling those sparks of animosity so productive of misery to the country. For his part he was satisfied that this measure was one calculated to give content to the people of England; and this, as had been stated by a Noble Duke, was the moment of conciliating the people of Ireland, and rendering that which was at present a union of law, a union of interests. This great question was now reduced to a question of time; it was admitted on all sides that sooner or later it must be carried. Was it possible that any man who entertained that opinion could take upon himself the responsibility of the consequences likely to result from delay? At present, this measure of justice would be hailed by the Catholics with satisfaction; delay it a little longer, and it might be held out to them in vain. The country was now in a prosperous state, but were there not already some clouds discernible in the horizon, and who could tell how soon they might burst into storms? Now, then, was the time for their Lordships to give that which they might offer in vain in the hour of distress and danger. That was the case with America: God grant they might not produce another separation, which would be followed by the inevitable ruin of this country. His conviction of the necessity of the measure had increased with time, and was now stronger than ever. They ought to remove those disqualifications from their fellow subjects, which were no defence to the church, which were weakness and division to the country, and which would ultimately be attended with ruin.

Lord Colchester opposed the bill. He did not think that the Parliamentary inquiry had removed the objections which formerly existed to this

measure. Government had always shown a readiness to grant to the Roman Catholics a full participation in the enjoyments, advantages, and interests of the constitution; but these were refused or lightly treated, and the aim seemed to be to get possession of political power. They enjoyed the right and security of property; and if the present regulations were not sufficient for those purposes, let further regulations be made; civil employments had been always open to them; and to the army and navy they had long since been admitted; but their object clearly seemed to be not to enjoy privilege but to exercise power. The most prominent writers, even of the present day, in favour of the Catholics, denied the justice of those laws by which the Church of England held its superiority. It might be said that all danger would be avoided by the cautious manner in which the present bill was drawn up; but the enactments of a bill would be a very ineffectual security against churchmen who swore to keep most sacred whatever counsel they received from the Pope. Much had been said of the ornaments of the Catholic Church abroad; and Bossuet had been pointed out as the brightest of these; but Bossuet contended that it was right to use the sword, in addition to the arguments and influence of the Catholic Church, and in his funeral oration over Louis XIV., he had mentioned the extermination of heretics as among the most praise-worthy deeds of that monarch. The measure for a provision to the Catholic clergy could not be right. It was a virtual recognition of the Catholic Church, and on that account most unconstitutional. It had been argued that, because in Hanover Catholics had been placed on the same footing with their Protestant brethren, they ought to be placed in the same situation in Ireland; but the cases

were not alike, for the Hanoverian Catholics allowed to the King an interference in the investiture of their bishops, and this the Irish Catholics would not hear of. He would say that the Emancipation which was most necessary for Ireland, was Emancipation from bigotry, Emancipation from ignorance, Emancipation from that foreign power, whose spiritual authority was acknowledged there; and finally, Emancipation from the extreme subdivision and underletting of lands. Let this be done, and the peace of Ireland would be secured. That country would then be freed from the baleful influence of party. They might be told that the power of the priests was not so great as it had formerly been; but his firm belief was, that the power was only dormant—that it could easily be called into full operation—that “it is not dead, but sleepeth.” Impressed with the justice and policy of these sentiments, his Lordship moved, “That the bill be read a second time this day six months.”

The Marquis of Anglesea had formerly supported this measure, but now, however painful it might be to him, the conscientious discharge of his duty forced him to vote against it. The change of circumstances fully admitted and justified his conduct. It appeared to him that the different concessions made to the Roman Catholics had not been met by them with a corresponding spirit of conciliation. Each concession had given rise to new demands, and had tended to produce restlessness and dissatisfaction. Judging from the tone and language which had recently been used, it seemed to him that nothing short of Catholic ascendancy would satisfy the Catholic body. Allusion had been made to force—it had been almost threatened that the measure should be carried by force. Six to one had been spoken of as the relative proportion. Now, if there

must be a contest—if they were to be threatened with the opposition of six millions of men or one million—if the fight must come, he should like to meet it when the country was in the best possible situation—when peace prevailed on every side. Still he must say, that he was really and sincerely a friend to the Roman Catholics. He would grant them every relief that was proper, but he would take care to grant them nothing at the expense of the constitution. Seeing the necessity of upholding and maintaining the Protestant ascendancy, he could not consent to any further extension of political privileges to the Roman Catholics. With respect to the measures which were said to be connected with the bill now before the House, he would only offer a few remarks. He did not object to an alteration of the elective franchise in Ireland—it might probably be productive of good; neither did he object to making a provision for the Catholic clergy; but he must be allowed to say, that if a Protestant king paid a Catholic clergy, he could see no reason why that Protestant King should be excluded from all power in the appointment of a Catholic bishop.

Marquis Camden supported the bill, and thought it a strong ground that, at the time of the Union, a promise had been made that they should be conceded.

Earl Darnley thought there was no necessity even for replying to assertions that Catholics were not to be believed on oath, and to arguments drawn from what had taken place at the Council of Trent; but when he was told that this emancipation would be only a stepping-stone to the Catholics in their way to an ultimate overthrow of the constitution, he was borne out in giving that assertion the fullest denial. It was true, that the immediate effect of passing this bill

might be to seat five or six of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of the country in Parliament. But if it was to introduce such noble and distinguished persons as the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, for example, could it be considered as any other than a desirable measure? Why, it was feared that it might introduce also principles of legislation inimical to the doctrine of the Established Church; but were not the household troops opposite him—the lawn legion—were not those right reverend prelates sufficient to preserve the orthodoxy of Parliament? But, besides these securities, did not the Protestant establishment possess a host in such vigilant allies as the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, and others who could bring up a whole *corps de reserve* in the cause? In this country political influence must ever follow the majority of numbers and property; and for this reason it was absolutely impossible that, either in England or in Scotland, the Catholic religion should ever again be the dominant one. He was perfectly convinced that though these claims were conceded that very night, the next elections would be determined not by any religious considerations whatever, but by property and its attendant influence, just as they had hitherto been.

The Earl of Longford said he did not think that the Catholics could be admitted to a participation of political power in a Protestant country without manifest danger to the constitution. He thought so because of the perpetual interference of the papal authority and influence, nominally in spiritual affairs, but actually, and in fact, in the whole ordinary business of life. The Catholic priesthood were able to lead the people with great facility; among them the commands of the superior to the inferior admitted



of no dispute; and thus, whatever might be said or promised upon the subject, if the Pope or any superior authority in the Catholic church should command measures hostile to the government or the interests of this country, the Catholics would have no interest but to obey.

The Bishop of Norwich conjured their Lordships to pause ere they agreed to continue to deprive five or six millions of their brethren, who were like themselves the free subjects of a free state, of those civil rights of which no class of men ought to be deprived on account of mere abstract opinions. This principle of unjustifiable and unnecessary exclusion had been declared essential to the maintenance of the united churches of England and Ireland; but what good purpose of religion, or morals, or policy, could so embittering a restriction promote? If the church of England could not be maintained otherwise than by the permanent infliction of pains and penalties, then he scrupled not to say, let it fall; the mere external fabric was not worth preserving unless the great principles of justice and liberty of conscience could be preserved within it. The House had now a glorious opportunity of doing justice to a large portion of His Majesty's subjects—an opportunity which, if neglected, could not perhaps be recalled. By a system of conciliation now, they might avert many evils. What would now be received with gratitude, might hereafter be extorted without thanks.

Lord Carbery wished, that as there could be no permanent peace in Ireland till this subject was settled, his Majesty's government would take it up as a question of state, and ascertain how far the policy of the British constitution and the principles of the Church of Rome were reconcilable.

The Bishop of Chester was free to confess that his mind had undergone a change upon the Catholic Question; his

mind had been, from the force of early education, imbued with those principles of civil and religious freedom which liberal study had inculcated. The excessive severity of the penal code led him then to conclude that it was as unnecessary as it was harsh. But when, upon maturer consideration, he had acquired a greater experience and fuller knowledge of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic church, he became more deeply impressed with the paramount importance of a controlling religious establishment, necessarily endowed with co-ordinate privileges and immunities. Motives of an unworthy character had been imputed to them (the Bishops) for their opposition to this measure. He asked what right had Noble Lords to impute to Protestant Bishops that they were actuated in their opposition to a public measure, by motives so mean and sordid as self-interest? What grounds had they for such an imputation? What reasons deducible, either from history or observation, had they to justify this mode of unworthy attack? Was it personal interest that induced the seven bishops to resist the encroachments of an arbitrary king, to whom they were otherwise personally attached? No: their motives sprung from a purer source; it was the honest and firm ambition of proving themselves vigilant sentinels, and ready champions of the church of which they were dignitaries. A great deal had been said of the injustice and cruelty of debarring four or five millions of their fellow-subjects from inalienable rights; it was necessary, therefore, to argue this claim of abstract right at the outset. In that view he was at a loss to see how the numbers affected could be brought to form a part of the consideration, for whether the number was small or great, the question of right was the same. He wished Noble Lords had better explained the meaning of the words

“debarred from indefeasible rights;” the term “natural” rights had also been used, and by others it had been more appropriately qualified to the term “civil” rights. Did any Noble Lord seriously mean to contend, that individuals possessed any rights which they were not liable, under peculiar circumstances, to be called upon to forego for the public good? Were not many excluded by the law from the exercise of what might be called direct rights? Individuals were constantly excluded from certain civil offices, without the possession of particular and prescribed qualifications. How, then, could they call the exclusion of the Catholics an anomalous principle of law? In the former cases to which he alluded, the qualification was certain—in the case of Catholics, it was uncertain; but their principles were, as he had already said, fixed, and he believed irrevocable. In both cases, however, the civil right was concluded and foreclosed, because the public service required it. Did not the very Bill before their Lordships recognise the principle of exclusion? What could be a more sacred right, than to possess a voice at the election of a representative? Was not that right violated by this bill? The Catholics themselves recognised this principle of exclusion in all their applications to Parliament, for their Bills uniformly admitted the propriety of excepting the office of Lord High Chancellor in the proposed eligibility. Then the real question—Whether the opinions of the Catholics were such as to disqualify them from certain civil rights, more especially those of a legislative description? This was followed up by another question—Whether the danger of the present crisis was so imminent as to call for the violation of an established constitutional principle, for the sake of avoiding it? Connected with these considerations was another—Whether the proposed remedy was cal-

culated to produce the supposed advantage? With respect to the last consideration, all he should say was this, that if there was one point more clear than another in the history of Ireland, it was this—that up to the most recent date, the disturbed condition of that country was, by the best judges, declared to have little connexion with the Catholic question. The wretched peasant was oppressed by a more malignant and exasperating, though not an incurable, disease. One of the most distinguished witnesses that had been examined before the Committee, had proved that the most exciting and proximate cause of disturbances in Ireland, had arisen from the extreme misery of the peasant: and that the more remote cause was, the radically vicious state of society—a state of society which, if he could venture to give the opinion of one so young in politics as himself, was fraught with deep evils, which required the remedial application of a different measure from that now proposed to their consideration. The property in the soil belonged, to a great extent, to proprietors who were absent and intrusted the management of their estates often to unscrupulous agents. The education of the people was imperfect, and immoral habits arose from neglect and ill-treatment—a system of exaction was ingrafted upon the mode of tenancy, one claim for rent was accumulated upon another, until an amount was through the one hand and the other squeezed from the soil more than the soil could fairly yield—a state of society of which, from its very nature, the tenant must be the wretched victim—a state of society where there was an obstinate adherence to absurd and antiquated customs, in defiance of the wholesome and regular law of the land. Such a state of society could be improved by no such remedy as was provided by the present Bill; it would require measures of a stronger and more effica-

cious character; it would require the introduction of a better religion—a purer administration of justice—a revision of the revenue laws—a general system of education, and last, though not least, a return of the proprietary of the country to the estates which they possessed within it. A relief from reckless poverty, from barbarous superstition, and from inveterate insubordination, was the emancipation of which Ireland stood in need. It was not till the year 1823, that the great mass of the Catholics of Ireland began to talk of Catholic emancipation; and the meaning attached to the words by some of them was, a restoration of that property to their church of which it had been deprived by the Reformation; and by others, a recovery of the lands which had been forfeited at different periods of their history. Whichever of these two opinions the mass of the Irish Catholics entertained, they would be greatly disappointed at finding that this Bill, if carried, would bestow upon them neither of the boons which they expected. He contended that the distinction between the Pope's supremacy, in things temporal and in things spiritual, existed only in theory. Every Catholic allowed that the Pope had an ecclesiastical supremacy; and that ecclesiastical supremacy involved in it certain temporal jurisdictions. Did not the Pope nominate to all the ecclesiastical benefices in Ireland? and had he not, by such a nomination, a well-disciplined army of 3000 ecclesiastics in that country, ready at any moment to work his bidding?—an army, whose generals he also appointed, and who, if they were not the partisans, had at least been the nominees, of a pretender to the British throne? The reverend prelate then adverted to the power arrogated by the Pope to depose kings, and showed that, in 1643, Charles I., and in 1719, George I., had been deposed in Ireland, by a bull from the Pope; and that, in our own days, Louis

XVIII. had been deposed in France, by a bull from Pius VII. These were some, but not all the reasons, which induced him to give, not a satisfactory, but still a conscientious, vote in opposition to the measure.

The Marquess of Lansdown said, that the right reverend prelate, while he deprecated any attacks on the motives of individuals, had indulged himself in a very serious charge on the great body of the Irish Catholics—a desire to overturn the church establishment, and to regain possession of the forfeited estates; and he had done this on the authority of a Protestant, and in opposition to every title of evidence which had been given on the subject by Catholic bishops and priests, as well as every member of the Catholic laity who was examined before their Lordships' committee. Surely, the right reverend prelate could not have read the evidence. Protestants and Catholics concurred in stating that the forfeited estates were considered as secure property as any in the country. If any facts were necessary in support of the solemn declaration on oath of the Catholics on this subject, it would be found in their own practice; for it was a fact that those Catholics whose wealth had enabled them to purchase property, had, to a great extent, become the purchasers of those very forfeited estates. After this, would it be said, that they were not disposed to respect the titles to such property? It was true, that one of the grounds on which he (Lord Lansdown) supported the present Bill, was, the insecurity to which property would be exposed in Ireland from its refusal; but that insecurity rested on very different grounds from those which the right reverend prelate had taken. The insecurity which he dreaded was that which must ever exist where discontent prevailed among the great body of the people. The noble Marquess proceeded to contend, at considerable length, that

the Catholics were found faithful subjects to Protestant princes; that this had been proved in every Protestant country in Europe; that their attachment to a free constitution was proved by the conduct of the Catholics in America, and their disposition to admit religious liberty—by the readiness with which the state of Maryland, originally composed principally of Catholics, admitted the most tolerant regulations with respect to religious worship; and concluded this part of his remarks by an appeal to the learned Lord on the woolsack; in which he asked whether, in the course of his official experience, he had ever known of any Catholic minister or general who had betrayed the secrets of a Protestant prince, or swerved in any manner from his allegiance or duty, in consequence of his obedience to the Pope? He was fully aware of the sensitive fears of those who apprehended that the Protestant church would be endangered if Catholics were allowed a seat in the legislative bodies, where subjects connected with the welfare of that church might be decided. The conscientious opinions from which such feelings and alarms arose, he duly respected; but he was convinced that the apprehensions were unfounded. It was matter of history, that when the union of Scotland with England was proposed, that part of the plan which was to introduce sixteen representative peers of that country to seats in the English House of Lords, was warmly opposed by some right reverend prelates of that day. They imagined that if sixteen Presbyterian Lords were allowed to sit and vote on all subjects in that House, it might be attended with consequences the most dangerous to the Church of England. One right reverend prelate in particular, in the warmth of his zeal, went so far as to predict that the most imminent danger to the church would be the necessary consequence. He compared the introduction of six-

teen Presbyterians into the Upper House, to the mixture of so many foreign ingredients in the caldron, which would have the certain effect of making it boil over till it burst. Notwithstanding those grave predictions, the measure was carried into effect; the sixteen Presbyterian Lords were admitted into Parliament, and what happened?—not that the caldron had boiled over till it burst, but that no danger whatever had accrued to the church; and on looking at the divisions which had since then taken place, it would be found, by a very curious coincidence, that these sixteen Presbyterians were generally found voting on the same side with the bishops who had been so much alarmed at their approach. The noble lord proceeded to contend, that prophecies, generally, of the description to which he alluded, had been unfortunate. Dean Swift, at the time of the repeal of the sacramental test in Ireland, had foretold that the whole religion of the country would become Presbyterian. Again, in the early part of the late reign, when a bill was brought in to admit the Catholics of Canada to civil rights, it had been prophesied, that, through the machinations of the Pope in that country, we should lose the whole of the United States. We had lost the United States, but Canada, instead of having led the way in their declaration of independence, was the only colony which had remained faithful to us.

The Earl of Liverpool was ready, at once, to meet the question of expediency—to look fairly at the advantages which were expected from it, and at the evils to which it might give rise. In consequence of events in Ireland, which had transpired prior to the assembling of Parliament, the House had found it necessary to pass an act, putting down the body called the Catholic Association, and also to institute an inquiry, by both branches of the legislature, into the state of that country

generally. Now, even had he been favourable to the concession of the Catholic claims, he should certainly, under such circumstances, have thought it right to wait the result of that inquiry so instituted, and, at all events, legislate only upon a full investigation of the subjects; but the bill was brought in without waiting one-moment for intelligence. Nor was it the mere bill before the House that was to be brought forward: two others were devised, got up with equal haste and want of consideration; some of the provisions of which might go, perhaps, to alleviate the evils belonging to the main measure, but others of them seemed no less likely to increase it. Why, then, it was not one measure of change that was proposed, but three; and where were they, on what was each to depend, and what was their connexion? What was it expected the House of Lords should do? The House of Commons put them in this condition—it sent up a bill which they knew not how to act by,—having purchased a majority for that bill below, by the introduction of other measures. As far as his opinion went, perhaps this question, however, was one of slight consideration; for he detested, from the very bottom of his heart, the bill already in the House. A great part of it he took to be nonsense; some of it was even rather worse. The least objectionable part of the bill, as he thought, was the concessions which it proposed making to the Catholics; for upon that subject he would be content to put one short question to the House—would they relieve the Catholic from disabilities under which he laboured, or would they not?—and if they replied in the affirmative, then he would engage to draw a bill for the purpose in half an hour, which should not be liable to a tenth part of the objections, which applied to that now upon the table. In short, the simple question

as to the great measure seemed to him to be—would the House, or would it not, remove the Catholic disabilities? The noble Lords opposite maintained that it was fitting to grant the concessions demanded, because the Catholics of this country and Ireland ought and were entitled to enjoy equal civil rights and immunities at all points with their Protestant brethren. He said that the Catholics were not entitled to equal rights in a Protestant country, and that opinion he would sustain. Upon some points he had been favourable to the Catholics; he did not know but that there were others upon which he might still be so; but upon the broad principle, that they were entitled to equal rights, he and their friends were at direct issue. He admitted—no man could dream of denying it—that all subjects in a free state were entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights upon equal conditions; but then the qualification of that principle in the case of the Catholics was clear: the Catholics, who demanded those equal rights, did not afford equal conditions. The difference was this—the Protestant gave an entire allegiance to his Sovereign, the Catholic a divided one. The service of the first was complete, that of the last only qualified; and unless it could be proved that a half was equal to the whole, he should not be convinced of the truth of the Catholic proposition. It had been denied that the appointment of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland was in the discretion of the Pope! It was true that the Pope had been in the habit of attending, in his appointment, to the nomination or recommendation of the church of Ireland; but this was matter of mere courtesy or hazard; the power was distinctly in himself, and if he thought fit to appoint a foreigner—nay, the foreigner of all Europe most obnoxious to the government of the country—that foreigner would be and

must continue a Catholic bishop of Ireland. This fact had notoriously come out beyond dispute,—during the lives of some of the later Princes of the Stuart family, the Pope had been in the habit of appointing Irish Roman Catholic bishops at their nomination. He might now appoint in the same way upon the nomination of France or Spain; and the individual so constituted would proceed to exercise influence, and most extensive temporal influence, within the British territories. Immediate danger, indeed, he apprehended none; but when could the Established Church appear more secure than it had seemed at the restoration of Charles II. ? and within twenty years it was seen threatened with total destruction by the machinations of a Popish prince. Seeing where the appointments of the heads of the Roman Catholic church lay in Ireland, it was impossible not to advert to the power—the temporal, the practical power—exercised throughout that country by the priesthood. The system of confession—the right of demanding it, for the act was not left to the will of the individual confessing—that device rendered the clergy masters of all the secrets of the community. The extent to which some of the doctrines connected with this arrangement were carried, he had absolutely entertained no idea of, until after the appointment of the late committee. He had believed always that the priest receiving confession was bound to secrecy, as to crimes previously committed; but he had never suspected that which was absolutely the fact—that the priest was equally bound to secrecy in the case of crimes intended to be committed. Thus a Catholic clergyman discovering, in confession, that there was a conspiracy on foot to blow up both Houses of Parliament, would not be justified in making known the fact. To take a simpler instance, if a man came to a place

at which there were two roads, and a priest knew that if he took the right hand he would be murdered, and that by the left he might be saved—knowing this, he would be guilty of a dereliction of duty if he gave that man even a hint which might preserve his life. Differences such as these in tenet and in feeling must of necessity prevent the Catholic and the Protestant from amalgamating. With respect to education, there was scarcely any possible mode by which Catholics and Protestants could unite in one and the same system. We had not any of this difficulty with other dissenters; for, whatever were their shades of difference from us, both had the same foundation to build upon: with the Catholics it was otherwise; and of the natural result it was impossible to get rid. In the same way upon another point—the marriages between Protestants and Catholics. . It was allowed by Dr Murray that marriages between Catholic and Protestant were altogether discouraged; and that they were not permitted at all, except upon an undertaking that the children should be all brought up in the Catholic faith. Then, if there could neither be intermarriage, education in common, or any other description of domestic bond between the Protestants and the Catholics, how was it possible that really kind feeling between the followers of the two persuasions could exist? The fault was not the fault of the Established Church; it was in the bigotry and intolerant spirit of the Roman Catholic religion. He repeated, that it was his wish to look at the question, not theologically, but as a question of convenience; but a part of that very question of convenience must depend upon the degree of influence exercised by the Catholic priesthood, and on the species of influence which the tenets of the Catholic faith put into their hands. The sentence of excommunication amounted to

this—to give a crust of bread or a cup of cold water to the proscribed party, though he were perishing for want, was a punishable crime. Many, no doubt, there were among the Catholic priesthood, most virtuous and deserving men, but among so large a body there could not fail to be some of a very different character; and yet these men generally—it was stated in the evidence before the House—had more authority over the peasantry than their landlords. Now, what were the evils which they had to apprehend? He might in fairness require the supporters of this measure to prove, before allowing this alteration, that there would be no evil. He would not ask so much from them: he only required them to show him the benefit of conceding. If all the evils which had been pointed out were really to be expected, then the advantages promised were out of the question. He held, their Lordships held, all the bills held, that a Protestant succession was the foundation of our constitutional system. He would say, that if these measures should pass, the Protestant succession would not be worth a farthing. Much had been said of rights—indefeasible and natural rights. The state was Protestant essentially, the crown was to be Protestant, and the successors to the throne must take to the same faith. But were they to be the only persons so limited? He would speak of a king's rights here in the same sense, and no other, as that in which he would argue for the rights of a peasant. Was it not hard upon the King and the heirs to the throne, that they must be bound to the Protestant faith, while the Chief Justice, the Ministers and Secretaries of State, might be Roman Catholics? Why was this? Where was the danger in having a Popish king or a Popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the Pope? He thought there was less danger in a Popish chan-

cellor, who might be removed at pleasure, than in a Popish chief justice, who would hold the administration of the criminal law in his control, and could only be removed by a peculiar process of laws in case of his dereliction. He looked with apprehension to the danger to the church establishment. He might be told to quiet his fears by looking to the evidence. He might believe in the sincerity of those who gave that evidence, who disowned any intention of laying hold of the property of the Established Church. He would give them that admission for the sake of putting another question to them, "But you would diminish that property if you could?" "Oh, most undoubtedly I would; but I would do that as an Irishman, not as a Roman Catholic." Was any man so blind as not to see—was any man so deaf as not to hear and understand, to what this amounted? "We take the property from the church! No; we would give the country a part of that property if we could; well knowing that if the church loses her property, she must also lose in consequence, and thereby we must be gainers." They would diminish the property of the church to reduce her power and destroy her influence. They must have this feeling—it was their duty, their religion, their oath, their everything, to destroy the Protestant church. Circumstances might or might not aid them; but they must do it with that view, whether by diminishing the property or the influence of the establishment. The bill was to bind "all his Majesty's peaceful and faithful subjects, so as they may grow into one nation, to the utter oblivion of all former dissensions and discord." Would it have this effect? or did it not rather leave both parties just where they were, with the exception of granting new powers to the Roman Catholics? Would there not be fresh occasion of discord—new opportunities,

and many additional points to contend for? The disturbed state of Ireland had nothing to do with the Catholic disabilities: this was proved by the evidence. In the province of Ulster, which was the seat of religious dissension, the Insurrection Act had not been in force for twenty-five years, while in many places it had been in force where religious dissension had long ceased to exist. He admitted the evils of absenteeism in the general account, but they had nothing to do with the disabilities. It was argued as if the Catholics were deprived of all civil rights and privileges; whereas they enjoyed more rights and privileges than the subjects of any other Christian prince. It had been said the bill would be a great boon to them. How that could be was not quite so clear, when it went to give places to about forty individuals, on the condition of disfranchising 500,000 electors. He entreated their Lordships, to consider that Great Britain had now enjoyed one hundred and thirty years of religious peace, which were preceded by one hundred and sixty years of religious convulsion. The policy of the present day was opening advantages to society which had been withheld by the restrictions of former laws. To this policy the Roman Catholic religion was directly opposed. They had the advantages of experience, and they were bound in reason, policy, and justice, to persevere in their course.

The Earl of Harrowby admitted that many evils had arisen from deluded persons of the Roman Catholic faith, dividing their allegiance, and acting against the power to which they professed temporal submission. But would that be prevented by continuing their disabilities? The answer was contained in the fact that it had not prevented it. Then would they punish those people for an error in logic only? He admitted that the allegiance

which was paid to the altar and the throne of the country was the most perfect; but could they obtain a more perfect allegiance by the exclusion? And ought they not to consider the allegiance offered as a sufficient allegiance for all the ordinary purposes of civil obedience? A distinction had been drawn between the allegiance which Roman Catholics were induced to hold with respect to Roman Catholic governments, and that which they entertained with respect to governments where the religion was different. But this distinction had been contradicted in direct terms by the Catholic church. It had been clearly stated, that the members of that church were bound by the obligation of an oath, no matter under what government it was taken. Lord Liverpool had alluded to the rite of confession, as one of the strongest proofs that the Roman Catholic could not, speaking in the strictest sense, be a safe or a good subject under a Protestant government. He (Lord Harrowby) admitted, that under the practice of the Roman Catholic church, a priest might be informed of an intention to commit murder, and yet feel himself debarred from giving to the individual that was threatened the necessary warning. This, he allowed, was monstrous. But the question was, in what way this monstrous doctrine of the Church of Rome prevented Catholics from being good subjects of a Protestant king? If a priest heard from one of his flock, that he was engaged in a plan to overturn the government, and that he concealed his knowledge of the fact, it would be something like misprision of treason. But he begged leave to ask, would the government, in that case, be in any greater danger than if no such ceremony as that of confession existed? Certainly not. Therefore he must say, that there really was nothing in this argument. It had been asserted that, if they agreed



to this measure, it would lead the way to an attack on the property of the Church in Ireland. Such an attack would also be an attack on the property of the Church in England, and on the possessions of the landholders of Ireland and England. This being the fact, could any one suppose that such an effort, supposing it to be made, would have the slightest chance of succeeding? He differed from those who thought that rebellion would follow the rejection of this measure. He was sure the people of Ireland felt that such a step would render their situation worse, not better. But it was quite evident, that the mere apprehension of such a state of things would necessarily keep in active employment a considerable portion of the disposable force of this country, to guard against the threatened danger.

The Lord Chancellor said, that from the period of the Union with Ireland, he never heard of this question being brought forward, without mention being made of ample security for the Protestant Church and Protestant Establishment. It had been his duty, from many circumstances, not to separate himself from the minister who conducted the affairs of government at the period of the Union, on account of certain differences of opinion. That minister was favourable to the Roman Catholic claims; and he had often asked him what were those securities which he intended to propose, and without which he had declared he would not agree to the measure of emancipation? But notwithstanding all his inquiries, he never could find what those securities were. It was said that the jurisdiction of the Pope in this country, as acknowledged by the Roman Catholics, was merely spiritual; but he could not bring his mind to understand what was meant by merely spiritual jurisdiction. If two Catholics here were married by a Protestant cler-

gyman, the Pope would force them to live asunder, and the common law would oblige them to live together. Now, was that not exercising a temporal jurisdiction? He did not think that in the discussion here or elsewhere, the question had been as largely put as it ought. They could not refuse to English Catholics what they granted to the Irish; they would be bound to put the other Dissenters in this country on an equal footing with the Catholics: so that it would ultimately come to this—that all the bulwarks and fences which their ancestors had provided for the safety of the Protestant Church would turn out to be wholly useless. As to the measure for giving salaries and stipends to the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, could their Lordships refuse them in that case to clerical persons of other persuasions? and if they granted them in Ireland, they could not refuse to support a similar hierarchy in England. If they give this stipend to the Catholic hierarchy, they must give something more than the morsel called *regium donum* to their dissenting brethren. He should be sorry to say that the House of Commons did not represent the sense of the people; but he well recollected, that when the East India bill was introduced into the House of Commons, and petition after petition poured in against it, it was said that the House, and not the petitions, spoke the sense of the people: however a general election succeeded; the House, in consequence, became differently constructed, and the sense of the people proved it to be a perfect illusion. With these few observations, which had been very imperfectly expressed, he would conclude.

The House then divided; and the numbers were—for the bill, 84 votes and 46 proxies, total 130; against it, 113 votes and 65 proxies, total 178; so that the bill was lost by a majority

of 29 out of 197 Peers who were present, and of 19 of those who had delegated their suffrages—in all by a majority of 48.

The decision of both Houses of Parliament upon this question, even though there was a majority in the Lower House in favour of the Catholics, must be considered as most unpropitious to their cause. In 1811, the question was carried in the Commons by a majority of 129, and in the Lords was lost only by a majority of 1. In 1821, the majority in the Commons had fallen to 90, and that in the Lords had risen to 38. This year there was a still more appalling decrease of the majority of the one House, and increase of the majority in the other. To what is this great falling off in the support given to the Catholic cause to be ascribed? We are entitled to say, that during this session, the people of England manifested an unwonted indifference to the result of the question; for we attach little consideration to the numerous anti-Catholic petitions which were poured in upon both Houses, as these emanated chiefly from small corporations, more or less subject to anti-Catholic influence, or were got up by the address and activity of the Methodists; while every attempt made to raise the No Popery cry in populous towns, or at popular meetings, was signally discomfited. We are inclined to impute the decided declension of the Catholic cause, this session, *first*, to the most offensive proceedings of the Catholic Association; *second*, to the revival, in several continental kingdoms, of the ancient alliance between despotism and Popery; *third*, to the question having been brought forward by Sir F. Burdett, the violence of whose early politics,

must necessarily, in the minds of many, notwithstanding the sincerity and uprightness of his character, cast suspicion upon any measure, having in view a change in the institutions of the country, which comes chiefly recommended by him; and, *fourth*, to the emphatic, and, we may add, very unconstitutional declaration made by the heir presumptive, in his place in the House of Lords, with regard to this question. But, with regard to the *gradual* decline of this question, since the year 1811, we consider its main cause to be, that then this country was involved in war with active and formidable foes; whilst in 1821, as well as in 1825, it enjoyed the most profound peace, with no prospect of that being speedily disturbed. We treat with contempt the assertion, that Britain has never made, and never will make, a concession to Ireland, but through the influence of terror. But, without being suspected of fear, legislators may be supposed to regard the suggestions of prudence; and we can believe that the danger, in time of war, of continuing the great mass of the Irish, alienated from and disaffected to the constitution and the government, may have outweighed, in the minds of many of our senators, all the dangers to be apprehended from yielding to their demands. If, however, it appeared that the Catholic cause had lost ground with the British members of Parliament, it was no less certain that it had advanced greatly in the good opinion of those from Ireland, many of whom, particularly Mr Brownlow, renouncing their Orange prejudices, gave to it their most cordial support; and thus it acquired a moral accession of strength more than sufficient to compensate hereafter for the numerical loss it had sustained.

## CHAPTER IV.

## FINANCE.

So entirely had the Chancellor of the Exchequer won the confidence of the public by the sincerity of his professions, and the corresponding lucidness of his details; so many unequivocal proofs had he given of his desire to alleviate the public burdens, and of his belief in a doctrine which had been promulgated so early as the days of Swift, but which, during the late war, like many other well-established doctrines, Necessity had shoved aside to make room for temporary expedients, namely that "in political arithmetic, two and two do not make four;" and so successful hitherto had been his policy of encreasing the revenue by diminishing taxes—those especially which pressed most heavily upon the national industry, or, in other words, of adding to the sum of national wealth, (which it is of the nature of excessive taxation to corrode, and partly to expel from the kingdom,) as the only sure and permanent source of such a prodigious revenue as is demanded by the necessities of the state; that his financial exposes have always been looked forward to by the public (unlike those of his predecessors) with hope and pleasing anticipations.

The preceding year had been one of great commercial prosperity; it had been understood, that notwithstanding

the fiscal reductions which commenced to operate in that year, there was a considerable surplus revenue, much beyond what the Chancellor himself had calculated; and, as he had always shown himself decidedly hostile to direct taxation, when to reduce it did not interfere with his favourite policy of reducing that which more immediately cramped the energies of trade, a very general expectation was entertained that he would apply his pruning-knife to the assessed taxes, which, as being most sensibly felt, were most impatiently borne, and most declaimed against by that part of the press which finds its interest in making choice of the most popular topics. In expecting this, the public, always over sanguine, expected too much, but they were not doomed to total disappointment.

On 28th February, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that no one could review the financial state of the nation without seeing portrayed in legible characters the course of policy which it was their duty to pursue, if they wished to consolidate their own prosperity, and promote the happiness of mankind. Last session he had assumed, that at the expiration of

1824 there would be a clear surplus of about 1,050,000*l.*; and upon that assumption the House carrying its views forward to the end of the year 1827, proceeded to make a reduction in our taxes to the amount of no less than 1,260,000*l.*, of which sum he calculated that the revenue would in that year lose about one half, or 630,000*l.*; so that if, at the end of the year, the surplus had been 420,000*l.*, his estimate would have been realised, and no expectation disappointed. It was, however, with no ordinary satisfaction that he had to state, that notwithstanding the reduction then made, and notwithstanding that a more immediate effect was given to that reduction, and greater loss consequently sustained than had originally been contemplated, the actual surplus of the year was 1,437,744*l.*—greatly exceeding not only what would have been sufficient to realise his estimate, but exceeding even that surplus which he had thought himself authorised to expect, independent of any subsequent diminution of the taxes (hear, hear.)—He would now advert to some details of the case, and make some observations upon the different branches of the revenue in which this increase had taken place. And first as to the customs. The receipt under this head, he had estimated at 11,550,000*l.*; 900,000*l.* of the customs had been repealed; and, in consequence of the bounties paid to persons holding stocks of silk, the loss to the revenue had been equal to that 900,000*l.*; but still the actual receipt of the customs had been 11,327,000*l.*; and even this sum would have been increased to 11,787,000*l.*, had it not been for the bounties paid to the holders of silk: so that the total increase on the customs had been 267,000*l.* more than the estimate. In the excise again, which he had estimated to produce 25,625,000*l.*, the receipts had been 26,768,000*l.*, which was an increase of 1,143,000*l.* The stamps had been as-

sumed to produce 6,800,000*l.* but they had produced 7,244,000*l.*, being an increase of 444,000*l.* The post-office had been estimated at 1,460,000*l.*, but it had produced 1,520,000*l.*, being an increase of 60,000*l.* Now, nothing more could be clearer evidence of the prosperity of the country than those increases. They showed that every branch of trade had been improving. In estimating the revenue for 1825, he would take the customs at 11,350,000*l.*; the excise at 26,400,000*l.*; the stamps at 7,100,000*l.*; the assessed taxes and land-tax at 4,875,000*l.*; the post-office at 1,500,000*l.*; the miscellaneous department at 750,000*l.*; and the revenues from the trustees of the half-pay, at 4,470,370*l.*;—making a total estimated revenue of 56,444,375*l.* Against this revenue was to be placed the estimate of the expenditure under the two branches of the consolidated fund, and the supply for the services of the year. In estimating the first there would be, for interest of debt, 27,233,670*l.*; for interest of Exchequer bills, 40,000*l.*; for the civil list, 2,050,000*l.*; for the half-pay annuities, 2,800,000*l.*; and for the sinking fund, 5,486,654*l.*; making the whole charge on the consolidated fund, 37,610,324*l.* In estimating the supply, there would be, for interest on Exchequer bills, 820,000*l.*; for the army, including the training and clothing of the militia, 7,911,751*l.*; for the navy, 5,983,126*l.*; for the ordnance, 1,376,641*l.*; and for the miscellaneous services, including a sum of about 250,000*l.* to be paid to America as a compensation for slaves under treaty, 2,300,000*l.*; making the whole sum to be voted for the supply, 18,371,518*l.* Putting all these together, the whole estimated expenditure of the year would be 56,001,842*l.*, which deducted from the 56,445,370*l.* of estimated income, would leave a surplus of 443,528*l.* The Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to estimate the surplus which would

arise from 1824 to 1827 inclusive, namely, 1,437,744*l.* for 1824; 443,528*l.* for 1825; 864,676*l.* for 1826; and 1,254,676*l.* for 1827; being in all 4,000,624*l.* In the disposal of this surplus, he had three objects in view: first, to extend the commerce of the country, by giving facility to the consumption of foreign produce; secondly, the carrying of further attempts for the extermination of smuggling; and, thirdly, the remission of a portion of direct taxes, provided he was not driven by that to an abandonment of the two other points, which he considered of much more importance to the general interests of the country, than the remission of direct taxes. In regard to the first point, namely, the extension of our foreign trade, the House had already admitted the soundness of his principles, in getting rid of many of those prohibitory duties which had so long fettered it. It would be unnecessary for him to go into a detail of all the articles upon which the very high, and from that circumstance, often prohibitory duties, ought to be withdrawn. There was one, however, upon which a reduction was particularly required—foreign iron; the price of this article had risen to such an enormous height,—not from any new speculation, but from the increased and increasing prosperity and trade of this and of other countries; and so inadequate was the supply to the demand, that there were in Sheffield and Birmingham, at this very moment, many foreign orders which could not be executed; several of these had been withdrawn and sent to other countries, where they could be executed, not indeed so well as here, but at a considerably lower rate. He would, therefore, propose that the present duty of 7*l.* per ton, should be reduced to 1*l.* 10*s.*; which he had no doubt would make a considerable addition to the revenue. This reduction should, however, only extend to those states who were dispo-

sed to deal with us on the same liberal footing. There was another article, hemp, which was of great consequence to a very important class in this country, the shipping interest, and on which the duty was so high, as to have a prohibitory effect. He would, therefore, propose a reduction of 50 per cent on the present duty, namely, from one penny to one halfpenny in the pound. The next article on which he would propose a reduction of duty was coffee, the consumption of which had greatly diminished of late years, by the increase of the duty. This article was produced with much less labour than many others by our West India planters; and in order to renew the consumption of it in this country, and give encouragement to its production in our own colonies, he would propose the reduction of the present duty from 1*s.* to 6*d.* in the pound, which would probably cause a loss to the revenue of 150,000*l.* The next article which called for immediate attention was foreign wine,—the consumption of which had continued to decrease in exact proportion to the increase of duty; and as the capability of those nations who supplied us with that article, to purchase our manufactures, had consequently diminished, he knew of no better remedy for this state of things, than a reduction of the duty; the duty on French wines he would reduce from 11*s.* 5*d.* per gallon to 6*s.*; and that on Portugal, Spanish, and Rhenish wines, which was 7*s.* 7*d.*, to 4*s.*; a reduction in both cases of nearly 50 per cent, and which would probably cause a loss to the revenue of 230,000*l.* In the second place, in order to prevent smuggling, it must be evident to every one, that the duties must be reduced so as to take away every incentive to this daring enterprise; every enactment, however severe, had failed, and he was certain would in all cases fail, in preventing it, while the duties were so high as to afford a prospect

of gain. He would, therefore, propose that the House should adopt the same line of policy which had succeeded so well in Ireland and Scotland, and allow whisky to be imported into England in the same way as it was permitted to be sold in these two countries. The present duty was 10s. 6d. per gallon on all British spirits, which he would reduce to 5s. per gallon on all spirits distilled from malt, and to 6s. on those distilled from grain. On the same principle, he would propose to reduce the duty on rum, which was at present 10s. 6d. per gallon, at proof, to 8s.; and permit whisky to be made from grain in our colonial possessions, and to be sent here either for the purpose of being rectified, or of being sold as whisky. The loss which would thus arise to the revenue, he estimated at 750,000*l*. There was another article, small in amount, and local in point of consumption, but which was of peculiar importance, from the violations of law, and consequent incarcerations to which it gave rise. He alluded to cider, the duty on which was at present 30s. per hogshead. This duty he would have willingly reduced to 10s.; but the parties most interested in the question had fixed on 15s. as a proper rate; and he would, therefore, propose that their wishes should be acceded to. The loss to the revenue in this department would probably amount to 15,000*l*. He had no objection to reduce it to 10s., by which the revenue would not lose more than 20,000*l*., while a great, though a local, incentive to smuggling would be got rid of. With regard to the third point, that of the reduction of direct taxes, he felt it necessary, in consequence of the number of petitions which had been presented upon that subject, and the opinions which several members had expressed concerning them, to satisfy the House that the course which he had adopted was one of which those

petitioners ought not to complain. He was sure that no man would deny that, to put an end to a great moral evil like smuggling, would confer a benefit upon all, from the highest to the lowest; and if there were among the petitioners for relief from those direct taxes, men of distinguished rank and station, then he would say to them that, if they preferred their own petty interests before the paramount interests of the empire, they would be acting a part unworthy of themselves and their ancestors, and be forfeiting the high character which had always hitherto belonged to English gentlemen. The principles which Parliament had, with such happy results, carried into effect in this country, could not be so speedily carried into effect in Ireland. The misfortunes of that country were numerous, deeply seated, springing from many roots, and perhaps not easily to be eradicated. Nothing would contribute more to this purpose, than to give Ireland facilities for intercourse with other countries, and to induce capital to find its way thither.

In the removal of those taxes, he was prepared to do something which, though it might not confer any benefits upon the more wealthy members of society, would be beneficial to the poorest. In the first place he proposed to remove the duty from four-wheeled carriages drawn by ponies; this would cost 857*l*. Next was the tax upon occasional waiters, amounting to 1343*l*.; Coachmakers' licenses, 354*l*.; Carriages sold by auction or on commission, 3391*l*.; Mules employed in carrying ore, 137*l*.; on houses, which were vacated after the beginning of the year, 5000*l*.; on untenanted houses, 4000*l*.; on an additional window in dairies, 1000*l*.; on farm-houses, occupied by labourers, 1000*l*.; on husbandry servants, occasionally occupied as grooms, 2000*l*.; on husbandry horses, let to hire, 4000*l*.; on taxed carts, 18,913*l*.; on houses

under 10*l.* rent the whole of the inhabited house duty, and the whole window duty on houses not having more than seven, 235,000*l.* The total amount of these thirteen items would cost the revenue only about 276,995*l.*, but they were items which were exceedingly vexatious in the collection, and therefore it was advisable to get rid of them.

This statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was delivered at great length and with much perspicuity, was received by the House with a strong feeling of approbation.

We shall not give in detail the various debates which ensued upon moving votes for the supplies of the year; but proceed to notice the supplies voted, under their several heads, and the opposition offered to some of the items.

#### *For the Navy.*

1. Pay of 29,000 men, including 9000 marines for the sea service, for thirteen lunar months, at 2*l.* per man per month, 923,650*l.*; 2. For victualling the same, at 1*l.* 12*s.* per man per month, 603,200*l.*; 3. Wear and tear of ships, 320,450*l.*; 4. Ordinance for sea

service, 94,250*l.*; 5. Admiralty Office, 54,886*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*; 6. Navy Pay Office, 29,633*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; 7. Navy Office, 56,760*l.* 15*s.*; 8. Victualling Office, 33,977*l.* 10*s.*; 9. Dock-yards at home (salaries,) 157,176*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*; 10. Dock-yards (wages,) 560,000*l.*; 11. Dock-yards (stores,) 538,306*l.*; 12. Pilotage, &c., 40,000*l.*; 13. Foreign yards, 52,022*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*; 14. Salaries of officers in victualling yards, 73,572*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*; 15. Medical establishments, 55,510*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*; 16. Naval College, &c., 6252*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*; 17. Wages of men, &c., 106,027*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; 18. Victuals to men, &c., 54,787*l.* 4*s.*; 19. Packets, 40,480*l.*; 20. Half-pay to naval officers, 897,500*l.*; 21. Superannuations and pensions, 131,692*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; 22. Chaplains, 1500*l.*; 23. Compassionate list, 7000*l.*; 24. Widows of officers, 90,000*l.*; 25. Out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, 260,000*l.*; 26. Superannuations to commissioners, &c., 168,503*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*; 27. Repairs and improvements in Dock-yards, 182,688*l.*; 28. Provisions for foreign stations, and convict service, 255,000*l.*; 29. Transport service, 188,300*l.*

Total grant for the Navy	£5,983,126 17 10
Of which,	
For establishments	464,271 1 6
For dock-yards and repairs	1,320,994 0 0
For half-pay and pensions	1,554,696 11 4
For actual service	2,643,165 5 0
	£5,983,126 17 10

#### *For the Army.*

The total number of troops, including the veteran battalions, but exclusive of the regiments abroad in the territories of the East India Company, consisted at the opening of the session, of 5834 horses, 62,556 rank and file, and 9629 officers; to which it was proposed to add 15,271 rank

and file, and 646 officers, which, together with 184 rank and file and 273 officers recruiting at home for the regiments in India, made a total for the year of 5843 horses, 76,345 rank and file, and 10,548 officers; and adding to this 2804 horses, 22,610 rank and file, and 3992 officers in the territories of the East India Company, and paid in greater part by that Company, ma-

king a grand total of 8638 horses 98,965 rank and file and 13,540 officers—in all, 112,505 men, exclusive of militia, yeomanry, and volunteers, and others, which raised the amount to about 257,496.

The supply voted for this armament was :

1. Land forces, Britain, 2,231,435*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; Ireland, 831,555*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; total, 3,062,990*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*; 2. Staff, Britain, 93,270*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*; Ireland, 24,581*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; total, 117,851*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*; 3. Public departments, 116,470*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; 4. Medicines, Britain, 13,270*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; Ireland, 5188*l.* 17*s.*; total, 18,459*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; 5. Volunteer corps, Britain, 128,000*l.*; Ireland, 19,305*l.* 12*s.*; total, 147,305*l.* 12*s.*; Recruiting for regiments in India, 27,338*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*; 7. Royal Military College, 13,189*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* [On this resolution of the Committee being read a second time, Mr Hume moved as an amendment, that the sum of 13,189*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* be left out, and the sum of 10,000*l.* inserted instead thereof. The amendment was rejected.] 8. Army pay of general officers, 151,522*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*; 9. Garrisons, Britain, 29,832*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*; Ireland, 5,491*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*; total, 35,323*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; 10. Full pay for retired officers, 131,000*l.*; 11. Half-pay and military allowances, 800,048*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; 12. Foreign half-pay, 109,710*l.*; 13. In-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, 45,972*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; 14. Out-pensioners of Chelsea, 1,240,913*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*; 15. Royal Military Asylum, 24,834*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; 16. Widows' pensions, 135,369*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; 17. Compassionate list, 168,608*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*; 18. Superannuation allowances, 49,996*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*; 19. Exchequer fees, 33,000*l.* 20. Veteran battalions, Britain, 9,657*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*; Ireland, 17,984*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*; total, 27,642*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*; 21. Extraordinaries, 620,000*l.*

• Total granted for the army for 1825, Britain, 6,170,675*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*; Ireland,

9,21,872*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*; India, 27,338*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*; amounting in the whole to 7,095,547*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

Upon the motion for the second reading of the resolutions authorising those grants, Mr Hume moved as an amendment, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is not necessary, in a time of profound peace, to maintain for the service of the current year the number of 86,438 regular land forces—exclusive of those for India, and also, exclusive of 9000 royal marines, of about 9700 royal artillery and engineers, of 53,258 enrolled militia, yeomanry, and volunteers in Ireland, of 55,000 militia and 43,000 yeomanry and volunteers in England, and of 3000 veterans, making in the whole, 257,496 men actually in arms or ready to be called out, if necessary, exclusive of about 4000 colonial troops at Ceylon and in Africa." The House divided on this amendment: for it eight, against it one hundred and two—majority, ninety-four.

#### *For the Ordnance, Barrack, and Commissariat Departments.*

1. For salaries in the Tower and Pall Mall, 48,948*l.*; 2. For salaries at the Royal Laboratory, the inspector of Artillery's department, and repository at Woolwich, 7219*l.*; 3. For salaries at the civil establishments, at home and abroad, of the office of ordnance, 35,490*l.*; 4. For expenses of gunners and coal and candles in garrisons and batteries, &c., 4165*l.*; 5. For the royal engineers, sappers, and miners, &c., 73,065*l.*; 6. For the royal regiment of artillery, 241,289*l.*; 7. For the brigade of royal horse artillery and a rocket and riding-house troop, 29,912*l.*; 8. For the director-general of the field train and field-train department, 1818*l.*; 9. For the medical establishment of the Ordnance, 7215*l.*; 10. For the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, 4407*l.*; 11. For defraying the extraordinaries of



the office of Ordnance, 51,933*l.*; 12. For services performed by the office of Ordnance, for land service in 1824, 4592*l.*; 13. For the office of Ordnance in Ireland, 102,315*l.*; 14. For allowances and superannuations to officers, men, widows, and children, 301,948*l.*; 15. For superannuated allowances to persons formerly in the Ordnance Of-

fice, and widows' pensions, 47,860*l.*; 16. For the Ordnance barrack department in Britain, 104,831*l.*; 17. For ditto in Ireland, 132,277*l.*; 18. For the commissariat store branch of the Ordnance Office, 175,725*l.*; 19. For expenses at Treasury and Exchequer, Ordnance estimates, &c., 1632*l.*

Total grant for these departments	L.1,376,641
Of which,	
For the Ordnance	L.962,176
For barracks, Great Britain	104,831
For ditto, Ireland	132,277
For Commissariat of Stores, Great Britain	139,455
For ditto, Ireland	36,270
Exchequer fees	1,632
Total	L.1,376,641
Deduct pensions and superannuations	369,873
And Exchequer fees	1,632
Sum required for the effective	L.1,005,136
The total sum required for the army and navy will thus amount to	L.14,355,315 10 2
To which may be added the charge for the disembodied militia, Great Britain	303,459 1 6
Ditto, ditto, Ireland	94,207 13 6
Commissariat department	369,014 8 3
For the whole armament	L.15,121,996 13 5

*For the Miscellaneous Services in Great Britain.*

For salaries to officers of both Houses of Parliament, 27,630*l.*; for the expenses of ditto, 16,572*l.*; for making good the deficiency of the fee-fund in different departments, 93,879*l.*; for contingencies and messengers' bills in different offices, 68,634*l.*; for compensation to commissioners of revenue in Ireland, &c., 5200*l.*; for salaries to officers in the Exchequer, &c. 5351*l.*; for salaries to professors in Oxford and Cambridge, 1058*l.*; for salaries to commissioners of Insolvent Debtors' Court, 16,740*l.*; for the salaries and expenses of the Alien Office, 4872*l.*; for the Penitentiary House at Milbank, 20,000*l.*; for superannuations in public offices, 12,124*l.* 16*s.*

8*d.*; for emigrants of different nations, 16,120*l.*; for the National Vaccine Establishment, 3000*l.*; for the Refuge of the Destitute, 5000*l.*; for the relief of the American loyalists, 6300*l.*; for maintaining criminal lunatics, 3306*l.* 10*s.*; for allowances to Protestant Dissenting ministers, refugee clergy, and laity, 6312*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; for the foreign and secret service, 56,000*l.*; for expense of acts of parliament, bills, &c. 99,169*l.*; for printing the records of the kingdom, 10,371*l.*; for stationary, printing, &c. in the several departments of government, 96,240*l.*; for the expenses of the Mint in the gold coinage, 34,000*l.*; for the loss upon Irish silver tokens, 52,000*l.*; for coin prosecutions, 6000*l.*; for fittings and furniture of two Houses of Parliament, 4800*l.*; for the expense of

law charges, 12,000*l.*; for the expense of convicts at home and at Bermuda, 78,147*l.*; for bills under the act for the abolishing of the slave trade, &c. 45,000*l.*; for salaries and expenses of commissioners to prevent illegal traffic in slaves, 17,425*l.*; for expenses of special commissioners to Spanish America, 30,000*l.*; for salaries of consuls in ditto, 35,000*l.*; for bills drawn from New South Wales, 120,000*l.*; for the Civil Establishment of the Bahama Islands, 3477*l.*; for ditto of Dominica, 600*l.*; for ditto of Upper Canada, 8229*l.*; for ditto of Nova Scotia, 9660*l.*; for ditto of New Brunswick, 5194*l.*; for ditto of Prince of Wales' Island, 3010*l.* 10*s.*; for ditto of Sierra Leone, 16,513*l.*; for ditto of Newfoundland, 11,081*l.*; for ditto of New South Wales, 23,934*l.*; for the Civil and Military establishments of the African forts, 45,930*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*; for certain colonial services, formerly included in the Army Extraordinaries, 2442*l.* 10*s.*; for the charges of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in different parts, 15,532*l.*; for purchasing Mr Riche's collection for the British Museum, 7500*l.*; for the expenses of works and repairs of public buildings, 40,000*l.*; for works at the College of Edinburgh, 10,000*l.*; for works at Port Patrick harbour, 15,990*l.*; for works at Donaghadee harbour, 19,130*l.*; for works at Kingston, 45,000*l.*; for buildings at the British Museum, 40,000*l.*; for rebuilding the Privy Council Office, and completing the office of the Privy Council for Trade, 18,000*l.*; for repairs and works at Windsor Castle, 80,000*l.*; for discharging Exchequer bills on public works and fisheries, 418,800*l.*; for grant to Mr M'Adam, 2000*l.*; to Mr Brogden, as chairman of the committees of the House of Commons, 1200*l.*; to the Speaker's secretary such a sum as will amount with the fees of his office to 400*l.*; to

Sir T. E. Tomkins, for compiling registers on expired and expiring laws, 75*l.*; to John Rickman for forming an Index to twenty volumes of the Journals, 9600*l.*; to Mr B. Spiller for incorporating Indexes of the subsequent volumes, 580*l.*; for repairs to the Cobb at Lyme Regis, 18,000*l.*; for indemnifying proprietors of slaves in the United States of America, 200,000*l.*; for facilitating emigration from the South of Ireland to the Canadas, 30,000*l.*; for compensation to the commissioners of education in Ireland, 8000*l.*; for the expense of the Police and Watch Establishment in Dublin, 26,000*l.*; for the expenses of the roads and harbours of Holyhead and Howth, 27,871*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; for grants to the Duke of Cumberland and Duchess of Kent, 12,000*l.*—Amounting, in the whole, to 2,183,498*l.* for miscellaneous services; to which may be added, the charge of CIVIL CONTINGENCIES, 160,000*l.*; and the interest on EXCHEQUER BILLS, 820,000*l.* Total for Great Britain, 3,163,498*l.*

#### *Miscellaneous Services in Ireland.*

For expense of Protestant Charter Schools, 15,615*l.*; for the Society for Discountenancing Vice, 5106*l.*; for the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, 20,000*l.*; for the Foundling Hospital in Dublin, 24,478*l.*; for the House of Industry, Hospitals, and Asylums for industrious children, 19,750*l.*; for Richmond Lunatic Asylum, 5640*l.*; for the Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children, 7500*l.*; for the Hibernian Marine Society, 1600*l.*; for the Female Orphan House in Dublin, 1761*l.*; for the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin, 2734*l.*; for the Lying-in Hospital, 2385*l.*; for Dr Stephen's Hospital, 1668*l.*; for the Fever Hospital and House of Recovery, 3692*l.*; for the Hospital for Incurables, 400*l.*;

for the Roman Catholic Seminary, 8928*l.*; for the Cork Institution, 1900*l.*; for the Dublin Society, 7000*l.*; for the Commissioners of Wide Streets in Dublin, 10,000*l.*; for the Farming Society in Ireland, 2500*l.*; for the Royal Irish Academy, 300*l.*; for the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, 722*l.*; for the expense of Linen Board of Ireland, 19,938*l.* 9*s.* 2*½d.*; for the Board of Works, 20,051*l.*; for expenses of chief and under secretary's office, and superannuated allowances in ditto, 15,886*l.*; for proclamations, &c. in Irish newspapers, 6500*l.*; for printing statutes for magistrates, &c. 5000*l.*; for criminal prosecutions, and other law expenses, 30,185*l.*; for the nonconforming, seceding, and Protestant dissenting ministers, 13,894*l.* 18*s.* 3*½d.*; for salaries of lottery officers, 1072*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*; for CIVIL CONTINGENCIES, 15,000*l.*; for expense of inland navigations, 4681*l.*; for schools established by voluntary contributions, 6000*l.*; for the salaries of commissioners for inquiring into the duties and fees of the officers of courts of justice, 7324*l.*; for commissioners of the land revenue of the Crown in Ireland, 1671*l.*; for the expenses of the record commission, 3500*l.*; for retired or superannuation allowances to public officers, 1116*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*

Total for Ireland,	L. 345,993 10 10 <i>½</i>
For Great Britain,	3,163,498 0 0

For the United Kingdom in the miscellaneous department, L. 3,509,491 10 10*½*

If to this sum there be added the expense of the Consolidated Fund, as estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 37,610,324*l.*, and the annual expense of the sea and land armament, 10,131,996*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*, it will make the whole annual expense of the year, 56,241,812*l.* 18*s.* 3*½d.*—out of which,

it appeared from the items, that the sum of 1388*l.* was applied to the promotion of science and literature.

The sum voted for repairs of the Cobb at Lyne Regis, and the 2000*l.* to Mr M'Adam, were objected to; but neither was pressed to a division.

The grant to encourage emigration from the south of Ireland to Canada, was opposed by Mr Hume, until a select committee should ascertain how far the former grants had been successful, and what place was most proper to which to send the emigrants. An amendment to this effect was negatived.

The grant of 2000*l.* to the Society for the Suppression of Vice in Ireland, was objected to by Mr Denman, who thought that if gentlemen were really anxious to suppress the vices of their neighbours, they might afford to do it at their own expense. The House divided; for the grant 27, against it 14; majority for it 13.

The grant of 6000*l.* to the Duke of Cumberland was strongly objected to, as a waste of the public money. The second reading of the resolution authorizing the grant was, after a debate of considerable length, carried by a majority of twenty-three, out of two hundred and seventeen members. On the remaining stages, the grant was regularly opposed, and various amendments and modifications were suggested, which elicited an understanding that the son of the Royal Duke, for whose support and education this sum was professedly granted, should receive the whole, or greater part, of his education in England; and the bill authorizing the grant ultimately passed into a law.

The remaining measures which more immediately arose out of the financial expose by the Chancellor of Exchequer, were the details of those abolitions of taxes and reductions of duties of which he made mention in his speech. No

change to any substantial extent was made upon either from what he originally proposed; but still it may be proper to recapitulate their outline in the two remaining divisions of this chapter.

Following up the intimation given in his financial statement, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a bill for the repeal of that part of the assessed taxes to which he had alluded. This bill received the Royal Assent on the 23d of March, and took effect in England and Wales after the 5th of April, and in Scotland after the 24th of May. Its several enactments were:

1. It repealed the window tax upon houses having not more than seven windows, and upon houses not paying more than ten pounds yearly of rent; the tax upon occasional waiters, whether in inns or private houses; upon persons taking charge of race-horses, upon coach-makers' licenses, upon taxed-carts, upon four-wheeled carriages drawn by ponies, and upon mules carrying ore or manure.

2. It relieved houses becoming vacant in the course of the year, from all taxes during the time they should be vacant, assessed new ones only in proportion to the part of the year that they should be inhabited, and windows newly struck out in the same ratio—provided that notices should be given; but that, if new windows should be struck out in the course of the year in houses containing not more than seven, they should be charged as for the whole year.

3. An unfurnished house, *bona fide* quit by the occupier, and left under the care of a servant, to pay no assessed taxes.

4. Two windows to be allowed in cheese-rooms of farm-houses.

5. Interior windows not to pay duty.

6. Farm-houses occupied by labourers to be exempted.

7. Houses used for trade during the day may be guarded by a servant during the night, provided that a license is obtained of their being *bona fide* for trade, from the commissioner of taxes.

8. Persons assessed for carriages with less than four wheels, may occasionally employ a groom, and victualers a boy under fifteen; taxed-carts, with seats not fixed, to be used as carriages; three-wheeled carriages, drawn by ponies, to pay no duty; and farmers, paying less rent than 200*l.* a year, may let their horses at hire.

9. Duty on sale of carriages repealed; but makers still to deliver particulars of carriages made and sold.

10. Poor persons to be allowed one dog, (not a sporting dog,) without paying duty.

On the 31st of March, an act was passed, by which it was enacted, that the old duties on wine should cease on the 2d of March; those on coffee, on the 5th of April; and those on hemp, on the 5th of July; and that thereafter the duties on the importation of these articles should be:—

*Wines.* French, in British ships, 6*s.* per gallon; in other ships, 6*s.* 6*d.*; drawback in both cases upon exportation, 6*s.*: Cape wines, till the 2d of March 1830, in British ships, 2*s.*; other ships, 2*s.* 3*d.*; after the 2d of March 1830, in British ships, 2*s.* 6*d.*; other ships, 2*s.* 9*d.*; drawback in all cases, in the duty of British ships: all other wines, in British ships, 4*s.*; in other ships, 4*s.* 4*d.*; drawback, 4*s.*

*Coffee.* West India, or West Africa, 6*d.* per pound; East India, 9*d.*; all others, 1*s.* 3*d.*; drawback, none.

*Hemp.* In British ships, per cwt. 4*s.* 8*d.*; in other ships, 5*s.* 10*d.*; drawback, none.

## CHAP. V.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE.—NAVIGATION LAWS

IT is no small proof of the growing liberality of the times, that government has been emboldened to investigate the principles of that commercial policy which had been matured by the ingenuity of a long succession of statesmen, and had been considered, as the common law of England has been designated to be, the perfection of reason; and, on finding some of those principles to be utterly erroneous, to recommend such necessary changes as were called for by the increased intelligence, as well as by the altered circumstances of the nation. The public mind, however, was not yet *wholly* prepared for such changes. The ancient policy of the kingdom had been a theme of praise in every British statesman's mouth, until it became an axiom of universal belief,—confirmed by the circumstance, that under that system our commerce had attained to extraordinary prosperity. There is not a more vulgar error than, when two things, having some visible affinity, co-exist, to conclude that they are respectively allied to each other as cause and effect; and it is, therefore, far from surprising that the commercial policy pursued by

Britain should, both by natives and foreigners, have been held to be the cause of her commercial greatness. That, in some measure, the one was a cause of the other, we are prepared to concede; for we are not so transcendental as to believe that, in some respects, it did not operate to her advantage. But it remains to be shown by its advocates, that the ancient policy of England was, on the whole, more advantageous than injurious to her; *second*, that any virtue it possessed was inherent to it, and not derived from extraneous and transitory circumstances; and, *third*, granting, for argument's sake, that it worked well for a length of time, that, in the present state of trade, as it has been regulated by foreign governments, it could still be profitably, or even safely, persevered in.

The *balance of trade* was a notion which, for a long time, misled the whole of our statesmen. When a nation in its dealings with another exported more in value (market value of course) than she imported, the balance to be paid to her in money, was called the *balance of trade*; and by so much was she considered a gainer. Accord-

ing to this view, gold was everything, and commodities as nothing, excepting in so far as they might procure a supply of the former; whereas, in point of fact, gold is as next to nothing, were it not that, as the representative of value, it may purchase commodities. We will suppose a country in which all things that can conduce to the wants, real and artificial, of its inhabitants, so greatly abound, that each has so large a portion of them, that he has no occasion to purchase from any of his neighbours. Such a people might justly be considered rich, though there should be no money among them. But suppose, what will ever be the case, that there is an inequality of wealth among a people—that some are deficient in commodities which others are largely possessed of, a commercial intercourse would necessarily spring up among them; and the use of money would be speedily discovered. An individual, call him A, purchasing from another, who may be called B, would most naturally pay him rather in money than in kind; but it may happen, that A has a commodity to dispose of such as B desires to purchase; in which case B would be no loser were he, instead of receiving a money payment for what he has sold, to receive in exchange A's commodity at a fairly estimated value. Were he to prefer the money, the *balance of trade*, as it has been defined, would be in his favour; but then he would either have to dispense with the commodity which he stands in need of, or to disburse that money in purchasing it from some other. We shall suppose still farther, that A can afford to sell the commodity much cheaper than any other, and that the transfer of it from him to B may be most easily effected. In that case would it not be the extreme of folly in B, from his terror of the *balance of trade* not being in his favour, to decline accepting A's commodity in payment, and insisting

for money in preference; and then to go to a distance, and purchase the same article from some other at an extravagant price? His friends would naturally say to him, "If this article be necessary in the trade which you are conducting, why not obtain it at the cheapest rate? If you take money in preference to it, you must part with that money to obtain the article elsewhere at a greater cost. Consider, too, that the article is with you really more than equivalent to the money you mean to receive; for you have only to retail it at an advanced price, or enhance its value by working it up into some new form."

But we are supposing not one half of the insanity which B. may commit, by indulging his predilection for the *balance of trade* principle. He may thus reason with himself: "If the *balance of trade* be a good thing, the *whole of a trade* must be still better. I will sell for money what I produce; but I will purchase nothing. I shall have no out-goings of money; and, of course, will wax exceedingly rich. I will be my own tailor, shoemaker, hatter, baker, brewer, and butcher: nay more, I will raise my own mutton and beef, my own grain, and the articles necessary to clothe me." To any person acquainted with—we shall not say the principles of Political Economy, or the arcana of trade, but the commonest maxims of human life, it will be quite unnecessary to observe, that such a resolution would prove utterly ruinous to any individual adopting it.

Should, however, the whole individuals composing a nation adopt such a resolution, (and if it be a wise resolution for one, it must be so for all), the inevitable result would be, a total cessation of trade; the industry of an individual would be of no farther avail than that the fruits of it would support himself; there would be no accumulation of capital; but, on the contrary

what capital there was would infallibly be wasted.

As with the individuals composing a community, so it nearly is with the community of nations. Had each within the limits of its own territory all that could minister to its wants and desires, (and China stands much in that predicament,) there would be no necessity of foreign commerce among them; and money, excepting for the purposes of internal trade, would be quite superfluous. But each has its own peculiar wants, which the others can supply; and hence arises foreign commerce, or the interchange of commodities among nations. It is next to chimerical to suppose, that the mutual dealings of any two nations can be so exactly equal, but that there will be a balance due by the one to the other, which must, of course, be paid in that universal representative of value—money. But it far from follows, that the nation having that money to pay is a loser by the commerce. The other may not have purchased from it so largely as might have been wished; but still for its money paid away, it has received an equivalent in goods; which goods it would otherwise, perhaps, have had to purchase from some more remote quarter, and at an increased cost. Supposing such goods to be not destined for luxurious consumption, but to serve as the material of industry, they may more properly be considered an increment to the national wealth than even money itself. We shall take, as an example, the trade maintained between Great Britain and the United States of America, the balance of which is always decidedly against the former country. Has Britain, in consequence, been a loser by that trade? No. Her immense importations of cotton chiefly caused the balance of trade against her; but this cotton being worked up by her manufacturing industry into certain fabrics, it was sold in its mo-

dified forms to foreigners, (including the Americans themselves,) at a greatly enhanced price, which far more than compensated for such balance; and did, in fact, constitute a most abundant source of the national wealth. This example shows as decidedly as a hundred examples could do, that an industrious nation cannot import foreign commodities too liberally.

If a nation (acting upon the absurd principle we have supposed of the individual B) resolve to purchase from no other than which, by any possibility, she can produce herself, so as to enlarge in her own favour the balance of trade; and especially, if she refuse to deal in the staple produce of another, because doing so might turn the balance of trade against her, the consequences are obvious. As *real value*, (we speak of it as opposed to *money*) is at the bottom of all commercial transactions—and as, in such transactions, there must always be *quid pro quo*, it is morally certain and demonstrable that the nation we are supposing, by limiting her imports from the other, must submit to a consequent limitation of her exports; and that articles which she might purchase cheaply, and import easily, she will have to procure circuitously, and at a dearer rate. If Britain refuse, for example, to purchase from France her wines, France, as a necessary consequence, cannot well purchase from Britain her soft goods and hardwares. But this is not all. Nations too powerful and proud to submit to trade with another upon terms which being unequal are degrading to them, will be sure to defeat such selfish policy as that we are considering, by having recourse to direct retaliation; then *non-intercourse* succeeds to *unequal intercourse*; and the grasping avarice of the one is not only disappointed, but signally punished by the resentment of the other.

It may happen that the unequal system

we are condemning, having been adopted by one nation as most sagacious policy, may come to be viewed in the same light by all the rest, and adopted by them. The issue would be, that international commerce all over the world would be next to annihilated, to the manifest loss of all, but chiefly to the loss of that nation which most depended upon commerce.

All that we have supposed may be done by a nation infatuated by the notion of *balance of trade*, has been done by Great Britain. She discouraged as much as was possible all trade with foreign countries, the balance of which was not decidedly in her favour, making exceptions (we speak not of her colonies at present) only of the United States of America, whose tobacco and cotton she could not dispense with; and China, where tea alone is to be procured. She virtually prohibited, upon this principle, the importation of French wines and silks, the staple commodities of France, by which the French market was lost to her manufacturers; and limited her purchases of wine to the beggarly kingdom of Portugal. Not content with the unrivalled advantages she possessed in her mines of iron, copper, tin, lead, &c., and inexhaustible coal-fields; in her capital, the skill of her artisans, and perfectness of their machinery, she excluded, by means of intolerably heavy duties, almost every raw article which, by sacrifice of capital or otherwise, could be produced within her own territory, and nearly every manufactured article whatever. It will scarcely be credited in after times, that in the custom-house book of rates there is scarcely an article of foreign manufacture which was not specially set down; and at the end of it there was a sweeping clause which provided that ALL goods, wares, and merchandize, either in part or wholly manufactured, which were not enumerated in the book, should pay an importation duty of L.50 per cent on

their estimated value; and by a farther clause, a duty of L.20 was imposed upon all non-enumerated articles, which were not manufactured either in whole or in part. But this was not all. Britain, by means of *bounties*, endeavoured to establish within her own territory, manufactures which were uncongenial to the soil,—the most absurd policy, abstractedly considered, which can be possibly imagined; since the giving a bounty upon a manufacture implies, in the first place, that it cannot be pursued profitably to the manufacturer, nor, of course, to the nation; in the second, it is taxing the nation in order to repair the loss of the manufacturer; and, thirdly, it acts, in most cases, as a bonus upon the manufacturer's want of ingenuity and enterprise.

But Britain, besides acting upon the *balance of trade* principle, discouraging commerce whenever her exports did not exceed her imports, sought also to obtain undue advantages over other nations in the carriage of articles which are the subject of commerce; and this by means of her famous navigation laws. These laws, first enacted in Cromwell's time, were directed against the Dutch marine; and they regulated, 1st, The fisheries, which they limited to British ships, no importation in foreign ships being allowed; 2d, The coasting trade, which was put under the same limitation; 3d, The European importing trade, which, with regard to twenty-eight bulky articles, named the "enumerated articles," was confined to British ships and ships of the producing country; but, with regard to the Dutch, they were wholly excluded from the trade, unless the articles imported were the produce of their own country; 4th, The trade with Asia, Africa, and America; importation of the produce of which quarters of the globe was limited to British ships; and 5th, The trade with the colonies, which, both as respects imports and exports, was confined to ships of the mother country.



The blindness of avarice was never better exemplified than in the whole commercial system thus established and matured; and never was good luck more conspicuous, upon a great scale, than in the partial success of it. It was obviously opposed to the suggestions of common sense; and its virtue or efficacy, as to any good it could produce, strictly depended upon the acquiescence in it by other nations; because had other nations chosen to retaliate, not only would it have been completely counteracted, but commerce generally would have been effectually crippled, by which England, as the most commercial country, would most have suffered. But many other nations did acquiesce in the system, which we consider one of the most wonderful anomalies in international history. Fear, no doubt, actuated some, and favour others. Great Britain having been the bulwark of European independence against the ambitious encroachments of France, many of the continental powers, especially the smaller ones, were in no disposition to quarrel with, still less to thwart her policy, however sinister or selfish that might seem to be. The system having been at least partially acquiesced in, it may be asked, how far was it successful? In so far as it restricted our trade with wealthy nations, such as the French and Dutch, it must, in the nature of things, have been injurious; but we are inclined to think, that, in a few respects, it worked beneficially. *First*, It naturalised in the country several exotic manufactures, which have taken root and now abundantly fructify. It is true, that the capital employed in these manufactures might have been turned into more profitable channels; but it has to be considered that most of our manufactures now suffer under depletion; that the capital invested in them is capable of a rate of production far exceeding any possible demand; that there is no new channel that can be thought of into which any part

of that capital can be diverted; and that in proportion to the number of discovered channels, and in which that capital actually flows, must be the rate of its profits. *Second*, That branch of the system called the Navigation Laws, did, in point of fact, destroy the Dutch carrying trade, especially with the West Indies; and threw it, chiefly into the hands of England, by which her commercial navy, and, by consequence, her maritime power, were greatly augmented; and these were attended with many important collateral advantages.

But, after all, as we have premised, the success of the system did not arise from the wisdom of, or anything inherent to it, but from the *extraneous* circumstance of the acquiescence by other nations. So long as this acquiescence was yielded, it might have been unwise to disturb the system. But how stands the fact? *First*, we shall consider the fact with reference to the *balance of trade* principle. Upon the establishment of general peace in Europe, most of the continental nations felt themselves to be independent of Great Britain; and so feeling, they were deluded by her example. They believed that her manufacturing prosperity arose out of the restrictive and exclusive policy which she had adopted; and hence, they were led to imitate that policy by imposing enormous duties, amounting in effect to prohibitory ones, upon the importation into their territories of all foreign commodities. By the operation of their regulations, British goods would have been more effectually excluded from the continent than they were during the war, by the famous *continental system* of Buonaparte, had our government not relaxed its ancient policy, and set the example of a more liberal one, which most foreign powers have been persuaded to follow. *Second*, With regard to the navigation laws, these are always spoken of as having been held sacred and

inviolate from the days of Cromwell until Mr Huskisson dared to lay his unhallowed hands upon them; whereas, in point of fact, the North Americans, by imposing discriminating duties upon British goods,\* and other retaliatory measures, forced us to consent to repeated relaxations of the code. Prussia, in 1822, by imposing very heavy charges upon British shipping, fairly turned the tables against us. What was to be done? Nothing more or less than what was done—negotiating a commercial treaty with Prussia upon the principle of reciprocity. Then, events had called the republic of Mexico and several new States in South America into existence. Could we enforce against them the navigation laws, when we had relaxed them in favour of the United States? Impossible. It will be seen, then, that the alterations of the system made by Ministers were not wantonly resolved upon by them from mere love of change, but that they were dragged into them by the force of circumstances which they could not overrule. Having done so much, they were compelled to do more; to revise the whole system, and to place it upon a more rational and equitable footing.

This measure was brought forward, in the House of Commons, by Mr Huskisson, on the 26th of March; and though some trifling alterations were subsequently made in the details, yet by far the best general view of the measure is to be had from an outline of that gentleman's speech. He felt encouraged to enter upon a liberal system with regard to the internal industry and foreign commerce of the country, in consequence of the result of that alteration in the silk laws which he had been enabled to carry in the preceding session. Great alarm had been excited upon the first proposing of that measure, and great opposition had been made, but the alarm had proved to be

groundless, and had subsided; and notwithstanding the substitution of a duty of 30 per cent, instead of the former total prohibition, the silk manufacture of the country was more flourishing than ever. Now if 30 per cent duty had been found quite enough for the protection of the silk trade, it remained to be considered what should be done with respect to other trades, where the protecting duties were so high as to leave a large profit to the smuggler after all his risks, and thus do the most serious injury to the fair trader. In the cotton trade, we excelled all our rivals: wherever our cotton goods could be introduced, they obtained a preference; and such was the extent of the trade, that the official value of cottons exported during the last year amounted to 30,000,000*l*. With such a trade, it was surely not to be dreaded that a more liberal permission for the importation of foreign cottons would injure our manufacturers in the home market. But it could hardly be believed, that the duty on one sort of cottons was 75 per cent, on another 65½, and at the very lowest 50 *ad valorem*. Now cotton was a principal manufacture in one of our own possessions; we compelled our own subjects in that possession to take our own commodities, and we imposed on their cottons a duty of 75 per cent. Leaving the small duty on the raw material, he would propose to reduce the whole duties on manufactured cottons, the produce of India, and of all other places, to 10 per cent upon the value, which would be quite sufficient to protect the home manufacturer.

The next branch was the woollen trade—the old staple trade of this country. That trade was the petted child of the legislature. It had been nursed and fondled; and fostered, and protected by legislative interference, but, like other fondled children, it had been spoiled by over-attention, and had not

advanced in strength in proportion to the tenderness with which it had been treated; whilst its younger brother, the cotton trade, which had been left to itself, had made much greater progress in the world. In his own time, at least one hundred acts of Parliament had been repealed, all of which had for their object the regulation of some branch of this trade. These acts had pointed out how the wool was to be picked from the sheep, sorted, packed up, conveyed, dressed for particular cases,—all of which had the natural and necessary effect of crippling the trade. Those absurd statutes had been done away with; but there still remained a duty of 50 per cent on all woollens imported into this country: now he considered that 15 per cent would be a sufficient protecting duty, and therefore he proposed the reduction of it to that amount.

In order to show that ill-advised legislation had not tended to encourage the woollen trade, he mentioned, that in the year ending 1765, the value of the woollen goods exported was 5,159,000*l.*, while in the year ending 1825, it was 6,926,000*l.*; being an increase of only 1,767,000*l.* during sixty years: and the import of wool in the former year was 1,926,000*l.*, while in the latter year it was 3,858,000*l.* In cotton, again, the cotton wool imported in 1765 had been 3,359,000*lbs.* weight, while in that ending 1825 it had been 150,000,000*lbs.* The value of cotton goods exported in the former year had been only 200,000*l.*, while in the latter year it had amounted to 30,795,000*l.*; being an increase of 30,595,000*l.* in the sixty years. These facts afforded a decisive proof that legislative enactments had in no way promoted that branch of trade for the benefit of which they had been made. Considering the improvements that had taken place in agriculture, it was obvious that a much greater quantity of wool must have

been grown in the country during the latter of these years than during the former. There had also been an increase of 1,932,000*lbs.* weight in the quantity of wool imported; and yet the increase on the value of woollens exported had only been 1,767,000*l.*

The next great branch was the linen manufacture; upon which it would be quite impossible to detail all the existing regulations: it would be sufficient to state, that the *ad valorem* duty on manufactured linen was in no case lower than 40 per cent, and in some cases as high as 180. But 30 per cent had been found to be a sufficient protecting duty for silk, and therefore he thought that 25 per cent would be quite sufficient for linen.

Foreign paper and books were nearly prohibited by the present high duties; and instead of these, he should propose a duty upon all bound and unbound books imported into this country, of double the excise duty upon paper, or 6*l.* on every pound weight. This, with the law of copyright, would be a sufficient protection to publishers; it would prevent smuggling; and as the foreign publisher would have no copyright in this country in the books imported, no injury could be done to the home trade.

There was another article (foreign glass) on which a duty of 80 per cent above the excise duty was imposed, and which pressed with peculiar severity on persons importing wine in bottles. He would propose to reduce it from 18*s.* to 3*s.* per dozen, which would be double the excise duty on bottles manufactured in this country, and on all other kinds of glass to 20 per cent above the excise duty paid on British glass. In regard to earthenware, although our manufacture in that line was cheaper than that of our neighbours, we had a protecting duty of 75 per cent on the foreign article, which he should propose to reduce to 10 or

12 per cent ; making the duty on porcelain somewhat higher, but not so high as to encourage smuggling. There were various other articles, such as turnery and gloves, particularly the latter, on which the duty was so high that hundreds of persons were employed in smuggling them into this country. He thought it much better to have a duty of 30 per cent, than an entire prohibition, and a consequent evasion, of the law. A considerable reduction would be made in the duty on turnery and other light articles ; but it would still kept sufficiently high to protect our own trade.

He would next advert to the duties on metallic substances. His friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he had mentioned his intention to the House, on a former evening, of reducing the duty on foreign iron from 7*l*. 10*s*. and 6*l*. 10*s*. to 1*l*. 10*s*., had also stated the impossibility, on the part of our manufacturers, of executing many foreign orders which had been sent to them, owing to the high price of metallic substances. He had hoped that such facts would have produced a corresponding impression on the iron masters, and that no opposition would have been offered to the importation of foreign iron at a lower duty. The iron masters, however, like many other persons at the head of a particular branch of trade, were most liberal in their views with respect to trade in general. They were most anxious that all trades should be as open as possible, except that particular one in which they were engaged, and in that alone would they wish to have the monopoly continued. Many individuals were, to his knowledge, at present employed in making models of the kind of articles wanted, in order that they might be sent off to Germany, where they could be manufactured at a much cheaper rate. Independent of this consideration, it was of great importance to have a mixture

of foreign iron, particularly Swedish, in many articles of our manufacture, which, from the high prohibitory duty, had become greatly deteriorated. He should only mention cables, in which a mixture of Swedish iron was of the greatest advantage.

The English manufacturer was equally injured by the high duty on copper, 54*l*. per ton, which, if not lowered, would eventually be the means of driving him from the foreign market, by rendering it impossible for him to compete with foreigners in that branch of manufacture ; while, if it were reduced so as to afford him the raw material on nearly the same terms on which it could be procured by foreigners, the English manufacturer might supply the whole world. The consumption of copper in this country was at present 10,000 tons ; of which from 4000 to 5000 were used at home. A new source of supply had been opened in the States of South America ; and if our high duties had not prevented it from finding its way to this country, our copper manufacture would have been much more extensive. Our foolish policy in this respect had compelled other nations to engage in the manufacture of it, and they had discovered the means of rolling and preparing it. The only method, therefore, of preventing a total loss of that branch of manufacture, was by a reduction of the import duty on the raw material ; and though it was evidently a difficult matter to reconcile the conflicting interests of manufacturer and consumer, he thought he should benefit both in this case, by reducing the duty from 54*l*. to 27*l*. per ton.

Next, as to spelter or zinc. The selling price of this article, which formed a third part of the composition of brass, was, at Hamburg, 30*l*. per ton, while in this country it was from 40*l*. to 50*l*. With a duty of 54*l*. per ton on copper, and 28*l*. per ton on zinc, it

was altogether impossible that the English could compete with the foreign manufacturer; and the consequence was, that his great occupation now consisted in the manufacture of patterns, instead of the articles themselves. He would therefore reduce the duty on zinc full one half, and would have proposed a still greater reduction, if considerable capital had not been employed in our own mines.

On the next article, tin, the duty was so high as to be altogether prohibitory; and he would therefore propose a reduction of it from 5*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. to 2*l.* On lead, also, some reduction should be made, though not to the same extent as on tin.

He had now gone through all the articles enumerated by name in the Book of Rates, on which he intended to propose a reduction of duty; and he had now to inform the committee, that upon all goods, wares, and merchandise, either partially or wholly manufactured, and not enumerated or described in that book, nor otherwise charged with duty, and not prohibited, a duty of 50*l.* was payable on every 100*l.* of value; and on those neither partially nor wholly manufactured, a duty of 20 per cent for every 100*l.* of value. There were consequently many things, not connected with trade or merchandise, but with art, science, and literature, which, whenever they came into the country, cost the person who imported them 50*l.* per cent on the estimated value. He would mention to them a curious instance of the application of this law. A friend of his own had recently had occasion to import into England an object, which, though some might consider it ludicrous, others would deem worthy of curiosity and interest—a mummy. The officers of the Custom-house, when this article fell into their hands, were not a little puzzled by it. The muscles and sinews, which had been preserved for three

thousand years, could scarcely be called a raw material, and therefore, after long debate and mature consideration, it was determined to treat them as manufactured goods. His friend was particularly anxious not to lose his mummy; and therefore stated its value at 400*l.* The declaration cost him 200*l.*, as he was immediately called on to pay a duty of 50*l.* per cent on the manufactured goods which he had chosen to import. This case might serve as a specimen of many others which were daily occurring, and which produced much trouble and vexation to individuals, and but little revenue to the public. In the case of all manufactured articles, not enumerated in the Book of Rates, he would propose a reduction of the duty to 20*l.* per cent; and on all raw materials not so enumerated, from 20*l.* to 10*l.* per cent. The result of all these alterations would be, that the maximum of duty which he should leave in the Book of Rates, where it was not imposed for purposes of trade, but of revenue, would be 30 per cent; and he felt quite satisfied that any higher duty on the prime cost of any article could have no other effect, than to transfer the trade in it into the hands of the smuggler. This was a subject connected with painful and melancholy reflections—no evil more imperiously called for redress than the system of smuggling on the coast of Sussex. “Let any gentleman,” said Mr Huskisson, “wander along the coast from Brighton to Deal, and I will undertake to say, that if he states to the first man he meets that he wants certain prohibited articles—as drugs, gloves, ornamental china, or any thing, I care not what—persons shall be brought to him within half an hour who will engage to deliver to him, in the course of ten days, any articles whatever, on an allowance of 30 per cent on the prime cost at Paris.” And what is the consequence of such a sys-

tem? It is that you have whole families regularly employed in a permanent violation of the law,—encouraged in the prosecution of an undertaking which leads them to a disregard of their moral duties—which tends to make them not only bad subjects, but bad members of society—which places them in a state of continual outlawry, but little removed from piracy itself; and all this, not for any benefit to the revenue, (for it is injured by such a state of things,) but for the protection of some pretended interest—not in the great manufactures of the country, but in its second rate—that some speculators might compel the country to purchase from them an inferior article, and at a heavier price than that for which it might be procured elsewhere. The honourable gentleman next proceeded to illustrate his position by enumerating a variety of articles, such as cambric, and a certain species of French paper, on which the legislature had been induced to impose a heavy duty, and from which no revenue had in consequence accrued to the country. The effect of such a system was not only to encourage smuggling, but to offer a premium to mediocrity, and to entail upon the country all the evils of monopoly. It cramped all motive to exertion; it destroyed the energies of industry—impeded the progress of improvement; it led to great fluctuation in the demand, and consequently, to great fluctuation in the price of articles—exposing the dealer to risk, and the consumer to great inconvenience. Some foreign goods would, undoubtedly, in consequence of lowering the duties, find their way into this country; but they would find their way for its benefit, and not for its injury. Experience warranted him in following up the course which he had pointed out. By the treaty of 1786, it was stipulated that the woollen and cotton goods of France should be admitted into this

country, and that our woollen and cotton goods should be admitted into France at a duty of 12 per cent: but, no injury had accrued to any branch of our manufactures from that stipulation: on the contrary, we had been much benefited by the interchange; for in less than two years our manufacturers had so much improved in the manufacture of woollen, that their cloths were frequently sold as French, though they were formerly much inferior to them in quality. Such, he hoped, would also be the result of the competition which would now take place—a competition which, since the invention of the steam-engine, did not depend, as formerly, on mere manual labour, but on the progress of the reflective mind of man, calling forth the capacity of the country to give effect to its wonderful discoveries. He had no doubt, that even though all our protecting duties were abolished, our energy of enterprise and stability of exertion would enable us to continue superior to our commercial rivals, not only in our own market, but also in the markets of every nation to which our fleets could waft us. It might be objected to the example which he had brought forward, and had, indeed, been objected already by some intelligent merchants, that the treaty of 1786 secured a reciprocal interchange of commercial advantages, while, in the present instance, no such reciprocity existed. To this objection he would answer, that, in making the present change of duties, the object was to benefit ourselves, not others; and this object would certainly be secured, whether other countries followed or rejected our example. At present, they did not give us credit for sincerity, but suspected that, for some reason or other, which they could not fathom, we held it out to them as a deceitful lure; but he had no doubt that time and experience would convince them of the soundness and ap-

plicability of our policy, and that, in a few years, they would be pursuing a similar system with equal ardour and enthusiasm.

The next subject to which he would beg the attention of the committee, was the duties on the raw material employed by the British manufacturer. During the exigencies of the war, a duty had been laid on a variety of articles employed in dyeing; the amount of which to the revenue was very inconsiderable, but which operated greatly to the disadvantage of the manufacturer. He would therefore propose a reduction of the duty on all these articles. Another article employed in the manufacture of woollen cloths, was olive oil, on which the duty had been increased during the war; a reduction of that duty below what it had been previously to the war, would be productive of great relief to the manufacturer; and he should, therefore, submit to the committee a proposal to that effect. There was another species of oil, made from rape-seed, on which, in a period of great agricultural distress, the legislature had been foolishly induced to impose a duty, almost amounting to a prohibition: the consequence was, that the rape became so dear, that the manufacturer could not afford to purchase it to make oil, and without oil no oil-cake could be made. He would, therefore, after allowing the dealer a fair time to get rid of his stock, take off the duty on this article altogether. He believed that it would also be an encouragement to the manufacturer of low-priced woollens, to reduce the duty on a species of foreign wool, used for coarse cloths. Our manufacturers were principally afraid of competition in that line; and he would, therefore, propose a reduction to a halfpenny in the pound on all foreign wool of less value than 1s. per pound.

He now came to the third and last

branch of his subject—the shipping interests. A bill was now in progress which would afford considerable relief to that class, by doing away with the quarantine duties, and placing them on the community at large. Another measure which he intended to propose was, the abolition of all fees on the commerce with our colonies; they formed a heavy tax on those liable to them, and were more irksome than many of greater amount. He would also propose the removal of the duty which was payable on the transfer of any share of a ship, or on the sale of a whole ship, from one person to another. The whole duty ought to be abolished, and also that on the renewal of the register. There was another stamp duty, the *ad valorem* stamp on bonds for the delivery of goods exported under certain conditions: this he would reduce to 4s, and at the same time he would entirely remove the stamp duty from debentures. Instead of the present mode of paying consuls, which was very inconvenient, and often subjected individuals to great hardship, he would propose that reasonable salaries should be paid to them all out of the public purse. The Levant Company, in virtue of the privileges conferred upon it by royal charter, had the power of levying taxes upon all ships trading to the ports in that part of the world, for the purpose of defraying the expense of a consulate appointed by that company; and as that burden amounted to about 1½ per cent upon the trade, it was proposed to assign it over to the revenue, for the purpose of paying the salaries of the consuls at those ports.

Such were the new commercial regulations proposed by Mr Huskisson; and though there were debates upon some items of the details, there was nothing like opposition to the principle. Bills were introduced accordingly, passed through their several stages,

and ultimately became the law,—forming, altogether, one of the most valuable reformations in the code of international commercial regulation that had ever been effected in the course of any one session.

Having accomplished so much for foreign trade, Ministers undertook a number of other measures, all of them tending, either to advance the trade of the colonies, by removing certain injurious restrictions, or to promote the internal industry of the country, by abolishing the antiquated regulations by which it was fettered. These we shall now briefly detail.

### I. MAURITIUS TRADE ACT.

This Act, cap. 76, which received the royal assent on the 27th of June, placed the Island of Mauritius in the same situation as the West India colonies, with regard to vessels trading, and to goods exported, and prohibited the importation of coffee, cocoa-nuts, sugar, molasses, and rum, the produce of the territories of the East India Company, into the Mauritius, under pain of forfeiture.

### II. COLONIAL TRADE AND WAREHOUSING.

This Act, which received the royal assent on the 27th of June, repeals 3 Geo. IV., caps. 44, 45, and 4 Geo. IV., cap. 2, excepting in as far as these related to the Island of Newfoundland: It allowed the importation, into all the free parts of the colonies in America and the West Indies, of all goods, excepting warlike stores, provisions, base coin, and the produce and manufactures of any place within the limits of the East India Company's Charter. It allowed the importation of foreign colonial produce into the North American colonies, upon payment of the duties, according to a schedule annexed to the Act, after the 5th of January, 1826. It allowed the exportation

of goods from any of the free ports in these colonies, in ships belonging to the country to which the goods should be exported, whether the same were the produce of the colony, or had been legally imported into it; but it gave a power to the King in Council, to prohibit this freedom to countries refusing to grant a similar privilege. It declared Kingston in Jamaica, Halifax in Nova Scotia, Quebec, St John's, New Brunswick, and Bridge-town, Barbadoes, to be free warehousing ports, with power to His Majesty, from time to time, to extend or alter the privilege, as circumstances might require, and to the collectors and comptrollers to appoint free warehouses, declaring the sort of goods for which they should be intended, and transmitting notice to the governor of the colony—goods to be lodged in those warehouses without paying any duty, but upon granting bond, with two securities for treble the duties—goods sold, and remaining in the warehouse, to be placed there on the purchaser's bond in lieu of the original one, and not to be delivered out, without payment of the duties—except moderate samples for the purposes of sale. Goods allowed to be sorted and repacked in the warehouses, and parties allowed to abandon whole packages for the duties, without being charged any duties upon the packages so abandoned. Goods to be cleared within two years, or else liable to be sold, unless the collector and comptroller grant further time. Bond to be granted upon goods entered for exportation, and the same to be landed at the place for which they are entered outwards. The Act not to affect the Newfoundland fisheries. To the Act there is appended a schedule of duties upon foreign produce, or foreign colonial produce, imported into any of the British possessions in America or the West Indies. Flour to pay 5s.



per 196 lbs. weight; spirits, 1s. per gallon; wine, 7½ 7s. per tun; coffee, cocoa, and sugar, 5s. per cwt.; rum, 6d. per gallon. Grocery goods, fruits, cosmetics, drugs, spices, and articles of a similar description 7½ per cent. Clocks and watches, manufactured leather, linens, wines, books, and papers, 30 per cent; glass, soap, manufactured sugar, and manufactured tobacco, 20 per cent; coin and bullion, diamonds, salt, fresh vegetables, herrings from the Isle of Man, materials for the British fisheries, except spirits, being of British manufacture, and rice, India corn, and timber from British possessions in Africa, to be exempted from duty. All goods not enumerated in the schedule, or exempted, to pay 15 per cent. If the goods have been warehoused, or have paid duty in Britain, one-tenth of the duties mentioned in the schedule to be remitted; and, if they have paid the duties for home use in Britain, to be exempted from the duties in the schedule altogether.

### III. EXCISE DUTIES UPON BRITISH SPIRITS.

The measures, under this head, which were introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were directed to the assimilation of the excise laws, as they affected distillers in the different countries of the empire—the lowering of the duties upon distillation, the allowing of Scotch and Irish spirits to be imported into, and sold in, England, and the regulating of the home duties paid by distillers and retailers of spirits in the ratio of their rates. Upon the first branch, the first act settled was, “who might be distillers,” and here the power of the king, the peace in Scotland and the grant licences, was left unaltered; while distillers in England were required to inhabit and pay the same rates, of not less than

twenty pounds rent a-year, and to reside within a quarter of a mile of towns containing at least five hundred inhabited houses. The object of the first of these regulations was stated to be to give facility and security in the collection of the revenue; and that of the second, to insure such a number of revenue officers as would prevent illicit practices. There was a third point, and one of very great importance to the trade, as tending, in a great measure, to destroy the monopoly of the great distillers, the reducing of legal stills from three thousand to four hundred gallons; by which means, persons of much more moderate capital could carry on the trade, than could have done it under the previous regulation. On spirits distilled in England, whether from malt or grain, the duty was reduced to 5s. 10d. on the then existing gallon, or 7s. on the imperial standard gallon, after that should come into use. This duty to be levied upon the spirits at proof strength, as ascertained by Sykes's hydrometer, and upon spirits above or below proof, to be charged higher or lower, according to the strength. Upon spirits made in Scotland, and warehoused there for the purpose of being imported into England, without having paid duty, the same duty to be paid when taken from the warehouse for sale and consumption in England, namely, 5s. 10d. per wine gallon, or 7s. per imperial gallon at proof, and to vary with the strength. This measure, also, not only got rid of nearly half the duty upon British spirits consumed in England, but relieved the trade from those vexatious regulations by which the distillers of England and Scotland were each obliged to confine themselves to their own market; whereby the great distillers were in complete possession of the market in their respective countries. The last branch regulated the licences.

A distiller or maker of low wines or spirits, a rectifier of spirits, or a dealer not being a retailer, to pay 10*l.* license duty annually; the license to be renewed every year; retailers to pay according to their rents: under 10*l.*, to pay 2*s.*; a house 10*l.*, and under 20*l.*, to pay 4*l.* 4*s.*; under 25*l.*, 6*l.* 6*s.*; under 30*l.*, 7*l.* 7*s.*; under 40*l.*, 8*l.* 8*s.*; under 50*l.*, 9*l.* 9*s.*; and 50*l.* and above, 10*l.* 10*s.*

Statutes were also enacted, consolidating and new-modelling the license duties payable by auctioneers, and by persons selling malt liquors, and others regulating the equalization of the duties upon the different measures used for different exciseable liquids, and in different parts of the empire, and assimilating them all to the imperial gallon, when that should take effect in January 1826, and also allowing spirits to be entered in bonded warehouses when carried from one part of the empire to another.

The act for assimilating the excise duties and regulations, which fixed the commencement of the new duties at the 5th of July, repealed the old excise licences, and instead thereof, fixed the auctioneers' licenses at 5*l.*; the brewers' licenses at from 10*s.*, when the annual quantity should be under twenty barrels, progressively to 75*l.*, when it should exceed forty thousand barrels; brewers retailing for consumption out of their premises, 5*l.* 5*s.*; brewers retailing strong beer in not less than four gallons, or two dozen quart bottles, 3*l.* 3*s.*; victualers paying under 20*l.* rent, 1*l.* 1*s.*; or above 20*l.*, 3*l.* 3*s.*; candle-makers, 5*l.* if wax and spermaceti; 2*l.*, if of other composition; retailers of tea, coffee, or spices, 11*s.*; glass-makers, 20*l.*; tanners, 5*l.*; tawers of hides, 2*l.*; dressers of hides and curriers, 4*l.*; makers of parchment or vellum, 2*l.*; makers of malt from under fifty quarters annually, 7*s.* 6*d.*, to above five

hundred and fifty quarters, 4*l.* 10*s.*; paper-makers and paper-stainers, 4*l.*; dealers in plate, under thirty ounces, 2*l.* 2*s.*; above thirty ounces, 4*l.* 4*s.*; calico-printers, 20*l.*; soap-makers, 4*l.*; makers of low wines, rectifiers of spirits, spirit dealers not retailers, each 10*l.*; still-makers and persons having stills for chemical purposes in Scotland and Ireland, 10*s.*; retailers of spirits in houses not rated from under 10*l.* rent, 2*l.* 2*s.*; to a house 50*l.*, 10*l.* 10*s.*; retailers of spirits in Ireland, also retailing tea, coffee, and spices, in houses not rated, from 9*l.* 9*s.*, under 25*l.* of rent, to 13*l.* 13*s.*, if above 50*l.*; starch-makers, 5*l.*; makers of sweets, 2*l.* 2*s.*; retailers of ditto, 1*l.* 1*s.*; manufacturers of snuff and tobacco, according to the quantity, from 5*l.* to 30*l.*; retailers of ditto, 5*s.*; vinegar-makers, 5*l.*; dealers in foreign wine, not being licensed to deal in spirits or beer, 10*l.*; dealers in wine, licensed for beer but not spirits, 4*l.* 4*s.*; if for spirits, 2*l.* 2*s.*; drawers of gilt or silver wire, 2*l.*

The imperial gallon appointed to be used after the commencement of January 1826, being 277.274 cubic inches, the existing ale gallon 282, and the existing wine gallon 231, all duties, allowances, and drawbacks upon malt, (a bushel of which was 8 gallons ale measure,) beer, and spirits, were repealed, in consequence of the impossibility of fixing perfectly equivalent duties, and new duties were imposed in their stead, which applied to all malt, beer, and spirits, made in Scotland or Ireland, namely, for every thirty-six imperial gallons of beer above 16*s.* the barrel, 9*s.* 10*d.*; or ditto twopenny ale in Scotland, 4*s.* 1*d.*; for ditto table beer, 1*s.* 11*d.*; for every barrel of thirty-six imperial gallons imported into Britain from the Isle of Man, or from Ireland, 9*s.*; allowance for waste, to every brewer and a retailer, on strong beer, per barrel,

10*d.*; on table beer, 2*d.*; drawback upon the exportation of every barrel of strong beer that shall have paid the duty, 1*4s.*; upon ditto exported from Ireland, 5*s.* 4*d.*; and upon British strong beer exported to Ireland, 9*s.*; duty upon malt, not made from bear or bigg, for home consumption, 1*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, and if from bear or bigg, 1*l.* 5*s.* for every hundred imperial gallons. Duty upon every hundred gallons of spirits made at the rate of two gallons of spirits from nine gallons of malted barley, or twelve gallons of malted bear or bigg, made by distillers in Scotland or Ireland, charged with duty for distilling from malted corn only, 5*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; if made from mixed or unmalted corn, 12*l.* 10*s.*

Such is an outline of the measures that were adopted for the simplification of the excise laws, and the more easy collecting of the duties after the adopting of the new standard; and here it may not be improper to introduce a very simple formula for exchanging wine and ale gallons and Scotch pints to the standard gallon:

Wine gallon	231	cubic inches.
Ale gallon	= 282	cubic inches.
Scotch pint	= 103.4	cubic inches.
Imperial gallon	277.274	cubic inches.

Therefore,

$$100 \text{ imperial gallons } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 120 \text{ wine gallons} \\ 98\frac{1}{2} \text{ ale gallons} \\ 260 \text{ Scotch pints} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nearly}$$

Hence, to change any quantity of any of these measures to the corresponding quantity of imperial measure, multiply the given quantity by 100, and divide the product by the number which stands before the denomination of that quantity as indicating the number of that denomination, which is equal to 100 imperial gallons.

#### IV. LAWS RELATING TO FACTORS.

The new enactment upon this subject, which received the royal assent upon the 5th of July, enacted, that from and

after that date, factors and agents having goods or merchandise in their possession, should be deemed the true owners, so far as to give validity to contracts with persons dealing *bona fide* upon the faith of such property; and also declaring that persons in possession of bills of lading should be deemed owners, in so far as to be able to make contracts; and that persons might contract with known agents in the ordinary course of business, or out of that course, if within the agent's authority; but that no person should acquire security upon goods in the hands of an agent for an antecedent debt beyond the agent's *bona fide* interest in the goods, nor make a pledge of them further than such interest of the agent. It also gave a power to the right owner of goods to follow them into the hands of the agent, or of his assignee, in case of bankruptcy, or to redeem them from a third person in the event of paying that person's advances upon them; the said payment, if to the amount of the agent's interest in the goods, or the sum owing to him by the owner, to be held as relieving the owner from all obligation to the agent or his trustee. It enacts, that agents fraudulently pledging their employers' goods shall be held guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable, upon conviction, to transportation for not exceeding fourteen years; not, however, unless the sum received for them should exceed the agent's lien, which was not to be held as increased by bills accepted by the agent, until those bills should have been paid; nor to extend to partners, unless they should be proved to have been privy to the offence. But under no circumstances was the act to lessen the remedy of the parties at law or equity.

#### V. MEASURES RELATING TO NAVIGATION.

Of these there were several: as an act giving power to masters of vessels,

in case of distress, to repair and man their vessels in foreign ports, or with foreign seamen, allowing a more free intercourse in shipping, and defining more clearly what ought and ought not to be considered as British ships, or British seamen. Other bills were introduced and adopted for regulating ships carrying passengers, for pilots, and other minor details, for which reference must be made to the acts themselves.

#### VI. TRADING COMPANIES.

Of the measures relating to these, one went to repeal so much of the 6 Geo. I. cap. 18, (commonly styled the Bubble Act,) as related to joint stock companies, and to enable the legislature to grant to those companies acts of parliament for their protection, and thus to bring them within the guardianship of the law; the act not to affect the issue of suits pending during the time that it passed; and to render the members of corporations incorporated by royal charter individually liable.

Another act gave additional power to private bankers in Ireland, and additional security to persons doing business with them, by allowing companies of more than six members to issue promissory notes, provided the same were done at places fifty miles from Dublin; allowing persons resident in Britain to be members of Irish trading companies, making the members liable individually, and regulating the whole of the details. This measure was expected to conduce very much to the prosperity of Ireland, in consequence of the stability it was calculated to give to the private banks, which, under the old system, were always either creating alarm or actually occasioning loss.

A third measure related to partnership societies in Scotland, and provided for their suing and being sued by their active director or manager, much in the same way that joint stock compa-

nies in England can sue and be sued by their secretaries.

#### VII. BONDED GRAIN AND FLOUR, AND CANADIAN CORN.

An act, passed on the 22d of June, provided for all foreign corn bonded before the 13th of May 1822, and all wheaten flour warehoused under 5 Geo. IV. c. 70, being taken out for home consumption, the one half before the 15th July, and the other half before the 15th August, upon paying a duty of 10s. per quarter on wheat, 6s. 6d. for every quarter of rye, pease, or beans, 3s. 6d. for every quarter of oats, and 2s. 6d. for every hundredweight of flour; but none to be taken out of the warehouses after the 15th of August. On the same day, an act was passed, suspending for one year and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, the prohibition of the importation of wheat from Canada; but prohibiting any wheat from being shipped for Britain from the Canadian ports without oath being previously made that such wheat was *bona fide* the production of the British colonies in North America.

#### VIII. REGULATIONS OF COTTON-MILLS AND FACTORIES.

The early age at which children had been admitted to work at those establishments, the number of hours which they had been employed without air or exercise, and the unreasonable hours at which they had been made to work, had long been complained of, and ultimately excited the attention of the legislature. The act provided, that after the first day of August, 1825, no person under sixteen years of age should be employed in any mill for spinning wool or cotton, or cleaning the same, for a greater number of hours than twelve in the day, and that these hours should be between five in the morning and eight in the evening. That nine hours only should be allowed on Satur-

days, to be over by half past four in the afternoon; and that half an hour daily should be allowed for breakfast, and one hour for dinner: but, in case of loss of time, through deficiency of water, or accidents to machinery, the time to be made up by additional labour, not exceeding half an hour per day, and not extending to Saturdays. The act farther ordered, that the walls and ceilings should be washed with water and quick lime once a-year; that a copy of the act should be kept in every manufactory to which it applied; that persons convicted of offending against it, upon information laid within two months, should be fined; that books of registry, stating the ages of the children, should be kept; that justices interested should not act; that witnesses should be punished for refusing to give evidence; and that no appeal should be allowed. This act gave rise to some discussion. It was contended, on the one hand, that it was an interference with the liberty of the subject, by restricting the usefulness of the young persons, employed in those mills, both to their employers and to themselves; and it was answered, upon the other hand, that the children were employed an improper length of time, not for any benefit to themselves, but to gratify the cupidity of others.

#### IX. POSTAGES AND NEWSPAPER STAMPS.

The regular conveyance of letters to and from Colombia and Mexico was provided for; and the postage between Britain and Colombia and Mexico, fixed at 2s. 2d., 4s. 2d., 6s. 3d., 8s. 4d., for single, double, treble, and ounce letters; and between the ports in the West Indies and the same, at half those rates, abating the pence; the moneys raised by the same to be paid into the Exchequer on behalf of the consolidated fund.

Newspapers, votes, and proceedings in Parliament, were allowed to be sent to the West India Colonies upon putting them into the post-office upon the day on which they were dated, and paying three-halfpence. Newspapers put into the post-office not upon the day of publication, (except Sunday papers, which might be put in on Monday,) to pay the same as single letters; but if written upon, to be charged as treble letters. Newspapers printed in the Colonies, to pay 3d. upon being received in the mother country. The proceeds of the postage to be paid into the consolidated fund; and compensation to be made to those officers in the post-office who previously had the privilege of franking newspapers to the Colonies. Persons not obliged to send newspapers by post, and the name of a Member of Parliament upon the cover of newspapers dispensed with.

The regulation limiting the sale of newspapers repealed, and supplements or sheets containing advertisements, and delivered gratis, allowed to be upon a two-penny instead of a four-penny stamp.

Letters were allowed to be sent by the packets between Liverpool and Dublin at the same rates as from Holyhead to the latter place.

#### X. EQUALIZATION OF CURRENCY.

The current coin of Ireland, which had previously been at the rate of thirteen-pence to one shilling sterling, was assimilated to the British standard; all existing obligations which had been taken in Irish currency, to be paid in sterling at the proper rate; the bank tokens to be called in, and sterling to be the circulating medium and money of exchange for Ireland, from and after the 1st of January, 1826.

## CHAPTER VI.

## COMBINATION LAWS.

THE measure of the previous session, repealing the combination laws, was founded upon a just principle, but in practice had given rise to the most atrocious disorders. Those laws, directly invaded the equitable rule, that every man has a right to dispose of his labour on such terms as he himself chooses to fix ; and it was no reply to that objection to say, that there was an impropriety in a number combining to do that which either of them singly was entitled to do. Masters, it is well known, can combine with greater facility than can their workmen, and it is quite fair that combination should be opposed to combination. The proceeding, on either side, must, in most instances, be uncalled for and foolish ; because it may be presumed, on the one hand, that masters will seldom be indisposed to give for labour its money worth at the time ; and, on the other, that by no contrivance of human ingenuity will they be compelled to give more : however, exceptions from this remark may, and do occur ; and we shall endeavour to exemplify the advantages in combining which masters have over their workmen. The former can suspend their works for a season, or submit to have them suspended, without incurring any loss

but the negative one proceeding from the non-employment of their capital ; but the latter, who, to use a homely expression, live from hand to mouth, would be exposed to starvation, were work withheld from them for the shortest period, and were there no fund upon which they might retreat when out of employment. It is easy to perceive, then, that the masters, in any particular branch of trade, might, by a little dexterous management, succeed, at some particular crisis, in forcing their workmen (supposing there to be no such fund, as that we have adverted to, in existence) into the acceptance of wages which are unequal to the value of their labour. It is true, they could not continue such injustice for any length of time ; for the spirit of rivalry between them, and also the transference by the workmen (which would infallibly happen) of their labour from a trade in which they are oppressed, to some more profitable one, would speedily bring about an equitable readjustment of wages to profits. But even temporary injustice is an evil, which the workmen ought to have been entitled peaceably to guard against ; and the only means of guarding against it was by combinations, provided with common funds

for the support of those of their number who could not find work at what they considered reasonable wages.

The repeal of the combination laws, therefore, was imperiously demanded as a concession due to natural justice; but owing to the ignorance and perverseness of the workmen, that which was designed by the legislature as a boon to them, was converted into a curse to themselves and the country. The period of their emancipation they seemed to regard as a *Saturnalia*, during which they were entitled, like the Roman slaves of old, while that season lasted, to indulge in all sorts of freedom with impunity; and many of them rushed into the most hideous excesses. They construed the liberty they had acquired into a power to dictate to, and oppress their masters; and confederacies were everywhere formed, extremely well organized, at the head of which generally were turbulent individuals, who acted the part of tribunes of the workmen—taking it upon them to denounce masters who had become obnoxious to them, and single them out as objects of vengeance. But this was not all; for, trampling under foot the very principle themselves had so justly contended for, viz. that every man has a right to dispose of his labour upon his own terms, these confederacies presumed to prescribe to the whole members of their respective trades the wages they were to work for, and the masters whom they were not to work to; and disobedience of their mandates was sure to be punished by personal violence, and not unfrequently, in Glasgow especially, by assassination! In this way many extensive establishments, which had been laid under the ban of the confederacies, were obliged to suspend work; nay, the capital invested in some of them was transferred to Ireland, as being there better protected;—thousands of workmen who did not share in the conspiracy, had to work

at the risk of their lives; and many others, acted upon by intimidation, unwillingly abstained from working at all. The conduct of the *jacquerie* workmen became, at length, as insane as it was atrocious;—their folly resembled that of the Indian who cuts down the tree to get at the fruit; for it was evident that their proceedings, if persisted in, would have terminated in banishing manufactures from the country.

The disorders, caused by the conduct of those worthless individuals, became so multiplied over the whole kingdom, and the mischiefs to be apprehended from them were so serious, that it was the opinion of every one unconnected with the infatuated mob, excepting Mr Hume, the author of the repeal, that a revision of that measure had become indispensably necessary. Mr Huskisson, accordingly, in the House of Commons, moved, on the 29th of March, for the appointment of a select committee to consider the effect of the act of last session, and to report as to the necessity of repealing or amending its provisions.

After a violent and lengthened debate between Mr Huskisson, Mr Peel, Mr Hume, and others, in which the latter gentleman contended that the conduct of the masters had been equally faulty with that of the men, and that the law, as it presently stood, was perfectly sufficient to repress all improper combination, a Committee was appointed, which, after a tedious (and, as was afterwards alleged, an unfair and partial) examination of witnesses, reported to the House, that, in their opinion, the act of last session ought to be repealed, and new and more efficient provisions introduced in its stead. A Bill, the same in principle as the act of the former session, was accordingly passed through its different stages, repealing the act of 1824, but renewing its provisions in so far as it repealed all former enactments on the subject, and per-

mitted workmen to combine or unite in a peaceable and orderly manner, for the purpose of obtaining an increase of wages.

The act then proceeded to detail various things, to the number of eighteen, which it shall not be lawful to do. Its provisions differed, however, in so trifling a degree from those of the act of the former session, that it is scarcely necessary to notice them further than by stating, that by the present law every workman or other person, or any number of persons, are liable to be punished by summary process for forcing, endeavouring to force, threatening, molesting, obstructing, or compelling by any means whatever, any person or persons, either to leave his or their work, or to join any combination or union of workmen. Witnesses refusing to give evidence are also liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, or until such time as they may consent to give such evidence; it being left to the option of the magistrate to receive the evidence, when once refused, or to confine the person, who has so refused, for that period. The two points, in fact, on which it mainly differs from the act of last session, are, that under the former law, no master manufacturer or son of a master manufacturer, being a justice of the peace, could act in any case of com-

bination, while under the present law, such justices are permitted to act; and that an appeal is now allowed from the decision of the justice or magistrate to the quarter sessions.

The Bill, after having passed a first and second reading without any opposition, became, on the motion for considering it, and bringing up the report, the subject of one of the warmest and most violent discussions which occurred in the course of the session. The cause of this opposition was the insertion of the words "insult, molestation, and obstruction," which, the opponents of the Bill contended, were too vague and indefinite; and the permission which it gave to justices being manufacturers, or the sons of manufacturers, to enforce its provisions, by passing sentence on those who might be found guilty of violating them. Divisions took place on all these points, when there appeared large majorities in favour of the words, which, with the exception of "insult," stand part of the act. A motion was also made, in the course of the debate, to permit trial by jury of persons offending against its provisions, which, after some discussion and a division, was rejected by a considerable majority. The Bill passed the House of Commons on the 24th of June, and received the Royal Assent on the 5th of July.



## CHAPTER VII.

## COURTS OF JUSTICE.

THIS Session of Parliament was made memorable by a variety of acts which were calculated to reform abuses in the courts of the three kingdoms, and to confirm and protect the liberty of the subject.

An important and most salutary statute, entitled, "Act for Consolidating and Amending the Laws relating to Jurors and Juries," received the royal assent upon the 22d of June. This statute enacted, that every man between the ages of 21 and 60, possessing, in any county in England, freehold, copyhold, or leasehold for life, to the amount of ten pounds a year, twenty pounds for leasehold for twenty-one years, inhabiting a house of thirty pounds rent in the county of Middlesex, or twenty pounds in any other county, or who should inhabit a house having not less than fifteen windows, should be qualified for being a juror in any of the courts, and for being a grand or petty juror within his own county; and that three-fifths of these qualifications should qualify a juror in Wales.

Judges at Westminster, and of the Great Sessions in Wales, clergymen in orders, catholic priests, and dissenting ministers having no active em-

ployment but that of schoolmaster and having taken the requisite oaths, practising sergeants, barristers, and doctors of law, attorneys, solicitors, proctors, coroners, gaolers, and keepers of houses of correction, physicians in actual practice, licensed surgeons and apothecaries, officers of the army and navy, pilots, under any act of parliament or charter, the king's household, officers of customs and excise, sheriffs' officers, parish clerks and high constables, and all persons exempt by prescription, charter, grant, or writ, were exempted, and not to be inserted in the lists of jurors. Aliens were also disqualified from serving upon juries, unless in the case of an alien tried for a felony, and claiming the right of a jury *de medietate linguæ*; and persons who have been convicted, outlawed, or put under sentence of excommunication, were deprived of the privilege.

Complete lists of all persons qualified to be jurors, to be made out in the first week of July, every year, in which the names, residences, and titles of the parties are to be set forth, and these lists are to be affixed to the church-door for three Sundays, and also kept by the churchwardens for inspection; and to be produced at the petty ses-

sions held in the first week of September—these petty sessions to consider the lists, but not to alter them without giving notice to the party affected; and the lists having been considered by the petty sessions, they were to be delivered to the quarter sessions; and entered in a jury-book, to be kept by the sheriff: this book to be brought into use on the first day of January, and used for one year; but if in any case there be no juror's book for the current year, the juries may be taken from that of the preceding.

The sheriff or other minister, except in the counties Palatinate, to attach to each writ of *venire facias* a panel of from 48 to 72 jurors, unless a greater or less number shall be ordered by the Judge or Judges before whom the issue is to be tried; and if the case comes not on, a new panel to be granted, upon application of either the plaintiff or the defendant. In the counties Palatinate, the sheriff or other minister shall, ten days before the courts shall be held, summon a like number from the jury-book; and the same shall be above ten days before the great sessions in Wales: and in all cases the panel shall be kept in the sheriff's office for the inspection of parties and their attorneys.

Parties indicted for treason, except for a direct attempt upon the King's life, counterfeiting the great seal, the sign manual, or the privy signet, or counterfeiting the King's coin, to be furnished with a list of jurors at least ten days before trial.

Jurors in London and Middlesex to be summoned as before; and in other places, at least ten days previous to the trials.

The names of the whole panel of jurors to be put in a ballot-box, and twelve drawn to try the issue in each case, and if any of those drawn be challenged, others to be drawn till the twelve be made up.

The King to have the power of challenge only upon cause shown; no panel to be challenged because a knight is not returned; and not more than twenty challenges allowed to a person arraigned for murder or felony.

Persons described in the juror's book as esquires or of higher degree, or as bankers or merchants, shall be qualified and liable to serve as special jurors. These to be marked in a special juror's book, to have numbers attached to their names; and to be drawn by those numbers,—48 to be drawn from the whole number, and compared with the list, which 48 shall be reduced as before,—or if the parties consent, a special jury may be struck by the former mode, and the same special jury may, by consent, try any number of causes.

Persons applying for special juries, to pay the costs of the same over and above what would have been the cost of a common jury; and the fee to each juror not, in any case, to exceed one pound one shilling.

Special juries in any county of a city or town, except London, to be struck as formerly. Talesmen to be taken of such men duly qualified, as can be found.

Jurors not attending to be fined; and returning officer to be fined for summoning those whose names are not in the books, or, reporting as present those who do not answer,—viewers, ten pounds,—others, at the discretion of the court.

Every juryman who has served, to be entitled to a certificate of having done so, upon paying one shilling, and not to be summoned again to assize within a certain time, varying from one to four years, according to the county.

No money to be taken for exempting persons from serving; and none to be summoned but those whose names are in the warrant.

No justice of the peace to be a juror at any sessions within his jurisdiction; no inhabitant of Westminster to serve at sessions for Middlesex. Jurors in cities and boroughs to remain as before. London jurors to have a house or place of business, or L.100 personal estate. Those not qualified to be jurors in civil causes, not to be returned in capital offences.

The same session, an act was passed, regulating the returns of jurors to serve on criminal trials in Scotland, and the mode of impanelling. It had some resemblance to that for England, mentioned in the first section of this chapter. The qualification was declared to be L.5 annually in landed, or L.200 in personal property, and the exemptions were nearly the same as those in England. The books of jurors and of special jurors were directed to be made out in a similar manner; and the sheriff, in returning the panel, was enjoined to go regularly over the roll of names. The jury, for every case, to be balloted from the whole panel, and both plaintiff and defendant to have a peremptory challenge of five,—provision being made, that where the party accused is a landed man, the majority of the jury shall be of the same description.

Certain acts were passed, which prohibited the sale of those offices which had before been sold by the *custos breviarum* of the King's Bench and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and enacted, that in future all offices should be discharged in person, and not by deputy, unless for reasonable cause, of which infirmity and ill-health are the chief. The Lord Chief Justice in each court, in future, to make appointments, during good behaviour, without receiving any fee or reward for the same. The officers to take no more than the accustomed fees, to account for these to the treasury, and the treasury to fix the

amount of officers' salaries, which the officers may retain out of the fees, keeping regular books, and accounting within one month after the close of each term,—the whole of which accounts to be laid before parliament. The officers to make good deficiencies, and refund overcharges, but their property in houses and lands not to be applied in making good the same; and no principal officer to be held accountable for money paid to his deputy—the deputy being appointed by the Lord Chief Justice, and not by the officer for whom he acts.

Having thus declared the fees payable for the different offices to be public property, and the office-bearers servants of the public, appointed without purchase, and discharging their duties themselves, the act went on to state the salaries that were to be allowed: the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench to have 10,600*l.* a year, in lieu of all former patronage, fees, and emoluments, to be paid quarterly, in each year; and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 8000*l.* a-year, to be paid in the same manner. The Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls to have 7000*l.* a-year, each; and all the Puisne Judges, together with the Vice-Chancellor, to have 5500*l.* The retiring salaries to be increased 200*l.* to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and 450*l.* to the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and the retiring salaries of the Puisne Judges to be 2800*l.*

Two acts were passed relative to the inferior courts in Scotland. The one (cap. 23, passed May 20th) gave to the Court of Session the power of revising the fees payable in the sheriff and borough courts, and of framing regulations for the abridgement of extracts, and the consignment of the money received by the clerks of those courts; and appointed five sheriffs to report regulations, in order to be laid

before the secretary of state. It also provided that the clerks of the sheriffs and high courts in Scotland should do their duties in person; but left those then holding office to accept the new fees or not, at their own option. It required that sheriffs' substitutes should be properly acquainted with the law, and prohibited them from being practitioners, or partners of practitioners, within their own counties. This act has some analogy to the King's Bench and Common Pleas regulation Acts, already noticed: but the reform effected in the Scotch courts was not so complete and valuable as that in the others, probably because information on the subject could not be so well obtained.

The second act enabled the sheriff to decide upon all cases for the recovery of debts under eight pounds, in a summary manner, and at small costs. The sheriff to hear the parties *viva voce*, and solicitors not allowed without leave of the court; and the judgment of the sheriff not to be stayed, except upon application to the Court of Session.

An act was passed relating to the Small Debt Court, which repealed, after 1st January, 1826, the former act for the recovery of small debts, before the justices of the peace in Scotland; gave them the power of deciding all claims under five pounds; directed them to hear parties, *viva voce*; prohibited practitioners of law from acting before the justices; allowed the defender to stay judgment obtained in absence; provided for a record of decisions; fixed the officers' fees; and prohibited the peace-officers from acting as auctioneers, and the justices as solicitors.

By an act for Scotland relative to Sedition and Blasphemy, the heavy punishments formerly inflicted for these offences were remitted, and fine or imprisonment, or both, at the dis-

cretion of the court, substituted in their stead. Upon a second offence, a power was added of banishing the offender out of all parts of his Majesty's dominions. If the persons so banished did not depart within thirty days, they were to be conveyed out of the country, and if not within forty days, they were to be transported. The act also took away from the Court of Session the discretionary power of adding to the statutory bail in cases of sedition.

An act for Scotland, amendatory of the act of grace, was passed, which provided, that, where a poor debtor should have made a disposition of his property to his creditors, the imprisoning creditor should be bound to deposit in the hands of the gaoler ten shillings, out of which, an aliment should be paid to the debtor, until he should be either set at liberty, or alimmented according to law.

A very important act, connected with the administration of justice in Scotland, was also passed. It enacted, that the number of Lords Ordinary hearing causes in the outer house of the Court of Session, should, upon the appointment of new judges, or immediately, if the incumbents should consent, be increased to seven instead of two, and that the remaining eight should form the two inner houses,—by which means (and they had the same effect as the erecting of five new courts) the progress of justice would be wonderfully facilitated. It enacted, that pursuers and defenders before the Court of Session, should each set forth, *in limine*, the nature and extent of their pleas, producing the writings upon which those pleas were founded; prohibited either the Lords Ordinary, or the courts, to give judgment upon the merits, until the record should have been made up; authorized the Lord Ordinary to determine the expenses in cases dismissed upon dilatory defences, or to repel such de-

fences, reserving the expenses to be settled afterwards; and making his judgment in such matters final, unless brought under review within twenty-one days.

When the Lord Ordinary has repelled the dilatory defences, or where no such defences have been made, his lordship is to examine into the correctness of the summons, and decree against the pursuer for any incorrectness therein. If, in like manner, the defences have to be amended, the defender to pay the expenses of the same; the expenses paid by either party in these cases to be paid over to the other. Where the record of the summons and defence, with the documents upon which both were grounded, should be complete, if the parties should not agree that these contained the whole case, condences were to be allowed; but these, as well as the answers to them, were to be accompanied by the writings founded on, as well as notes of all the points of law, signed by the respective counsel, and authenticated by the Lord Ordinary. These to be the whole law and facts of the case upon which the parties are to ground their proceedings; but the judges to have power to suggest and introduce new matter. The object of these regulations (and the detail of them was very minute) was to bring the cases fairly into court, and prevent the litigation, first of one point and then of another, by which so much delay, vexation, and injustice, had previously been produced. If the parties admitted the facts, the Lord Ordinary to decide upon them; but when they did not, the act gave him the power of remitting to the Jury Court the whole case, or such parts of it as he should deem necessary. Where no remit to jury should be required, the Lord Ordinary was empowered, either to decide the cause himself, or to report it to the Inner House for decision

there; and in giving final judgment upon the merits, he was to decide upon the expenses without any separate action. Parties dissatisfied with the decision of the Ordinary, allowed to appeal to the inner House, the ground of action there being the certified record by the Ordinary. In cases of doubt or difficulty, the whole judges of both divisions of the court to consult, and judgment to be according to the opinion of the majority. Decrees of the Court of Session to be final from fourteen days after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament; and in case of appeal to the House of Lords, which must be made within that time, the appellant to lay the record of the court below before their Lordships, to which, however, there might be added any new arguments that the appellant should think fit. The act further provided that all actions should, if possible, originate before the Ordinaries, and be conducted according to the same method and principles.

With regard to the Jury Court, the act directed that all actions of personal injury, libel, injury to movables or land, (not involving titles,) breach of promise of marriage, seduction, adultery, delinquency, responsibility of persons intrusted with the carriage of property, nuisance, furiosity, idiocy, force, insurance, and wages of mariners, should be sent to the Jury Court at once, and without any previous pleading before the Ordinaries or Inner House. Two judges of the Court of Session to be additional commissioners of the Jury Court. The decision of the Jury Court to be final upon the facts, but the law to be remitted to the Court of Session. The act repealed the injunction formerly given to suitors before this court to exchange lists of witnesses before trial; it directed that the Jury Court should sit during all the sittings of the Court of Session.

The act provided that motions for new trials should be made in the two divisions of the Court of Session alternately, in all cases of an issue suit from the Court of Admiralty; but that, in all other cases, the motions should be made in the Jury Court.

With regard to the Admiralty, the Consistorial, the Sheriff, and the Burgh Courts, it was enacted that the form of procedure should resemble that directed for the Court of Session, as closely as the nature of those courts might admit. The judgment of the inferior courts to be final in cases not exceeding 12*l*. Proof in the inferior courts to be held as establishing the facts, in cases carried to the Court of Session, and no new proof to be taken in that court; but the Court of Session to have the power of sending issues to the Jury Court; and power also given to the parties, in cases exceeding 40*l*., to remove the cause to the Court of Session, for the purpose of procuring proof before the Jury Court; power was continued to the Lord Ordinary, upon security given, to suspend the judgment of the inferior courts.

A number of acts were passed, having reference chiefly to the fees and emoluments of the clerks and other officers in the Irish Courts, which, charged according to the Act 4, Geo. IV., cap. 61, had been found inadequate. Besides these, an act was passed, consolidating the prison laws in Ireland; another regulating the Grand Jury presentments, and fixing the salaries of officers; a third for facilitating the judicial inquiry, which authorized the commissioners to send for persons, books, and papers, and punish those

giving false evidences; a fourth for fixing the fees chargeable by pound-keepers, making them find security, and punishing them when committing faults; a fifth enabling money to be levied, not exceeding 50*s*. a-year, for the maintenance of deserted children; and several others, for petty or local purposes, interesting only to the country for which they were enacted.

Various other measures with regard to the definition of the rights of persons, and the regulation of points of legal procedure, were carried into effect; such as an act to prevent dealing in wines; an act to regulate the laws relating to lunatics, and to fix the time within which they might traverse; an act to render 57 Geo. III., cap. 101, regulating arrests for debt, perpetual; an act regulating the salaries of the judges in the East Indies; an act extending certain parts of Lord Ellenborough's Act to Scotland, and declaring the throwing of sulphuric acid upon the person in that country a punishable offence; and various acts of minor importance.

One of the most important legal enactments, however, next to that which went to the general regulation of the courts, and the abolition of the sale of offices, was that for preventing the staying of judgment in the Courts of Westminster by frivolous writs of error. The act declared that execution should not be delayed by writ of error without special order, granted compensation to the clerks and officers of court who should thus be deprived of their emoluments; but left the solicitors and counsel no compensation for the loss of their fees.

## CHAPTER VIII.

LEGISLATIVE PROJECTS BROUGHT FORWARD,  
BUT FINALLY REJECTED.

It is only the most important and interesting of the immensity of legislative measures which were submitted in the course of this session to the wisdom of Parliament, but which were thrown out, which we purpose to enter upon our record.

A bill with regard to Dissenters' marriages was introduced by Mr William Smith, on the 21st of February. Its object was to provide that marriages should be allowed to be solemnized in Unitarian chapels which had been registered for that purpose for one year or upwards; that such marriages should be celebrated either upon proclamation of banns, or by licences in the usual manner; that in order that the clergymen of the Church of England might sustain no pecuniary loss by the toleration thus given to Dissenters, all licences should be countersigned by the parochial minister, and the usual fee paid; and that, after the marriage had been celebrated in terms of this certificate, the certificate should be returned to the parochial minister for the purpose of entering the marriage in the parochial register, and which was then to be held as valid as though the ceremony had

been performed by that minister in his own church.

The second reading of the bill was opposed by Mr Robertson, on account of the danger which at different times had ensued to states from Presbyterians, Puritans, and Unitarians—the latter of whom he considered not as being Christians, but Mahometans. In the time of Charles I., he said, the authority of the Puritans had begun from small beginnings, but they soon became arbiters of the fate of their Sovereign. He did not think Puritanism just so dangerous as it had been proved to be at that time; but Parliament ought never to forget that it was Puritanism which induced the Scotch (Mr Robertson is a Scotsman) to sell their king, and which led the English afterwards to butcher him.

Mr Secretary Peel had also some objections to the bill, though he did not participate in the fears which had been enumerated by Mr Robertson. His principal objection was, that the bill would still regard marriage as a religious ceremony, and procure registration of it in the same manner as though it were performed by the established clergy.

Jews and Quakers were known by their garb, and therefore there was no danger that improper marriages should be performed under the pretence that the parties belonged to either of these classes; but there were no means of distinguishing a Unitarian; and thus, in the case of marriage by licence, according to the bill, there would be a difficulty in preventing stolen marriages. Besides, the clergymen of the Church of England might well feel conscientious scruples as to the registration, inasmuch as they were called upon to insert in that book which was appropriated to the entries of what the Church of England viewed as a religious ceremony, the marriages of parties who denied the divinity of the Saviour.

The bill passed the Commons; was read a first time in the Lords, and the second reading and debate upon it in that House came on upon the 3d of June. It was supported by the Marquis of Lansdown. The Archbishop of Canterbury also supported the bill, because its tendency was equally to relieve Unitarians and ministers of the Established Church, and because it would do away with that unhallowed equivocation which, sanctioned by law, now took place at the altar. The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry conceived the bill to be entitled to support, as calculated to deliver the Church from the scandalous profanation of a compromise at the altar. The Earl of Liverpool thought that a harder measure should not be dealt to the Unitarians, who denied the divinity of Christ, than to the Jews, who denied Christianity altogether. Even at present, there were cases in which marriage by the rites of the Church of England was not necessary among members of that Church; for they might go to France and be married by a Catholic, or to Scotland, and be married by a Presbyterian, and in both cases the marriage would be binding. The Church of England did not assume to be an infallible Church, and therefore he did not

see why she should look with any jealousy upon the doctrines of those who were of a different communion. Lord Calthorpe supported the measure, because the Church was able to rely on her own strength, and because he thought that measure would add to her dignity. The Bishop of Bath and Wells denied that the existing law was any hardship to Unitarians. The benediction was given in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but if they were not the better for that, surely they could not be the worse. The Lord Chancellor contended, that before their Lordships could pass this bill, they must have an act rendering it lawful to deny the divinity of Jesus Christ. That denial, by the act of William, was declared to be a heinous crime, and the Act of Toleration did not repeal the criminality of the denial, although it exempted parties from the consequences which had previously resulted from the common law; although Lord Hardwicke's Act excepted the marriages of Jews and Quakers, it did not declare their marriages to be valid. He had considerable doubts of their validity, and should be sorry to see a bill passed declaring them to be valid. The Bishop of Chester had no objection to give Unitarians the same privilege that was enjoyed by Jews and Quakers; but, at the same time, he was anxious to provide against clandestine marriages.

Their Lordships divided on the second reading. For the bill, 52—against it, 56. Thus it was lost by a majority of 4.

The Corn Laws had long been complained of by the manufacturers as unjust in principle, and mischievous in practice; and so virulently had the subject been discussed, that the two great interests of the state appeared as if arrayed in direct hostility to each other. Petitions praying for a repeal, or at least a reconsideration, of those laws, had been repeatedly presented to Parliament; and upon the 28th of April Mr Whitmore moved for a Committee



of the whole House to inquire into the matter.

After endeavouring to show the incompatibility of the existing laws with the principles of free trade, and the prosperity and stability of the country, Mr Whitmore stated the outline of the plan, which, if the House resolved to go into a Committee, he intended to suggest. The alterations which he would propose would have for their object to place the trade on the same footing as that on which it stood previously, to 1815, viz. to revert to the payment of such an amount of duty as should cover the peculiar burdens which pressed peculiarly on the landed interest. He was not disposed to undervalue those burdens, for he was himself connected with the landed interest. The burdens which were usually considered as pressing peculiarly on the landed interest, were the poor-rates, tithes, the land-tax, and the rates on the highways. In 1823, the poor-rates amounted to 7,000,000*l.*, out of which several other payments were made—the county-rates, amongst others, he believed; the tithes for the same year amounted to 5,000,000*l.*, in England and Ireland; the land-tax to 1,210,127*l.*; the highway-rates to 2,000,000*l.*; making a total of 15,218,127*l.* He might, however, be underrating the amount, and he would, therefore, take it to be 18,000,000*l.* He would now state the amount of duties which could cover these burdens: the consumption of corn was calculated at about 14,000,000 quarters. He proposed to fix a duty of 10*s.* per quarter on the importation of corn, which would increase the price to that amount, and this on 14,000,000 quarters would give 7,000,000*l.* On the importation of barley, he would fix a duty of 5*s.*, which, as the consumption was 14,000,000 quarters, would give 3,500,000*l.* On the importation of oats, he would fix a duty of 3*s.*, which, on a consumption of 20,000,000 quar-

ters, would give 3,000,000*l.* An advance in the price of any article of agricultural produce always produced a corresponding rise in the price of other articles. He had, therefore, a right to calculate that the rise in the price of grain which would result from a duty of 10*s.* on its importation, would cause an advance in the price of grass and vegetable produce to the extent of 3,000,000*l.* Those items, added together, would make 18,500,000*l.*, which more than covered the burdens which pressed exclusively upon the landed interest. He was aware that any sudden alteration would be viewed with dread, on account of the quantity of corn which was said to be collected in foreign ports; but he was of opinion, that the alarm was groundless, for the price of corn would find its level; foreign corn would rise somewhat in price, and ours would somewhat decline. Those persons who were so alarmed at the prospect of the opening of the ports, had not profited from experience. Last year, the importation of oats was allowed, in consequence of their having reached the import price of 27*s.* The amount imported was 488,000 quarters; yet that had not occasioned any great depression in the market, for the importation took place in August, and in September, the price was 21*s.*; in October, 22*s.*; and in November, 23*s.* He did not believe that at the present moment there were more than 1,000,000 quarters of corn in the shipping ports of the continent, and that would not all be imported into England; for Spain and Portugal, which were at present almost in a state of dearth, would compete with us in the foreign market. The system which he wished to proceed upon, then, was shortly this—when the price of corn in this country was at 55*s.*, he would admit foreign wheat at a rate of 10*s.*; and so on as the price fell 5*s.* in the quarter, adding more to the duty; so that when corn

was 55s., the duty would be 10s. a-quarter; when it was 50s. it should be 15s.; at 45s., 20s.; and at 40s., it should go as high as 25s.

Mr Gooch said that all he wanted was a remunerating price, in consequence of the heavy taxes that fell upon the corn-grower, and he thought that 60s. a-quarter for wheat would be sufficient for that purpose.

Mr Huskisson did not think that the present time was the most fit for its introduction. He wished it might be distinctly understood, that it was to the time only that he objected. If it should be the pleasure of the House to go into the Committee, he might have to propose measures, differing not in principle, but in degree, from the views which his Honourable Friend took of the subject. His opinions on the Corn Laws were on record in the Report of the Committee of 1821. Without arrogance, he might call upon gentlemen to re-peruse it, and to reflect on the circumstances which had since happened, and he thought they might be brought to view it with less hostility than they had done. He would assert that, with the facts before him, of corn being sold in the ports of France and the Netherlands at half the price at which it could be purchased here, no man would be warranted in contending that the present Corn Laws could be adopted as a permanent system. We were now in the tenth year of peace, and it was not unreasonable to expect that the price of corn here would not continue so much above that at which it might be procured at the ports on the continent; but if this fact was worthy of consideration, there was another which it was also of importance to bear in mind. For forty years this country allowed a free trade in corn, and for every year of that time we imported a quantity, more or less, from the continent. That importation had been discontinued for the last six years, during which we did

not receive from abroad any addition to our home supply. This interruption created one of the greatest difficulties under which we were called upon to revise the present Corn Laws; for the consequence of the interruption was, a great accumulation of corn in all the countries from which we were in the habit of importing. To this was to be added, that since we had ceased to import corn, our harvests at home had been more than usually productive; and he believed that the same might be said of the other corn countries of Europe. The result of all these circumstances was, that the supply was at present so much beyond the demand in many of the European ports, that in some, corn did not produce half, in others, not one-third, and, in others again, not one-fourth of the average prices of the last forty years, before they had ceased to export corn to this country. Now it was not travelling into any new theory of political economy to assert that the average price, in those ports, of the last forty years might be taken as the fair price, which would give some remuneration to the grower, and that anything less than that would be a loss to him. From returns which he had seen, it appeared that the average price in Dantzic for the last forty years, before importation to this country was interrupted, was forty-five shillings and a fraction. It must then be evident that anything much below that price would be a loss to the grower. He could not disguise from himself the fact, that if we now opened our ports to an unrestricted corn trade, we might introduce all at once the great accumulation in the foreign ports, and thus disgust the home-grower with a free trade in corn. That there were inconveniences attending the system, in whichever way we treated it, he did not deny; but they were the necessary result of the system which we had adopted in 1815, of that alternation of free trade and monopoly to

which that system necessarily exposed us, and which he would show, before he sat down, could not afford a permanent advantage to any party. The question was, with this accumulation in the foreign market, what course ought we to pursue? There were various ways of treating the subject. Those who thought that the home-grower ought to have a monopoly up to a certain price, and that above that there should be a free trade, would introduce the same alternation of monopoly and free trade to which he had just adverted: but then the question came—at what should the free trade begin? If, instead of an alternation of monopoly and free trade, they were to leave the ports constantly open and protect the home-grower by a duty there, unless that duty were made a great deal higher than the average would warrant, the immense surplus at present accumulated at the foreign ports would be poured into this country; and although he was by no means very apprehensive as to what might be the consequence, very serious alarm would be produced in certain quarters. Next session he should be prepared to concur in some measure which would fix the duty at a certain rate, to be gradually reduced, so that the supply from foreign countries might, by degrees, come to its fair level. He believed it had been the intention of the legislature, in the year 1821, to give to the British farmer a monopoly of the home market for a certain time, in order to redeem the great losses which he had sustained; and by next session that period would have been sufficiently extended. It had been said that the present law worked well, and, therefore, why not let it alone? Now, he had always thought that the great desideratum upon this question was to procure steadiness of prices; and how well did the present system—a system which affected the price of labour and the comforts of the labourer,

and which cramped the resources not only of the manufacturer but of the farmer himself—how did it work in 1822, when corn was as low as 38s. a-quarter, and when gentlemen came down to the House, nightly to talk about a national bankruptcy, and to propose the most extraordinary changes in the currency? At the present moment the system might work well; but had the country-gentlemen forgotten their own misfortunes, their former predictions of ruin to the country—nay, their repeated requests that this very system which now worked so well should be instantly altered? In two years the price of corn varied from 112s. to 38s. a-quarter. Such fluctuations in price deprived the farmer of all security, and converted farming into mere gambling. He was quite willing, seeing the rents had already adjusted themselves to the alteration in the currency, and the improved condition of society, to give to the agricultural interest any protection which would obviate the necessity of reduction in the relative situation which that interest now held in the community. Still it was evident that at some limit foreign corn must be admitted into the country. Capital and skill could not be compelled to remain in this country. They were certain to emigrate, if they were impeded by burdens they were unable to bear. It was, therefore, the duty of the House to watch the effect of the price of labour upon the advantages at present possessed; and when we reflected that it was partly to the capital and skill of the manufacturers that the agricultural interest owed its present prosperity, we must see that, if that capital and skill were removed from us, the agriculturists would, in the long run, be the greatest sufferers. Agriculture could not flourish unless all classes of the community were in prosperity; commerce and manufactures could not be sustained here, if they met with greater

encouragement elsewhere; at present the profits derived from them were smaller than they had been at any former period; and anything which would tend to increase those profits would be of great benefit. There were other considerations: several foreign countries were in some distress because we had excluded their corn, and they had, by way of revenge, shut out our manufactures. Now, it might be worth while to consider whether we might not say to those states, "We will not admit you to the benefit of a free trade in corn unless you at the same time admit the free introduction of our manufactures and colonial produce." Another reason for not opening the corn trade at present, was the excessive disposition at present existing for crude and hasty speculation. Those speculations had already deranged our foreign exchanges, and it would be injudicious to derange them further by those speculations in corn which would necessarily follow the opening of the trade.

Mr Baring thought the speech of Mr Huskisson the strongest argument in favour of an investigation of the Corn Laws.

Several members supported the motion, and others complained of the obscurity of Mr Huskisson's speech.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that if Government had taken up the system of the Corn Laws in the present session, they would, from the very nature of the subject, have been unable to perfect those other measures which were universally acknowledged to be beneficial to all classes of the people.

Mr Whitmore, in reply, expressed his determination to bring forward the motion during every session of Parliament, until the law should be settled on a satisfactory principle.

The House then divided—for Mr Whitmore's motion, 47; against it, 187; majority, 140.

Mr Hume, who had previously attempted to institute a regular parliamentary inquiry into the state of the Irish Church, on the 14th of June, after a speech of considerable length, moved the following resolutions:—First, "That the property now in the possession of the Established Church in Ireland, is public property, under the control of the legislature, and applicable to such purposes as in its wisdom it may deem beneficial to the best interests of religion, and of the community at large, due regard being had to the rights of every person in the actual enjoyment of any part of that property." Second, "That this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, appoint a select committee, for the purpose of considering the present state of the Irish Church, and the various charges to which ecclesiastical property is liable."

Mr Canning opposed the resolutions, as being contrary to the spirit of the Irish Union, and because it would be a violation of everything existing, and might lead to the most alarming consequences. The church property in Ireland might be considered as corporate property which had been revised and secured by Parliament, and therefore it ought to be held as sacred as private property.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that, as to the Union, it had been a gross cheat, a scandalous piece of corruption, supported by unprincipled violence—one parliament selling the country, and another buying it. With regard to the sacredness of private property, it was not only justifiable, but had been the practice, to interfere with that, if the public benefit demanded it.

Mr Secretary Peel thought that Sir Francis Burdett would not be very willing to submit to such a resolution with regard to his own property.

Mr Brougham argued that both on the principles upon which they were formed, and in the rules by which they

were accustomed to be dealt with, there was a broad and direct distinction between private property and Church property. Private property was that sort of property to which an individual, of his own right, and of that right only, had a title. It was property which could be sold, or given away, or transferred, or encumbered—property which the possessor could bequeath as he listed, or which, in default of bequest, by law descended to his heirs. But how did the property of the parson at all correspond with this description? He could neither sell it, nor transfer it, nor leave it to whom he pleased; but it passed from him to a successor, of whom he knew nothing, and who, perhaps, had been his most mortal enemy. If private property were taken from an individual, the state robbed not only him, but his children or next heirs; but if the law said to a clerical incumbent, “The profits of this living shall cease after your death,” who, in whom that clergyman had any interest, was in the smallest degree damaged? Besides, was it not clear that private property was that income for the receipt of which the holder had no duty to perform? The clergy were officers of state, and, like other officers of state, might be got rid of in proportion as they were no further required. If the Church property, as it was called, was private property, why was not the pay of the army and navy personal in an

equal degree? And the practice—let the House look only at what had been the practice—showed how the fact stood. If the tithe was really private property, it could not be meddled with at all. Now what was the feeling as to that? Why, the tithe of agistment—this was private property—had been given up in Ireland at the time of the Union, and it was well known that the Union could not have been carried without it. If tithe was private property, not the slightest reform could ever be made in it; for who could hope to frame a scheme which should meet the approbation of every clergyman? And if a single individual was compelled to submit, the spoliation was as decided as if it extended through the whole body. For the Act of Union, it ought to be no bar, not for a moment, to any course in which the public welfare was concerned. In the case of Scotland, the heritable jurisdictions—for which there had been an especial clause made against reconsideration—being found to be pernicious, had subsequently been repealed.

The resolution declaring that the Church property in Ireland was public property under the control of the legislature, was negatived without a division. That pledging the House to an inquiry in the next Session was put to the vote—for it, 37—against it, 126—majority against it, 89.

## CHAP. IX.

JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES—FOREIGN LOANS—PANIC OF  
THE COMMERCIAL WORLD.

THE present year was distinguished above all others, by a rage for joint-stock company speculation, as indiscriminate as it was boundless, with which the similar rage that seized men's minds in 1721 will bear no comparison. Philosophers may derisively smile—the patriot will blush while he reflects upon the almost infinity of schemes which were projected, and the knavery and folly which characterised most of them. The uttermost bounds of the earth, nay, its bowels, and even the depths of the sea, were contemplatively explored by projectors for subjects on which to found speculations: and pearl-fishing companies, American mining companies, continental gas-light companies, as well as companies for washing clothes, for managing dairies, &c. sprung up by hundreds, with most astonishing rapidity. The prodigality of invention displayed by the projectors was equalled by the susceptibility of delusion manifested on the part of the people. The more absurd the scheme was, the more favour it gained in their eyes; and it really seemed as if the very grossness of a

cheat acted as a charm for dispelling suspicion and inspiring confidence.

Most of the schemes originated with sagacious but unprincipled individuals on the Stock Exchange, or of the profession of the law, who anticipated with certainty the appointment as solicitors to the new companies. The ordinary *ruse* practised, when a company was about to be formed, was to prevail with some nobleman or gentleman of respectability, to allow his name to appear in the list of directors, as a decoy to those who had little reliance upon their own judgments; and with deep regret do we state, that not a few individuals in high life, allured by the prospect of gain, or from a culpable facility of temper, suffered their names to be so prostituted.

It must not be supposed, however, that all who trafficked in the shares of those companies were really dupes of the contrivers of them. The companies were so numerous, that shares in them had become the most common subject of commerce; and there were many who, though perfectly aware of their being intrinsically worthless, made no scruple in subscribing for

them, with the design of selling them again at a profit; and thus there were thousands, in addition to the actual projectors, who had a direct interest in extending and inflaming the delusion which had seized hold of the public mind; and there were many who, without having advanced a farthing, realized fortunes.

The leading incident in the history of many of those companies was, that the chief projector having purchased a property, which was to be the subject of speculation—say, a mine or a mill—sold it to the directors, who were packed according to his mind, at double or triple the price which he had paid, or rather agreed to pay, for it; and there is too much reason to believe, that, generally, the directors shared with him in this deliberate plunder of the company. Another very frequent fraud was, that the directors, instead of suffering the whole shares to be subscribed for, secretly reserved some thousands for themselves; and when, by means of flattering prospectuses of the scheme of

the company, false quotations of the market-price of shares, and other fraudulent expedients, they had raised their value, brought their reserved shares into the market, and sold them at a premium, for their own exclusive advantage. Matters, also, were so arranged, that the directors and their solicitors were entitled to charge the company for their trouble—so much for every meeting they attended; and at the bursting of many of these vile bubbles, their charges were found to be enormous—more than consuming the stock which was left.

We cannot better convey a just notion of the deplorable height which the joint-stock company mania attained, than by giving the following brief sketch of those which, during the years 1824 and 1825, (the mania having originated in the former year,) were projected, but not matured; of those which were matured, but afterwards abandoned; and of those which still survive, though the dissolution of the far greater part of them may be confidently predicted.

*Projected, but not Matured.*

	CAPITAL.	No. of Shares.
14 Mining Companies . . . . .	£8,009,000	80,800
9 Gas . ditto . . . . .	3,016,000	48,800
19 Investment ditto . . . . .	44,050,000	608,000
6 Insurance ditto . . . . .	7,700,000	106,000
11 Trading ditto . . . . .	10,450,000	85,000
26 Building ditto . . . . .	13,781,000	161,900
18 Dock, Canal, &c. Companies . . .	13,851,000	164,410
16 Rail Road . . ditto . . . . .	11,065,000	131,800
37 Steam . . . ditto . . . . .	5,628,000	89,370
23 Provision . . ditto . . . . .	8,360,000	674,000
37 Miscellaneous . ditto . . . . .	19,700,000	382,600
236	£143,610,000	2,633,380

The companies enumerated in this list, under the head of "Projected," include those which published pro-

spectuses, or announced their projection through the medium of the public press, but of the actual formation

of which, by the issue of their shares, no precise information can be obtained.

In addition to the above, there were 143 others, which never took a tangible form, by being provided with the ordinary apparatus of bankers, so-

licitors, &c. Of these, 46 were Scottish, chiefly set on foot in Edinburgh, to which the passion had extended, and where it displayed itself, though on a proportionately small scale, as vividly as in the metropolis.

*Matured, but afterwards Abandoned.*

	CAPITAL.	Amount advanced.	No. of Shares.
16 Mines, . . . . .	L.5,585,000	L.400,900	98,200
9 Investment, . . . . .	8,550,000	746,000	78,500
20 Canal Rail-Roads, &c. . . . .	19,135,000	393,375	246,000
20 Steam, . . . . .	2,927,500	79,900	35,650
43 Miscellaneous, . . . . .	20,409,000	799,500	390,250
118 Total, . . . . .	L.56,606,500	L.2,419,675	848,600

The companies classed in the preceding list, comprise those whose shares were issued and sold in the market.

*Still Existing.*

No.	COMPANY.	CAPITAL.	Amount Paid.	Latest ascertained Value.	Amount liable to be called.	No. of Shares.
44	Mines, . . . . .	L.26,776,000	L.5,455,100	L.2,927,350	L.21,320,900	358,700
20	Gas, . . . . .	9,061,000	2,162,000	1,504,625	6,899,000	152,100
14	Insurance, . . . . .	28,120,000	2,247,000	1,606,000	25,873,000	545,000
49	Miscellaneous, . . . . .	38,824,600	5,321,850	3,265,975	33,502,750	502,500
127		L.102,781,600	L.15,185,950	L.9,303,950	L. 7,595,650	1,618,340

When the infamous objects of the projectors of most of those companies, and their aiders and abettors, began to be developed, and especially when it was found that, by the legerdemain practices resorted to, not a few obscure knaves had been raised to affluence upon the wreck of the fortunes of others; the rage for speculation began to subside, and was succeeded by the very natural feelings of remorse, shame, and indignation. The bitterest execrations were now poured out against the "juggling fiends,"

who had wrought the fatal spell upon the mind of the nation. Many who had assisted to promote the delusion, and profited by it, artfully joined in the cry, hoping to direct public attention from themselves; while others, similarly situated, expressed the profoundest contrition for their share in the jugglery, and laboured to persuade the victims of it, (but without offering to make restitution,) that they had sinned from mere ignorance or thoughtlessness. Joint-stock companies were now denounced in the gross, as being



hideous impostures; and among the foremost to adopt this rash and foolish prejudice, was the Lord Chancellor, who took an opportunity, at the commencement of the session of Parliament, to express a most decided hostility to them. Awed by this declaration of his lordship, only a few of the new companies ventured to apply to Parliament for acts endowing them with the privileges and functions which were indispensable to their success and permanency. Out of the whole companies formed and projected, only forty-seven applied for acts; and only eleven, (the schemes of which appeared to the legislature to possess *bona fides* and feasibility,) succeeded in obtaining them. Three of these were mining companies in Ireland; one was for water-works; three were for navigation and fisheries—(one of these three for sailing regular steam-packets between Valencia, in the S. W. of Ireland, and America and the West Indies; and another, for forming a canal from Seaton Bay, in Devonshire, to the Bay of Bridgewater, in the Bristol Channel) and the rest were of a miscellaneous nature.

It seems very clear, that, upon no sound principle, can joint-stock companies be indiscriminately condemned. There may be many undertakings, promising a fair return of profits to those engaged in them, and immense advantage to the country, but of a magnitude far exceeding the capital of any individual, or the risk which any individual would choose to incur. There are, for example, works for supplying large towns with water or gas, canals, and rail-roads; there is also the business of insurance; and, since no single individual is likely to engage in any of these, it is obvious that none would ever be undertaken, if not by a large number of individuals, who, uniting into companies, divide the risk among themselves. The

fact, indeed, is undoubted, that England owes much of her superiority to other nations, to the extraordinary facilities she possesses of internal communication, which have been achieved principally by companies; and it is no less certain, that the companies formed prior to 1824, have, if we average their dividends, been eminently successful. There existed, prior to the above period, and still exist, in England alone, no fewer than 156 companies for canals, roads, bridges, docks, water-works, gas-works, &c. which have advanced no less than £34,065,936 upon local and national improvements; and though the shares of some are at a discount, those of others are at a premium; and by the operations of the whole, has the country been eminently benefited.

But the companies formed in 1824-5, were, with a very few exceptions, of a widely different character. To show the extravagance and delusiveness of them, one remark might suffice—that throughout the whole world, there could not have arisen, or been created, all of a sudden, a demand for the works and the commodities which they undertook to supply, at all equal to the capitals which were to be invested in them. However, though some of their schemes were vastly magnificent, requiring almost the treasures of an empire to realize them, the far greater proportion were devoted to occupations—some most laughably sordid—to which the capital of even humble individuals were fully adequate, and which, to be successful at all, demand all the economy, labour, and constant superintendence which individuals usually bestow upon their own affairs. It might have occurred to any one possessed of common understanding, that such speculations—especially in Britain, where every occupation is filled up by persons, rivalling each other, and content with the small-

est profits, could not, but by a miracle, succeed, even supposing the directors and agents to have been as disinterested and honest as, generally, they were rapacious and unprincipled.

Contemporaneous with the mania for joint-stock companies, and affianced to it by fraud and delusion, was there a mania for dealing in loans to foreign governments, some of which were proverbially faithless, and most of them bankrupt, or, which was nearly equivalent, in the crisis of revolution. There could scarcely have been an expectation that many of these loans would ever be repaid; but persons purchased the scrip of them, as joint-stock

companies' shares were bought at the time, in the hope that the prevailing mania would be still farther heightened, when the scrip might be resold at a premium.

The following table of the foreign loans contracted for during the two years 1824-5, shows the enormous amount of money of which the country was drained by them; most of it, we fear, never to be returned, at least in the shape of repayment. The effect which this draining of money had in producing the commercial distress that ensued, we may have occasion to notice in the sequel.

*Foreign Loans contracted for in 1824.*

	Nom. Capital.	Cont. Price.	Money advanced.
Austria, 5 per cent . . . .	1,350,000	82	1,288,750
Brazil, ditto . . . . .	1,200,000	75	900,000
Portugal, ditto . . . . .	1,500,000	87	1,305,000
Greece, ditto . . . . .	800,000	59	472,000
Columbia, 6 per cent . . . .	4,750,000	80½	4,203,750
Buenos Ayres, ditto . . . .	1,000,000	85	850,000
Mexico, 5 per cent . . . . .	3,200,000	58	1,856,000
Peru, 6 per cent . . . . .	750,000	77	577,500
Naples, 5 per cent . . . . .	2,500,000	92½	2,312,500
	<b>1,19,200,000</b>		<b>1,15,364,250</b>

*In 1825.*

	Nom. Capital.	Cont. Price.	Money advanced.
Brazil, 5 per cent . . . . .	1,200,000	85	1,170,000
Mexico, 6 per cent . . . . .	3,200,000	89½	2,872,000
Greece, 5 per cent . . . . .	2,000,000	80½	1,130,000
Denmark, 3 per cent . . . .	3,625,000	78½	2,718,750
Peru, 6 per cent . . . . .	616,000	78	480,480
Guatemala, 6 per cent . . .	1,428,571	75	1,042,988
	<b>1,12,860,571</b>		<b>1,19,944,218</b>

*Summary.*

	CAPITAL.	Amount advanced.
Foreign Loans of 1824 . . .	1,19,200,000	1,15,364,250
Ditto 1825 . . . . .	12,860,571	9,944,218
Total . . . . .	<b>1,32,060,571</b>	<b>1,25,308,468</b>

It will be supposed, that, to have brought about these extraordinary manias, there must have been some predisposing cause. For our part, we can only ascribe it to the spirit of gambling, recklessness of adventure, and impatience of gain at any risk, which, for a considerable time, had characterised the commercial classes of society; and the causes of which we shall endeavour to trace—connected as they, and the prodigies they engendered, are with the unparalleled distress which, towards the close of the year, befell the commercial world.

The most efficient of those causes we conceive to be, the unsound and vicious system of banking which prevailed in England. By an absurd regulation, designed for the advantage of the Bank of England, no other banking company, consisting of more than six partners, was permitted; and, as a consequence, though we do not mean to deny the great stability and wealth of many of the English country banks, too many were very destitute of both the one and the other. Banking is a business which, unlike all others, is better conducted by a large company than by a few individuals. Prudence and caution are of much more value in it than talent or enterprise; and the former qualities are more often to be found in companies, who usually submit to the guidance of the most sagacious and experienced partners, than in individuals. The profits accruing to the partners singly of a large company, from any isolated transaction, must be so small, that its managers are never personally tempted into extraneous or rash speculation,—they are less intent upon gain than in avoiding risk and securing the confidence of their constituents. But individual bankers, in their trade, must feel the desire to become suddenly rich, in common with others; and when they have the management

of money not their own, and the power of unlimitedly issuing their own paper money, the temptation to speculate with it is too strong to be often resisted.

In many parts of England banks were set up with very little capital, and maintained their credit solely by pushing their notes into circulation. Of course, on their part, there was an extraordinary facility in giving credit, in other words, discounting bills;—the custom of great manufacturing establishments was assiduously courted by them; and it not unfrequently happened, that after the banker had advanced largely to the manufacturer, the fate of the two became completely identified; and the one had to continue to support the other, with new advances, through all his difficulties. Not unfrequently, too, bankers engaged directly themselves in manufacturing, mining, or other concerns, quite foreign to their proper business; taking care to pay their purchases of goods and labour with their own paper; so that the gain, if any, was their own—the loss, if any, fell upon their customers. Many manufacturers were not long in adopting this idea of (to use a stage phrase) *doubling* themselves; it was cheaper, they perceived, to pay their workmen with their own paper than with good money; and they took out the banker's license for that sole and unworthy purpose.

We are far from being enemies to paper money, when its issuers are possessed of ample funds for retiring it; but spurious paper money, which, in reality, only represents the assurance of the issuer, is, when it abounds, the greatest curse which can afflict a country—unnaturally raising prices and depreciating the currency, and exposing both, by fits and starts, to ruinous fluctuations. The vast abundance of this sort of money in 1824-5 joined to the facility of procuring it

was sufficient, in our judgment, to have inoculated a whole people with the wild spirit of mercantile gambling.

As an adjunct to this evil of spurious paper money, we may notice a lamentable change which had taken place in the qualifications of traders generally. It was the advice of Lord Bacon, we think, that no man should engage in a profession or trade before he attained the age of thirty years; and this advice was so far acted upon by our forefathers, that few engaged in a trade till their minds were stored with a thorough knowledge of it, and of adequate worldly experience. Perhaps the necessity there was then of commencing upon real capital, or at most upon credit very cautiously furnished, made such an arrangement unavoidable. A British merchant, in those days, was respected equally for his intelligence and probity; he purchased directly from the manufacturer, (who, on the other hand, regulated his supply by—not the possible or imagined—but the actual demand,) and, knowing accurately the wants of foreign markets, he made his shipments accordingly. But in modern times, so easily was credit to be procured, that persons rushed into trade, profoundly ignorant of its principles and details, and at early periods of life, when facility of obtaining credit is certain to be abused, and the possession of borrowed money is as certain to lead to extravagance and rashness of enterprise. By a strange revolution of fashion, too, the manufacturer became the merchant; and commenced producing for the foreign markets, not according to the demands from the outports, but according to his own enlightened notions of what the foreign markets required. The boy manufacturer now consigned his goods for a particular foreign market at some outport with a boy agent; and he

advanced upon them, either by his own bill or banker's paper money, perhaps two-thirds of their estimated value, and then shipped the goods to their destination, where it was the merest chance if there was the least demand for them. The ignorance which some of those shipments displayed would exceed belief, were it not perfectly well attested. One of them consisted of a cargo of ice skates for Buenos Ayres, and another for New South Wales, chiefly of Glauber salts, more than sufficient to have served the whole Chinese empire for a century. Opposed to such speculators, the trading capitalist had no chance. Their extravagant shipments beat down prices abroad far beneath the point of profit; and, at home, the fraudulent disposal, by many of them, of their goods at any price they would bring, and the frequent bringing into the market of their bankrupt stocks, had a similar and equally mischievous effect.

With all this unsoundness and disorder, never did the commercial world exhibit a more prosperous aspect, but one most unreal and deceptive. The precise effect which speculations in joint-stock companies, and foreign loans, and the paper money system, with its train of immediate evils, may have had, singly or combinedly, in producing the distress which ensued, it is impossible to determine. But it seems tolerably certain, that the bursting of so many joint-stock bubbles, which, though not immediately hurtful to the nation, occasioned the speedy ruin of many, had produced in the public mind an extreme sensitiveness of danger; and that the foreign loans led directly to consequences which produced an universal PANIC. The exportation of the immense sums raised for foreign loans, had the effect of turning the rates of foreign exchanges against England to such an

alarming extent, that the Bank of England, after much, and, we think, very culpable hesitation, determined to limit its issues; the immediate consequence of which was the downfall of a vast number of banking houses both in town and country. Great alarm was produced, causing runs upon other banks which had survived the shock, many of which were compelled either to declare themselves insolvent, or to suspend payment. Confidence among mercantile men was nearly destroyed; and money, which before was so plentiful that bills were freely discounted at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, could not be procured but at the most extravagant prices. Then it was that the bad effects of the usury laws were severely felt; for many, whose assets were ample, and who might have saved their credit, had they been allowed to negotiate loans at more than

the legal premium, sunk down from the want of pecuniary supply; while others, by certain well-known expedients, evasive of those laws, succeeded in raising supplies at the cost of sacrifices greater than would have been exacted, had the trade in money been absolutely free. The public ear was daily stunned by the fall of commercial houses, old established, and of the most unsuspected credit; and as the catastrophe of each involved the fate of others, the apprehensions excited were universal. It was found, too, that there had been an excessive production of goods of every description, and almost a cessation of demand for them; and thus the manufacturers became involved in the general distress. In short, the year 1825 closed amidst clouds and tempests, such as had never before threatened and assailed the trading world.

## CHAPTER X.

## BURMAN WAR.

SINCE the days of Hyder and Scindiah, as we observed in our last volume, there was no war in which the Anglo-Indian government had been involved, which had excited, in the British public so much anxiety and apprehension with regard to the final result, as the present. Great ignorance prevailed with regard even to the geographical position and boundaries of the Burman empire, and still more with regard to its resources; but from their mode of conducting the war, it was evident that the Burmans were a nation of warriors—audacious, skilful, and persevering, and exempt from those sudden panics to which sudden levies are peculiarly subject. There was also a prevailing distrust of the capacity of Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, and a belief that he had rashly engaged in the war, merely to give éclat to his administration, by new conquests, and without weighing the probable consequences. To these sources of uneasiness, there remains to be added another: It was confidently rumoured in India, from whence the rumour was transmitted to

England, that the Burman government was secretly encouraged and instigated by Russian emissaries, and was even secretly supplied by Russia with the munitions of war. Such a rumour, it is proper to observe, rested on the authority of private letters, written chiefly by disaffected persons, and was, in the sequel, completely disproved.

It is not our purpose to gauge the military capacity of Lord Amherst, or to determine whether the plan of operations by the army emanated from himself, or from military men of professional reputation;\* but one thing is now certain, that the aggressions of the Burmans had made war unavoidable. That people, though tolerably civilized, and not unlettered—though acquainted with the genius and character of our Indian government, had acquired, from a long train of successes over their less warlike neighbours, most exaggerated notions of their own greatness; and they had long evinced a disposition to measure their strength with that of British India. During the Pindaree war, they were in secret communication with

\* We may observe, that Major Canning is generally supposed to have been the author of the plan.

several of the belligerent Mahratta chiefs; and we have the Marquis of Hastings's authority for the fact of their having been then prepared to invade the south-east frontier of Bengal; from which enterprise they were with difficulty diverted, by an ingenious, though perfectly justifiable stratagem practised by his lordship.

In our last volume, we noticed the capture, by the Burmans, of the island of Shapurez, when occupied by the British; but their hostile intentions were still more clearly indicated upon the British frontier. Until 1820, both Cachar and Muneepoor were subject to the Muneeporeans, and governed by two brothers, Choorjeet and Marjeet, and their cousin Gumbheer Singh. In that year, they were attacked by the Burmans, who reduced Muneepoor, and extended their conquests into the eastern parts of Assam. The three chiefs fled; but, taking advantage of the absence of the enemy, they soon recovered Muneepoor. That place, however, was destined to fall again into the hands of the Burmans, who then again advanced upon Assam, and made a conquest of that district, by defeating its rajah, almost within sight of a British post, upon the Brahmapootra.

According to their cruel and invincible policy, the Burmans were proceeding to depopulate Assam, when its inhabitants retired before them in large masses within the British frontier. Posts were established for their protection both at Jugeegopa and Gwalpara; notwithstanding which, the Burmans repeatedly violated our territory, in pursuit of the refugees and their property. About this time, the exiled rajahs of Cachar and Muneepoor, Marjeet and Choorjeet, as well as a former rajah of Cachar, Garind Chundur, whom they had dispossessed of that territory, agreed to place Cachar under our protection; and the supreme government, foreseeing that they would be compelled into

hostility by the Burmans, determined that the war, when forced upon them, should commence in Cachar, rather than on our own Indian frontier. As had been anticipated, the Burmese, whose hatred of the Muneeporeans knew no limits, prepared a new expedition, for the purpose of extirpating them; and, advancing upon different points of Cachar, they demanded that the objects of their hate should be delivered up to them. They had even the insolence to declare that they would not be disappointed of their prey, though they should have to follow their enemy to the farther end of Hindostan. Matters having been pushed to this extremity by the Burmans, hostilities were the necessary result. They had no claim, they made no claim, upon Cachar: the Indian government was bound to protect it; and that government could not, without scandalously violating the law of nature and of nations, and irrevocably lowering its character in the eyes of all India, consent to deliver up a whole unhappy race to the vengeance of their truculent enemies. Had the war been commenced on the part of the British, it would have been perfectly justifiable under the circumstances; but still, it is satisfactory to know, that the first gun was fired by the Burmans.

We formerly detailed the operations of the two hostile armies, Anglo-Indian and Burman, in the territory of Cachar, and the results of several expeditions fitted out against some of the Burman maritime possessions. We also brought down our account of the events of the war in the neighbourhood of Rangoon to the 15th of December 1824, when the Burman army sustained a second most severe repulse. We did not, however, then notice (for the fact was not known at that time in Britain) that Maha Bandoolah, who latterly commanded the Burman army before Rangoon, had, on account of his celebrity as a brave and skilful warrior,

been recalled, with his army, from Arracan, by which the Bengal frontier was relieved from the dread and danger of invasion; and, flushed with his partial success, had marched across the mountains to the Irrawaddy river, a distance of 200 miles, and had fixed upon Donnobew as a general rendezvous, where he collected his forces before proceeding to Rangoon, then the theatre of war.

After its disastrous defeat on the 15th, the Burman army retreated upon Donnobew, leaving posts on the Lain and Panlang rivers, to harass the British in its advance. Meantime, the situation of the British in Rangoon was greatly improved. The inhabitants, convinced of the ability of the invaders to afford them protection, returned from the jungles, to which they had retreated, and where many of them had perished, owing to the severities exercised against them by their imperious masters the Burmans, and resumed their former occupations. A bazaar was soon re-established, and was plentifully supplied with edibles of every description. The army was now enabled to procure a sufficiency of canoes for the transport of provisions, and servants for the commissariat. But the most exhilarating circumstance was, the arrival of reinforcements, consisting of the 47th regiment, two squadrons of cavalry, horse artillery and rocket troop. Along with these came 1700 cattle, and corresponding equipments.

On the south-east frontier of Bengal, a large force had assembled, under the command of Brigadier-General Morrison, for the invasion of Arracan; and expectations were entertained, that, after reducing the capital of that province, it would be enabled to cross the lofty range of mountains which separate Arracan from Ava, and join the army upon the Irrawaddy. On the Sylhet frontier, another large force, under Brigadier-General Shouldham, threatened to

advance upon the capital of Cassay; and in Assam, Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, with a small field corps, was employed against the enemy in that quarter.

The attention of the British was, at this time, eagerly fixed upon the court of Siam. Between the Burmans and Siamese, there were many ancient grudges; and the latter were regarded by the British as an ally, whose co-operation might almost be depended upon. Most tempting overtures had been made by the Burman to the Siamese court, to secure its neutrality, if not its alliance; but though the overtures were not accepted by the latter, it had cautiously refrained from engaging on either side of the quarrel. However, that it might have the better chance of profiting by events, it had assembled upon the Martaban frontier a numerous body, with which, by the occupation of the Martaban frontier, the British army at Rangoon was placed in direct communication.

The British general had designed to advance direct upon the Burman capital, by the way of Pegu and Tonghoo, which was the shortest and the best, turning the enemy's positions upon the Irrawaddy; but as it would still be necessary to preserve the river communication, by means of a combined land and water force, the co-operation of the Siamese was indispensable to the success of the intended movement. The Siamese general was therefore strongly urged to act, and advance with his force upon Tonghoo; but instead of yielding compliance, he, to keep up appearances, merely sent a complimentary embassy to Rangoon, charged with many hyperbolic congratulations and compliments to the British general. Under this disappointment, the British general had to confine his operations to the banks of the Irrawaddy. The force destined to act by land, which was under the immediate command of Sir Archibald



Campbell, did not exceed 1300 European infantry, 1000 Sepoys, two squadrons of dragoons, and a rocket troop; and this force, diminutive as it was when compared with the magnitude and danger of the enterprise, was so imperfectly supplied with carriages, that it could take with it not more than fifteen days' provisions. This column was to move in a line parallel to the Lalin river, and to join the Irrawaddy at the nearest accessible point, for the purpose of co-operating with a main column, which was to advance up the Paultang Channel, in attacking Donoobew. The point of junction could not be fixed.

The marine column, which was commanded by Brigadier-General Cotton, consisted of 800 European infantry, a small battalion of Sepoys, and a powerful train of artillery. The flotilla in which they were embarked, consisted of sixty gun-boats, which were commanded by Captain Alexander, R. N., and escorted by the boats of the men-of-war lying at Rangoon. The instructions to the flotilla were, to push up the Paultang into the Irrawaddy, and on to Donoobew, with all possible expedition.

Another force, the naval part of which was under Captain Marryat, R. N. and the troops, consisting of the 13th regiment and the 12th Madras native infantry, commanded by Major Sale, was embarked for Bassein, with instructions to reduce that place, and then, if possible, to advance upon Donoobew, or Hewzedah, each of which places was supposed to be distant fifty miles from Bassein. We must here anticipate events, by mentioning, that, though this force succeeded in reducing Bassein, the impossibility of procuring carriage prevented its advancing upon either Donoobew or Hewzedah.

On the 11th of February, the land column, commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell, marched out of Rangoon, and commenced its advance upon Donoobew, through a country partly

fertile, though devastated by the Burmans, but chiefly covered with jungles, at the rate of from five to eight miles a-day, the column reached Mophee on the 17th. The villages which they had passed were inhabited by Carians—a miserable tribe, whom the Burmans had led into captivity, and located upon lands in Pegu. They are not liable to military service; but are subjected to heavy taxes. They raise great quantities of grain, with which the royal granaries are supplied. Their dwellings are truly miserable, being mere wicker-work, fixed on the tops of poles. These people cheerfully tendered every assistance to the army.

At Mophee was a garrisoned fort, which was attacked by the British about eight o'clock in the morning. So completely was the enemy taken by surprise, that as soon as the advanced guard moved on to the assault, the former was seen to rush into jungles, in such haste that there was no pursuing them.

At Mophee, stood a mansion erected for Bandoolah, on his coming down to Rangoon. In the Burman empire, the architecture of houses for men of rank is regulated by law; and the penalty of death is denounced against those of inferior rank, who venture to inhabit them. It therefore usually happens, that, in travelling, a great man has a house erected for him at every village before his arrival in it; and the house, as was the case with Bandoolah's, upon his departure, remains tenantless, and is suffered to go to decay.

On the 19th February, the column reached Maendago, where a picket of Cassny horse fled at its approach. According to information received at headquarters at Rangoon, there should have been a road from Maendago to Donoobew, across the island formed by the Lalin and Paultang rivers, by which road it was intended that the column should advance; but it was now found that

there was no such road; and as the island consisted of an impassable jungle, it was determined that the army should proceed, by a well known and ascertained road, to Sarrawah, which is on the Irrawaddy, about sixty miles above Donoobew.

On 1st of March, the column arrived at Theeboon, having passed, besides other villages, the village of Lain, a war-boat station of the Burmans. At Theeboon, it forded the Lain river, and took up a position a mile in advance. Here it was joined by provision boats, which had been dispatched up the river, for the supply of the commissariat carts; and here also, intelligence was received of the capture of Panlang by the marine column, and its advance into the Irrawaddy.

Next day, the column arrived at Sarrawah, where it first came in sight of the majestic Irrawaddy. The place, which is the head-quarters of the Burman king's war-boats in Pegu, was, on the approach of the British, completely deserted by its inhabitants, who were seen, in one large mass, on the opposite side of the river, moving slowly into the depths of a huge forest.

At Sarrawah, the column halted six entire days, in hopes of obtaining intelligence of the operations of the marine column, which, it was considered certain, must have reached Donoobew. Rumours were abroad that Bandoolah had retreated from that strong place; but they were too vague to be relied upon; and, besides, they might have been circulated by the enemy, with a view to ensnare the British. On the 7th, however, a heavy cannonade was heard at Donoobew, which, commencing in the morning, entirely ceased in afternoon. There was now a moral

conviction that Donoobew had been at-

and carried, which was strength-

by accounts of Bandoolah's re-

treit, which poured in from all quarters.

It was now deemed necessary that the

column should advance with the utmost haste, in order to prevent the defeated enemy from reaching Prome, the capital of Pegu, and the laying waste of the country between Sarrawah and that city. Accordingly, on the 9th, the column marched from Sarrawah, leaving a strong detachment there, to intercept the enemy's retreat by water, and maintain a communication between the advancing and the marine columns. On the 10th, the troops reached Uandect, distant twenty-six miles from Sarrawah, having passed through a number of deserted villages. Uandect they found to be a town of considerable extent; but its inhabitants had fled from it, carrying away with them everything in the morning that was portable.

Here, on the morning of the 11th, intelligence was received that the marine column had failed in its attack upon the outworks of Donoobew, and that, unless the assailants were reinforced, the place was too strong to be carried. It now became a question of grave consideration, whether the land column, after reinforcing the marine one from the rear at Rangoon, should advance directly upon Prome, or fall back upon Donoobew, and there effect a junction with the other column. Against the first of these alternatives there were these formidable objections, that the Burmans had the command of the great river, by which all supplies for the troops were effectually stopped; there were only ten days' rations in store; and there was little chance of deriving the smallest supply from the country. It was, therefore, resolved that the column should fall back, and effect the junction in question. On the 12th it left Uandect, and next day regained Sarrawah.

The same day, the Madras infantry crossed the river, and took possession of Hewwedah, on the opposite side. Rafts were constructed at the cost of immense labour, by which, in the course of five days, the entire column, with its

commissariat, artillery, and ammunition, was enabled to cross to Hewzedah, where, upon the 18th, head-quarters were established.

Hewzedah and Keoum-zeik which adjoins it, form a large town; but, like all the other towns which they had approached, our troops found it to be wholly deserted. It had, previously to its desertion, been a place of considerable commerce, and numbered among its inhabitants several Armenian and other merchants, who dealt in indigo, which thrives remarkably well in its neighbourhood. The surrounding plains were covered with cattle, so very wild that there was the utmost difficulty in catching any of them.

Information having been received at Hewzedah, that the Kee Wongee (principal minister of the Latoo, or Council of State) was posted, with a considerable force, on the road to Lamina, about fifteen miles distant, Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, with a strong detachment, marched out, under cloud of night, to surprise him. But the cautious minister was not to be so surprised. Numerous beacons gave him warning of the approach of the British; and he ingloriously fled, after throwing away his robes of state, and disguising himself as a peasant. His followers instantly dispersed and sought refuge in the jungles. Two secretaries of the Latoo were all that were left dead on the field.

On the 21st, after two days' rest, the column left Hewzedah; and, having encountered in their march enormous difficulties, presented by grass and reed jungles, halted on the 24th at a village within four miles of Donoobew. Here the column first obtained a view of the enemy's works, and also of the British flotilla, at anchor beneath the stockades. Above was stationed a fleet of Burman boats, which, upon a party of the army attempting a reconnoissance, went out in regular order, and commenced cannonading.

Donoobew was surrounded by old brick ramparts of considerable elevation, in front of which was a stockade of solid teak beams from fifteen to seventeen feet high, and which was strengthened by cross beams, connecting it with the ramparts. This stockade extended nearly a mile along the Irrawaddy, and varied in breadth from 500 to 800 yards. A ditch of great width and depth surrounded the inner defences in advance of the ditch were several rows of strong railing; and, in front of all, was a most formidable abatis, excepting on the face of the river, which there presented an insuperable barrier. The fortification, in short, would have done credit to the most experienced engineer. In front of the face lowest down the river, were two strong outworks, one of which had been carried by the main column, but the other had resisted its attacks. On the works 150 guns and swivels were mounted; and the garrison, amounting to 15,000 men, mostly veterans brought by Bandoolah from Arracan, were protected from shells by numerous well-executed traverses and excavations. The whole appearance of the place, with its numerous golden chattahs glittering in the sun, was most imposing; and indicated the utmost confidence and resolution on the part of the garrison. Bandoolah had declared his determination there to conquer or die; and the character of that chief for skill, courage, and obstinacy, prepared the besiegers for a most vigorous and protracted resistance.

On the 25th the army proceeded to invest the fort; but it was found too extensive to be surrounded even by a chain of posts. A position, therefore, was taken up, the left being made to rest upon the river, and the right to extend circularly towards the centre of the rear face of the fort, where there was a fine open plain, on which a division encamped at long shot distance. While this was being done, a great ma-

ny guns were fired upon the troops from the fort; and the enemy's cavalry skirmished on their flanks. So soon, however, as they had occupied their ground, the enemy's fire ceased; but the succeeding calm was of short duration. At ten in the evening, the camp was roused and put in motion by the firing of musketry and the war-cry of the Burmans: columns of them were seen moving towards the British right, in order to turn it; while a distant fire was kept up on the centre and left, in order to distract attention. When the attacking columns had reached the extreme right of the British, they were suddenly checked by the running fire of two regiments which were posted there; and were compelled to retire, carrying with them their dead and wounded.

Next day, it was resolved to open a communication at once between the two columns; with which view a small party was dispatched through a jungle to the fleet, which it reached in safety. A little above Donnobew, there is an island in the river; and in the farther channel were stationed the enemy's war-boats, which, sailing round the corner of the island, occasionally fired into the British camp. To drive them away, a small party, with rockets, crossed over to the island, and completely accomplished their object. The same day, an old pagoda, about 300 yards from the enemy's works, which was selected as the most eligible point for first breaking ground, was occupied by the 47th regiment, which immediately commenced intrenching itself. The neighbouring ground was found to have been mined and loaded, but no explosion took place.

On the 27th, the British flotilla forced its passage up the river. So soon as it was descried from the fort, the Burmans made a sortie in considerable force, with infantry, cavalry, and elephants: it was directed against the British right. While the fleet advanced under the fire of the fort, the British

cavalry, covered by the horse-artillery, made a charge upon the elephants, who withstood it with unwonted steadiness. Most of their riders were shot, on which they slowly retreated within the fortifications. During the cannonade which took place between the fort and flotilla, a Burman officer was shot, while pointing his gun; on which his comrades abandoned the fatal post, and could not be prevailed on by the intreaties or threats of their superiors to return to it. Bandoolah, learning the circumstance, came to the spot where the delinquents were, and gave an example of the promptitude and severity of his discipline, by instantly decapitating them with his own hand. At length, the British fleet passed the fort, and anchored on the left of the British column.

Next day, part of the British flotilla succeeded in capturing nine of the enemy's war-boats; and that, and the three following days, the troops were employed in constructing batteries, and landing heavy ordnance, while the Burmans devoted themselves to strengthening their works. On the last of these days, the following extraordinary epistle from Bandoolah, written on dirty canvass, was brought to the British camp: "In war, we find each other's force; the two countries are at war for nothing, and we know not each other's minds." The conduct observed by the British general towards the bearer of this message, we cannot approve of. It appears to us a direct violation of the law of nations—of those provisions of it, especially, which are indispensable to the restoring of concord between belligerent parties. It has been affected to consider the message as insulting;—for our part, we can view it in no such light, and regard it only as an attempt, an insidious one probably, on the part of Bandoolah, to open a negotiation for peace with the British general. The messenger, according to our view, ought unquestionably to have been treated as the bearer of a flag of truce; instead of

which, however, he was threatened with the punishment of a spy, under the influence of which threat he divulged the fact of its being Bandoolah's intention to make a sally, at the head of his whole forces, on the first favourable opportunity, and conquer or perish in the attempt. Upon every fair principle, it seems to us as unfair to extort from a person, in the capacity of this Burman messenger, his employer's secrets, by threatening to put him to death as a spy, as it would be to put such a threat in execution against him;—the only difference between the two cases being, that there would be a higher degree of cruelty in the one than the other.

On the 1st of April, the mortar batteries and rockets commenced firing on the fort, and continued to do so, at intervals, during the day and succeeding night. Their fire was very slackly returned by the garrison.

Next day, at daylight, two Lascars, who had been prisoners of war in the fort, came running out, bringing with them the most unlooked for and welcome intelligence, that Bandoolah had been killed the previous day by a rocket, and that the place had been evacuated by the garrison in the course of the evening. The British immediately entered and took possession of the place, where (such had been the hurry of the enemy's flight) they found not a gun had been removed, and the large stores of grain, collected by the Burmans, wholly uninjured. A poor fellow, with both his feet shot off, was found, who gave the following account of the catastrophe by which the brave Bandoolah perished: "I belonged to the household of Menghi Maha Bandoolah, and my business was to beat the great drums which are hanging in the veranda of the Wungee's house. Yesterday morning, between the hours of nine and ten, while the chief's dinner was preparing, he went out to take his usual morning walk round the works, and arrived at his observatory, (that tower with a red ball

upon it,) where, as there was no firing, he sat down upon a couch that was kept there for his use. While he was giving orders to some of his chiefs, the British began to throw bombs, and one of them, falling close to the Wungee, burst, and killed him on the spot. His body was immediately carried away and burned to ashes. His death was soon known to every one in the stockade, and the soldiers refused to stay and fight under any other commander. The chiefs lost all influence and command over their men, every one thinking of providing for his own personal safety."

Thus, by a random shot at the very commencement of the siege, were the British put in possession, almost without bloodshed, of a stronghold, before which the best part of their strength might have been wasted; and by that same shot did the enemy sustain an immeasurable and irreparable loss in the person of Bandoolah, the only general possessed of the confidence of the troops and the nation, and the only one who, by his superior skill, courage, and enthusiastic devotedness, seemed entitled to that confidence. His death was of more advantage to the invaders, (even putting the capture of Donobew out of view,) than would have been the gaining of a series of pitched battles.

It is no small proof of the zeal and enthusiasm which animated the British general, that, instead of reposing in the lap of victory for a time, and joyfully meditating upon the new laurels added to his brow, he completed, in the course of the day which succeeded his capture of Donobew, his arrangements for advancing upon Prome; and that, on the day following, namely, the 4th, the land column was in full march for that capital.

On the 12th, the column was again at Sarrawah; and on the 14th reached Uandeet; on their march to which it heard of bands of fugitives from Donobew, who had turned marauders, and preyed upon the defenceless peasantry. The next day the column reached Sa-

baye-meum, where intelligence was received, that all the country as far up as Prome had been depopulated, so soon as the news of the fate of Donoobew had been received. The day following, it reached Monghee, where ground had been marked out by Prince Sarrawuddy for a very extensive stockade, part of which had been constructed.

On the 19th, after three days' march, the column reached Huddadoon, situated in a beautiful plain, studded with (a sad appearance) villages smoking in their ashes. From this position, a view was obtained, for the first time, of the lofty chain of mountains, called Anaupectomiew, which divides Arracan from Ava. Here, an elderly man came into the British camp, as the bearer of a proposal from two Attawoons or councillors of his Burman Majesty, for terminating the war by treaty. This envoy, having most undiplomatically got tipsy, whispered into the general's ear, "They are frightened out of their wits, and you may do what you please with them." The answer returned to the proposal signified the readiness of the Anglo-Indian government to conclude a peace; and that, on the arrival of the army at Prome, every facility would be afforded of opening negotiations. It became evident, in the sequel, that the sole drift of the proposal was to stay the advance of the British upon Prome.

On the 20th the column marched from Huddadoon; and, at the end of five days' march, on the 24th, arrived at Daringabayah, where it obtained a view of the heights of Prome, and of the British flotilla anchored beneath it. Here another communication was received from the Burman authorities; the import of which was, that the city should not be occupied by the British—that there was an army on each side—and that between the two there was sufficient ground for holding a conference upon. As the object of this communication obviously was to gain time, the answer returned was, that the

British would certainly take military possession of Prome, but that their general would willingly meet the Burman deputies next day, when and where they chose to appoint, to arrange as to the protection of the inhabitants and their property.

Before daylight next day, the column was in order of battle, and in motion; and soon found itself under a ridge of hills which cover Prome to the southward, and stretch away to the south-east and east. The river forms a most powerful barrier to the town, on the west side, and is commanded for the length of a mile, by the heights, which were fortified to their summits. But the stockades were unoccupied; and the enemy having fled from every position, the column, without resistance, entered the capital of Pegu, which the retiring enemy had set in a blaze; but by the exertions of the troops, a considerable part of the buildings was saved from the ravages of the fiery element.

It was found that the Prince of Sarrawuddy had been at Prome, where he had determined to make an obstinate stand; for which he was rapidly collecting the whole disposable force of the kingdom. The expected reinforcements were within a few days' march of the place, when the subtle design of the enemy was suddenly frustrated by the unexpected advance of the British troops. The prince and his followers precipitately fled; and, in their route, laid waste the villages, and drove the helpless inhabitants into the woods. It was learnt, that Sarrawuddy had rallied his forces at Melloon; and that orders had been issued for raising an additional body of 30,000 men; but so stunning was the effect of the past events of the war, that few of the natives could be urged, even by the dread of their sovereign's vengeance, to rally round the national standard; and it was found necessary (a fact unprecedented in Burman history) to offer a bounty, equal to about £20 sterling, to each recruit

The wet season approaching, it was judged impolitic then to advance the army farther into the enemy's country; but it was determined, in the meantime, to dispatch a small expedition for the purpose of clearing the surrounding country of the military bands which were ravaging it, and to penetrate eastward as far as Tonghoo, a walled city of great consequence, situate 100 miles distant from Prome. The first two days' march of the expedition was over a fertile champagne country, which was succeeded by a luxuriant wilderness, in which were nestled a few solitary cottages. Occasionally it came upon villages; and as care had been taken to apprise the inhabitants of the approach and friendly designs of the troops, they were found at the doors of their houses, staring with wonder upon their new visitors. The confidence of these people was easily acquired; and whenever the tents of our soldiers were pitched, the natives appeared, to offer them fowls and other commodities for sale or barter. The appearance of the huts was very far remote from that of *comfort*, according to what would be an English peasant's idea; but still the people appeared contented and cheerful. Weaving looms, which may be considered a mark of at least incipient civilization, were common among them. Where the Burmese troops had been, there was desolation—houses tenantless and plundered; and at intervals was seen some solitary sentinel, at the skirts of the forest, into which the natives had fled, watching the progress of the party.

The expedition at length reached Tagoodine, forty miles distant from Prome, and at the bottom of the Gaderet Mountains, which separate the province of Prome from that of Tong-

These mountains are inhabited by a race of Pygmies, a harmless but uncouth people, among whom the practice of tattooing the face prevails. To advance beyond the point the expedition had reached, was impossible, on account of

the setting in of the rains; but a small division was ordered to ascend the pass over the mountains, which, however, it was found impossible to effect.

The expedition retired from Tagoodine towards Meaday, a deserted town, with an old brick wall, which appeared to have been recently stockaded. At every village on their homeward route our troops were shocked by the marks of the atrocious excesses committed by the Burman soldiers, acting, doubtless, by the commands of their chiefs, whose policy it was to reduce the British to the strait of famine. In most of the villages, dogs, howling for want, were the only living beings to be seen. Sometimes, a few of the inhabitants were discovered, with their cattle and other property, lying concealed within the jungle, and assurances of protection were given to them, if they would return to their homes; but the far greater proportion had been driven to a distance by the armed police. At length the party reached Prome in safety.

While the excursion we have described was being accomplished, the commander-in-chief was not inactive at head-quarters. On the approach of the rainy season, early in June, cantonments for the troops were prepared in the neighbourhood of Prome; and proclamations were issued, inviting the inhabitants to return, and promising them protection and liberal payment for the commodities they had to dispose of. The effect of these proclamations was almost magical. The people instantly returned in shoals, bringing along with them such of their property as had escaped military rapine, and re-instated themselves in their former habitations; and, in a few days, such is the active, cheerful disposition of the Peguins, Prome, with the accession of strangers, who came to settle there, relying upon British protection, rose to more than its former magnitude. Innumerable flocks were seen to issue from the forest recesses, and cover

surrounding plains, where they were suffered to browse in safety. Bazaars were opened at every station, and plentifully supplied. All traces of past affliction disappeared; and the only source of solicitude on the part of the inhabitants, was the knowledge that sooner or later they would be abandoned by their generous protectors.

As the great want experienced by the army was of the adequate means of conveying its stores, a depôt was established; and by the offer of liberal payment, the natives were readily induced to furnish large fleets of canoes, fit for the navigation of the Irrawaddy, and carts and cattle for the commissariat, and the equipment of the foot artillery. Beef also was abundantly supplied for the soldiers' rations.

A municipal government was also formed, to enforce the observance of good order and the rules of justice. In every district of the Burman empire, there is, besides a Maywoon, or military chief, a Meuthogee, or civil chief, whose duty it is to promulgate and carry into effect the orders of the Maywoon, to collect taxes, and to hold courts for the decision of petty causes; the fees payable in such causes constituting their chief emoluments. Most of the Meuthogees of the Prome province having returned from the woods, with the rest of the people, the commander-in-chief wisely offered to reinstate them in their office, under this limitation, that they were not to punish beyond a certain term of imprisonment, without the sanction of the British authorities; and, fortunately, though strange to say, those men ventured to brave the indignation of their own government, by accepting the proposal made to them. Owing partly to the discreet exercise by the Meuthogees of the power restored to them, and partly to the excellent discipline observed by our army, it is a notable circumstance, considering the distracted state of the surround-

ing country, that only one execution took place at Prome while the army remained there, and the sufferer was a native, convicted of robbery and murder. One great relief afforded to the inhabitants by the presence of the British was their exemption for the time being from all taxes.

At Prome the inquisitive of the British had leisure to examine closely, and judge with tolerable accuracy of the genius, dispositions, and habits of the people. It struck most with surprise, that the Peguins, once a proud and independent nation, showed no symptoms of an inclination to shake off the Burman yoke; but, on the contrary, in Lower Pegu, evinced a remarkable fidelity to their tyrants—fighting zealously in their ranks, and strictly concealing their movements from the invaders. The only explanation that can be given of this singular attachment of the Peguins to a power that degrades and oppresses them is, that they are trained up in a slavish veneration of their chiefs, and impressed from infancy, as even the surrounding nations are, with a profound sense of the abilities of the Burmans for war and government; and that habit has so inured them to their condition, as to have obliterated all recollections of their former independence.

Some points of character the Burmans and their vassals, the Peguins, seem to have in common. What their religion is does not distinctly appear; but, to be Orientalists, they are remarkably exempt from such strong prejudices, either religious or national, as dispose those entertaining them, to undervalue and despise others, who, in matters of opinion, happen to differ from them; owing to which happy exemption they were soon prepared to recognize the superiority of the British, in respect of courage, and the qualities which are chiefly estimable in civilized man. A curious example of the looseness of



their prejudices occurred at Prome. Their religion forbids them to kill any domestic animal; but they had no repugnance to sell to the British, cattle which were meant to be killed, and even ate of their flesh,—nay, of the very offals which our soldiers rejected, with extreme eagerness. So slightly, indeed, do they regard their religion, that it has been remarked that the king, by a word of his mouth, might annihilate it, without exciting a single murmur among his subjects.

The Burmans are soldiers from their birth. Their courage, activity, and capability of enduring fatigue, admirably qualify them for a military life; their modes of defence display extraordinary skill; and their tactics, in offensive operations, far surpass those of other Eastern nations. Their government is essentially military; and so organized that the whole resources of the empire can, with wonderful celerity, be put in motion. All other interests of the state are subordinated to its military power and glory. In war, the Burmese are unhesitating and remorseless; to spare a people whom they have subdued from utter extermination, is an act of most unwonted benignity; though millions should perish, their conquests must be secured.

Yet, ruthless as are the Burmans in war, in domestic life they are amiable—most affectionate to those dependent upon them. The poor are frank and hospitable—acute and intelligent; and let most civilized governments blush when they learn the fact, that *most of them can read and write*. The public functionaries, as must always be the case under a despotic government, are a base and faithless crew; but the bulk of the nation possess many meritorious qualities. Their greatest fault (and a most lamentable one it is) seems to be their utter want of chastity. It is

very common

While the British army was enjoying involuntary rest at Prome, meditating, when the season permitted, an advance upon Amarapura, the capital of Ava, and the seat of government, the Burmans were making extraordinary preparations for the renewal of the contest. The arsenals were busied in manufacturing the munitions of war; and a contingent of 15,000 men from the far distant country of the Shan tribes, bordering upon China, was marching towards the capital. So eagerly did the Shans obey the imperial mandate, that the force they sent into the field, was to be augmented to 70,000 before the end of September. So mighty were the preparations made, that the Burman monarch, elated by them, as well as deluded by his flatterers, instructed his generals, in a fit of gracious condescension, that they *might* listen to any pacific communications to be made by the British, as if the British had been anxious to get out of the country on any conditions.

In the beginning of October, the Burman forces were rapidly concentrating at Meaday. A letter had been sent from the British head-quarters to the Burman chiefs, exposing the consequences to the Burman empire of a continuance of the war, and urging them to consult the interests of their sovereign, by listening to terms of peace. A mission to Prome replied to this letter, that it was the desire of the King and his Ministers to have a lasting peace established between the two nations.

In consequence of this mission, two British officers were dispatched to Meaday, where they offered to the Kee Wungee, or Prime Minister, an armistice; and proposed a meeting between commissioners from the two armies. The armistice was accepted of; and it was agreed that the Kee Wungee, and another chief, Lamait Woon, should meet the British generals half-way, at

Neounbenzeik, each to be escorted by 600 men.

On the day appointed, the commissioners, with their guards, encamped upon the plain of Neounbenzeik, at the distance of a mile asunder. Equidistant from the two camps, a house had been erected as a place of conference. After an adjustment of formalities, both parties left camp at the same instant; and, meeting in front of the conference house, shook hands, then entered the house, and sat down on double rows of chairs, the one party fronting the other. The Burman commissioners, including the Kee Wongee, were all splendidly dressed; and, in sitting, conformed themselves strictly to the European mode, with a view to maintain perfect equality. Indeed, throughout the whole of the conferences, they seemed to have a thorough acquaintance with European customs; while, which was more creditable to their intelligence, they proved themselves to be far from ignorant of what were the true interests of the British empire. Their politesse was carried, perhaps, the length of insincerity; but that is no reproach to them, if we consider how much conventional insincerity there is in the etiquette of even European diplomacy. It is probable, that they would have incurred the imputation of being perfectly barbarous, had they spoke exactly as they thought and felt. Oriental nations are addicted to paying high-flown compliments, which are understood by both parties to amount in meaning only to this, that the person paying them has no deadly animosity towards him to whom they are addressed; and when we consider this addiction, we are disposed to think that the Burman commissioners displayed a candour, upon the whole, which entitles their nation to be regarded as a peculiar people among those of the East.

Many affectionate inquiries as to our

King and Royal Family were made by the Burman commissioners; after which it was proposed and agreed to, that the business of the meeting should be deferred till next day. The meeting then broke up, after the Burman commissioners had expressed their regret that two such enlightened nations as Britain and Ava should unfortunately have been engaged in war through misunderstanding.

Next day the respective commissioners again met at the conference-house, when Sir Archibald Campbell recapitulated the aggressions committed by the Burmans, commented on the success which had crowned the British army, and the dangers which threatened the Burman empire, and stated the terms upon which he was authorized to conclude a peace. The Burman commissioners replied, *inter alia*, that the aggressions complained of were unauthorized by their government, and were solely attributable to the unwarranted conduct of three bad men employed in Arracan, who had kept back the letters addressed by the Anglo-Indian government to their King. They then, to induce Sir Archibald Campbell to modify his demands, urged the advantages which the British, as a commercial nation, would derive from an accommodation with them; and that, were they to submit to their King the terms which were offered, it might cost them their heads. At length, they requested a prolongation of the armistice for twenty days, which Sir Archibald consented to. Before parting, the Burman commissioners dined with our general; and displayed a still farther knowledge of English customs. They took occasion particularly to reprobate the practice of putting prisoners of war to death, and other practices which their nation almost uniformly indulges in. They departed, expressing their hope, that peace would

speedily be concluded between the two countries.

In the course of a few days it became evident, that the Burmans were little disposed to make the concessions which were demanded of them. Numerous predatory bands scoured the country under the immediate protection of the British, and extended their ravages even to the gates of Prome, in open violation of the armistice which had been concluded. All the remonstrances which were made on the subject, had no effect on the Burman leaders, who, in face of the clearest evidence, disclaimed any connexion with the marauders. At length, when the armistice was about to close, they fairly threw aside the mask, by sending the following epistle to the British camp:—"If you wish for peace, you may go away; but if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burman custom."

This menacing manifesto was instantly followed up by offensive movements on the part of the Burmans, who, calculating upon their renovated strength, seem to have thought that they might easily overpower the British. They advanced upon Prome in three divisions: the right, commanded by Sudda Woon, amounting to 15,000 men, having crossed the Irrawaddy, moved forward upon its west bank, after detaching a corps to its front, for the purpose of interrupting the British communication with the rear; the centre, composed of from 25,000 to 30,000, under the command of the Kee Wongee himself, proceeded along the left bank of the river, accompanied by a flotilla of war-boats; the left division, about 15,000 strong, commanded by Maha Nemlaw, an old and experienced officer, who was intrusted with the direction of the general operations, moved in a line about ten miles distant from the river, from which it was se-

parated by a deep river. Besides these formidable bodies, in the vicinity of the scene of action was a reserve of 10,000, commanded by the king's half-brother, Prince Memiaboo, which was strongly fortified at Melloone. Opposed to this enormous aggregate of forces, there was only a field force of 5000 British, deducting the garrison of Prome.

About the 10th of November, the advance of Maha Nemlaw's corps took post at Wattygoon, about sixteen miles distant from Prome, in a north-east direction. As he thus took post in the British rear, and was in a situation to throw reinforcements into Lower Pegu, it was determined to dislodge him. With that view, two brigades of Native Infantry, commanded by Colonel MacDowall, advanced separately to Wattygoon by different roads, intending to attack Nemlaw's force in flank, front, and rear, at the same time. But the enemy being apprised of the attack, met the advancing columns half-way; and succeeded in repulsing all the corps but the centre one, which broke through the enemy's line, and forced its way to Wattygoon, where Colonel MacDowall, in the act of reconnoitring, was unfortunately killed. The corps finding itself unsupported, and unequal to the assault, commenced a retreat, which it effected with considerable loss.

The successful Maha Nemlaw now changed his position, and advanced gradually upon Prome, stockading himself at every mile. The other divisions of the Burman army were simultaneously in motion. The centre one was distinctly observed erecting a stockade on the heights of Napades, above the river, distant five miles from the city; and that commanded by Sudda Woon was seen similarly employed on the opposite bank. At the same time, an enemy's detachment was pushed forward to occupy Padoungnew, a town

on the west of the river, ten miles below Prome; but a party of the British troops being in possession of the place, repulsed every attempt made by the Burmans to drive them from it.

Day by day the Burman line advanced nearer to Prome, stockading at each successive position. It obviously was the Burman general's intention to approach closely, and in full force, to the city, that an overwhelming assault might be made upon it from all sides. He had been told by the astrologers that a lunar eclipse about to take place would be an auspicious time for the attack. In order to encourage the attempt, the British general affected to be afraid of it, by keeping his men within the lines, constructing batteries and other works; and with the same view, caused a rumour to be circulated that he was about to retreat down the Irrawaddy to Rangoon. But the Burman general was too wary to be enticed or deluded.

The British general, tired at length of Nemaiw's cautious proceedings, determined to become the assailant. Nemaiw's division had now advanced to Simbiki, on the Nawine river, within a short walk's distance of Prome. It was partly composed of 8000 Shans, whose valour was much relied upon, and who had an extraordinary accompaniment, which almost renders probable the fable of the Amazons. That accompaniment consisted of three female warriors, young and handsome, and of high rank, who were supposed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy, and invulnerable by shot. Dressed in warlike guise, they rode constantly among their countrymen, inflaming their courage by spirited exhortations.

On the 30th November, arrangements were made for attacking the three divisions of the enemy rapidly in detail, beginning with the left. Commander Sir James Brisbane, with the

the enemy's post upon both sides of the river, at day-break; and at the same time, a body of native infantry was to advance upon the Kee Wong-gee's position at Napadee, and drive in his outposts; thus to draw the enemy's whole attention to his right and centre, while the real attack was to be directed against the left, stationed at Simbiki.

On the morning of the 1st December, the whole of the troops, with the exception of four regiments of native infantry, which were left in garrison, were assembled in front of Prome, and formed into two columns of attack. The first commanded by Brigadier-general Cotton, marched direct to Simbiki, while the other, headed by the commander-in-chief, crossed the Nawine river, moved along its right bank, to attack Nemaiw's division in the rear, and cut off its retreat upon that of Kee Wong-gee. A furious cannonade was now heard upon the river, which announced that the flotilla had commenced its operations; and which so imposed upon the enemy, that the advancing columns found the pickets of his left division withdrawn, and his position exposed to an unexpected attack. Brigadier-general Cotton's division first reached the enemy's line, which being in the centre of a jungle, was assailable only in front, where it was defended by a succession of stockades, so zigzagged as to admit of cross fires. Having made his dispositions, his troops rushed on with intrepidity:—the Shans, encouraged by the aged Nemaiw and their three Amazons, made a desperate resistance; but so soon as a lodgment was made by the British in the interior of their works, they fell into confusion. Destructive volleys were fired down upon them, from which there was no escaping, as from the nature of their works it was impossible to retreat in a body, and the narrow outlets were soon choked up by the dead and dying. Numbers were

employed in forcing a passage through the works, while others continued to offer a most determined resistance to the advancing troops. The aged Chab was of the Shans set a noble example of courage; and with his followers, rejected every offer which was made to him of quarter. The general, Maha Nemiaw, fell while animating his men, and his body was afterwards found among the dead. A bullet brought to the ground one of the intrepid Amazons, who was carried by our soldiers to a hut in the rear, where she soon expired.

While this carnage was proceeding within the stockade, Sir Archibald Campbell's column pushed forward to its rear, and met a disorderly body of the fugitives from it, in the act of crossing the Nawine river. The horse artillery opened upon them a heavy fire. Another of the Shan ladies, on horseback, was here observed crossing the ford. A shrapnel exploded above her head, when she fell into the river, but was raised by some of her own people and conveyed into the forest on the opposite side. Whether she was wounded, or only frightened could not be ascertained.

The Burman left wing, perceiving their line of retreat about to be cut off, by the advancing column, were seized with utter dismay. They at once dispersed, and sought for safety in the neighbouring jungles. The surviving Shans, to avoid the Burmans, took a route to their far distant country, through forests and deserts, in which many of them perished of famine.

At the close of this decisive victory, the troops piled their arms, and rested two hours. They then marched back to the ford in the Nawine, which the first division had crossed in the morning. Thus they reached long after sunset, and there they reposed for the evening, under heaven's canopy.

From the ford in the Nawine, there

was a pathway conducting to the enemy's camp, at Napadee, which it was resolved to attack in the morning; and, in the course of the evening, Sir James Brisbane was requested to move forward with the flotilla, as soon as he perceived the troops debouching from the jungle in front of Napadee.

Early in the morning, the troops were in motion for the attack. The first division led in files along the pathway; and was followed by the Madras division, under Brigadier-general Cotton, who was directed to explore every opening in the right side of the forest, and, if possible, to force a passage through it to a part of the Burman position; his attacking which was to be the signal for a general assault in front.

After two hours' march, the first division entered a plain upon the river side; and after opening a communication with the flotilla, drew up in front of the enemy's position. The nature of the position itself, and of the works with which it was fortified, presented most appalling obstacles. It consisted of three successive ranges of hills along the banks of the Irrawaddy, each of the two advanced ranges being commanded by the one immediately behind it. Their base, upon one side, is washed by the river, and on the other, covered by the forest. The road to the heights lay along the beach, to where the first hill abruptly terminated, up the steep and rugged sides of which the soldiers would have to scramble, exposed to the whole of the enemy's fire from the summit. The road, too, was flanked by a wood, in which the enemy had a large body stockaded.

The first operation obviously was to dispossess the enemy of this wood, which was gallantly accomplished by six companies of the 87th regiment. The flotilla then moved forward, and cannonaded both sides of the river, while the troops halted, in the expectation of hearing a fire to the right.

from the Madras division. But it turned out that that division had found it utterly impossible to penetrate the forest.

While the troops were being formed for the attack in front, the 47th British, and 38th Native infantry regiments pushed through the jungle, and spiritedly carried some of the flanking out-works of the hills. The main attack was intrusted to his Majesty's 13th, 38th, and 87th regiments, which advanced deliberately, without returning a shot to the continued volleys of the Burmans; and after driving the enemy from two stockades at the bottom of the hill, they advanced steadily forward to its summit, under a heavy fire from the enemy's works, which they carried at the point of the bayonet; and, without halting, pursued and drove the enemy from hill to hill, till the whole position, nearly three miles in extent, was in their possession. Not more than an hour was consumed in making the important conquest. During the attack by land, the flotilla pushed past the works, and succeeded in capturing the whole boats and stores which had been brought down for the use of the Burman army. The defeat of the enemy on the left bank of the Irrawaddy was now complete. About fifty pieces of his artillery and other material of his army had been captured or destroyed; he had suffered severely in killed and wounded, and lost two thirds of his men by desertion alone.

The right wing of the enemy, under Sudda Woon, posted on the right bank of the river, still kept its ground, and remained to be disposed of. On the evening of the 4th, a rocket brigade and a mortar battery were established on an island, within range of the position; and, in the morning, opened their fire, which was answered by several pieces of artillery. Detachments of troops were landed from the flotilla, at some

distance above the stockades, which attacked them in front and rear, while the batteries and men-of-war boats cannonaded them in front. The enemy, panic-struck, fled from their first line to a second stockade, upon which our troops advanced, and speedily carried it. The enemy dispersed in terror, and fled into the woods, having suffered considerably in killed and wounded.

Upon the army which had performed these valorous deeds, was now devolved the entire task of conquering peace, by reducing the Burmans to submission. Brigadier-general Morrison had subdued Arracan; but was prevented by the sickness of his army, from crossing the mountains into Ava, as had been expected from him. In Assam, the troops of Colonel Richards had driven the enemy from the province; but the want of stores and carriage, and the extreme unhealthiness of the country between Assam and Upper Ava, made their advance upon the latter province impossible. It was determined, therefore, by Sir A. Campbell, that, without waiting for, or even expecting reinforcements, the army commanded by him should advance at once from Prome upon the Burman Capital, a distance of 300 miles. It was arranged that the second division, under Brigadier-general Cotton, should proceed along a road parallel to the river, by Neounbenzeik to Meaday, in communication with the flotilla; and that the route of the first division was to be by Wattygoon and Seindoup, making a considerable circuit to the eastward, in order to turn all the enemy's river defences, as high up as Meaday, where both divisions were to concentrate. At the same time, Colonel Pepper of the Madras army, commanding the field force in Pegu, was directed to operate in that quarter, by capturing Tongbo, and, threatening the capital on that side. His orders, however, Colonel Pepper, from

the impossibility of obtaining means of transport, could not execute.

The advancing army was provided with only two months' stock of provisions, but anticipated the procuring of plenty of beef, after it had passed the country in front, which had been laid waste by the enemy. The commissariat was conducted by natives, some of whom, singularly enough, served as drivers to the foot artillery, and, in several instances, unhesitatingly exposed themselves to the fire of their countrymen, appearing to be quite delighted with the superior precision of our artillery-men. The officers were relieved from the fatigue of walking, by having purchased Pegu ponies for themselves.

On the 9th December, the first division, under the immediate command of Sir A. Campbell, commenced its march, and next day reached Wattygoon. The two following days it advanced ten miles; and on the last day's march, it suffered much from heavy rains, which rendered the road nearly impassable, and damaged the biscuit and rice. Passing through an elephant grass jungle, about twenty feet high, the soldiers were completely deluged with water. The only place that could be found sufficiently open for encampment, was the dry bed of a river, surrounded by a forest of reeds. Here cholera broke out among the troops, and carried off numerous victims.

On the 14th, the division reached Seindoup, a considerable town, which had been rendered desolate. Here they encamped upon a ridge of woody hills, abounding in game, and halted a day, to allow the commissariat to come up.

On the 16th, it marched eleven miles, to Towkendine, the heights of which had been fortified, but deserted by the enemy, excepting a picket, which retired upon the approach of the advance guard. Next day it marched to the plain of Taliboo, where it opened a communication with the flotilla, and halted,

and was joined by the second division, the Europeans attached to which, were suffering severely from cholera. Here a reconnoitring cavalry party was dispatched to Meaday, distant seven miles, and found the enemy's rear-guard in the act of evacuating the last stockade. The patrol succeeded in capturing some prisoners and four artillery pieces.

On the 19th, the army entered Meaday, where a shocking spectacle presented itself. The ground was strewed with dead and dying; and numerous fresh graves attested that the earth concealed more victims of the late desperate conflicts than those which encumbered the face of it. The air was loaded with the miasma of putrefaction, and resounded with the screaming of vultures, eager for their prey. Several gibbets also were seen, on each of which were three or four crucified human beings, sacrificed to the sanguinary spirit of the Burman leaders.

Next day, the division marched two miles, to avoid the revolting and intolerable scene; but for fifty miles up the river, the road abounded with similar horrors.

On the 21st, the army moved towards Melloone, where it was understood the Burman army was to concentrate. The road was so hilly and bad, that the services of the pioneers were required to open it. All the way from Prome, the country had been converted into a desert; and the army, now reduced to 2000, feeling itself in the heart of a mighty empire, which it had to subdue, or perish in the attempt, and influenced by the utter loneliness which surrounded them,—not a single inhabitant having been seen since it commenced its march from Prome,—began to ruminate upon its situation, not in dismay, but in a spirit of sadness.

On the 25th, the army reached Longhee, where abundance of game was found. Next day, it advanced ten

miles ; and was met by a flag of truce sent in from Melloone, announcing the arrival there of a commissioner, named Koleh Menghee, who had been sent down from the capital, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. An answer was returned, signifying that the British commissioners were prepared to listen to terms.

Next morning, (27th,) the army continued its advance, and encamped upon the bank of the Irrawaddy, about four miles below Melloone, and 140 miles distant from Prome. On the following day, it halted ; and two officers proceeded to Melloone, to arrange an immediate meeting with Koleh Menghee. The Burman chiefs, however, whose policy it was to procrastinate, suggested the propriety of waiting till the new moon, as a propitious period for commencing the negotiations, and peremptorily declined an immediate meeting.

On the 29th, the army advanced to Patanoogh, a town upon the Irrawaddy, (which is there 600 yards broad,) opposite to Melloone. That town, which is built upon the face of a hill, lay fairly exposed to the shot of our artillery. The position, consisting of a succession of stockades, extended about two miles along the beach. The principal stockade appeared about a mile square, filled with men, and mounting a considerable number of guns ; and in the centre of it was a splendid pagoda,

raised by the Burman monarch to the memory of his favourite warrior, Maha Bandoolah.

When the army arrived at Patanoogh, the Burmans at Melloone ceased to work at their defences, and eagerly gazed at our troops. After the lapse of a short time, a large fleet of the enemy's war and commissariat boats, and other small craft, which lay at anchor under the stockade, was observed moving up the river. The British flotilla, owing to the intricacy of the channel, had not arrived at the enemy's position ; and, as it was necessary to prevent the flight of the Burman boats, the artillery was directed to fire upon them. This was done with such effect, that the fugitive fleet at once returned to its station. The flotilla, led by the Diana steam packet, now made its appearance opposite to the enemy's works. On reaching the principal stockade, two gilt war boats came off from the shore, and having saluted the Diana, escorted the flotilla to a distance above the place, where it anchored in safety, and by its position prevented the possibility of the enemy's boats escaping up the river.

This conduct of the Burmans was regarded as proof of a sincere desire to put an end to hostilities ; and during the forenoon, a truce was concluded with them, and an agreement entered into, that negotiations should commence on the 1st of January.



## CHAPTER XI.

## FRANCE AND SPAIN.

It is one of the many advantages of a limited monarchy, however empty and delusive may be its popular forms, that it consecrates in the hearts of the nation certain invaluable maxims and principles, directly opposed to those upon which despotism would rest its extravagant pretensions. It is a condition, too, of such a form of government, that there must be two parties in the state, one in possession of power, the other out of power, but struggling for its acquirement; and by each, when out of power, are those maxims and principles appealed to, illustrated, and insisted upon, in order to fix discredit upon the measures of the other. In process of time both parties, at least those among them who have any regard for consistency, become bound by the doctrines which they have alternately advocated;—the doctrines themselves become the universal creed of the people, forming the criterion by which they judge of every public measure; and public opinion, thus enlightened, and made generous, is brought directly to bear upon the springs of government, and powerfully influences its movements.

Every organized opposition to government must, in fact, lean for support upon the people; and to obtain,

that support, they who compose it must be the assertors of freedom, which in all countries, where its blessings can be appreciated, is a popular cause. There are examples, no doubt, of nations having, from the influence of association, and dislike of a sudden disruption of their habits of thinking and feeling, been enamoured of a particular dynasty, or of certain usages and forms, the maintenance of which were incompatible with public liberty; but even in those cases, it will be found that the people's imaginations had been excited, and their understandings abused, by their being made to believe certain things to be the symbols of, or adjuncts to, liberty, which were the very opposite, and that unconsciously, and under a delusion, they resisted the progress of a cause, which they sincerely thought they were promoting; and it would be difficult to furnish an example of a people, in the least enlightened, having deliberately, knowingly, and from choice, preferred *absolutism* in government to genuine freedom.

The history of England, after her Revolution, will illustrate those remarks; and as it reflects a strong light upon the working of French

politics at the present time, it may not be amiss to consider it leisurely. It would be too much to assert that the English people, at the close of the seventeenth and commencement of the eighteenth century, were more enlightened than the French of this day ; or that their Bill of Rights communicated or confirmed more valuable privileges than the French Charter professes to do. It has to be considered also, that the Revolution settlement was displeasing to the great mass of the nation, who were eager for the restoration of the exiled dynasty, and this, certainly not from any admiration of the maxims which that dynasty had pursued, but partly from commiseration of fallen greatness, partly from their feelings being offended by the abrupt transfer of the sceptre to a foreign family, strangers to their laws, customs, and manners, and partly to the dread of their liberties being destroyed by the large standing army which the new government found it necessary to employ. In their hatred of the new system, they ceased vividly to remember the evils of the old one ; and the harsh measures which their new rulers were forced occasionally to adopt, but, above all, the large increase made to taxation, threw the enormities of the family of Stuart comparatively into the shade. What was the conduct of the leaders of the Opposition party—the extreme Tories, when out of power, during that unsettled period? Did they, in their parliamentary speeches, or their pamphlets, try to inflame the discontents of the people by preaching up passive obedience and non-resistance, and the other distinguishing tenets of their party? No : a few fanatics among them did so ; but the more judicious of their party stood upon the ground of public liberty—accused the Whigs in power of corrupt-

ing the purity and sapping the independence of Parliament, of profligate expenditure of the public money ; and, affecting the utmost horror of tyranny, they denounced all and each of the measures of government as directly tending to that consummation. They thus contended against the Whigs with their own weapons ; and in so doing, sanctioned the very principles upon which the Revolution settlement was founded. In some of their pamphlets, especially those by Swift, sentiments occur which, even at this day, would be considered too violently republican. The object of the party was to inflame and array on their side the popular passion for liberty, and to stand forward as its most approved and disinterested champions. The Whigs, who certainly had some claims to that character, vigorously asserted them ; and would by no means be outdone by their antagonists in popular professions. Thus, while the nation was divided between the two parties, the principles of liberty were inculcated and embraced by all ; and when the strife had subsided, or waxed cold, it was found there was no longer an essential difference of opinion between them ; and that principles which both had ostentatiously paid homage to, must henceforth be received and venerated by both as properly those of the constitution.

As it was in England, so it will be in France. In considerable portions of the French, there may be dislikes and antipathies to the present order of things ; but the collision of parties—the interests which are staked upon the success of either, have made them a nation of politicians, who have to consult the charter as a common text book. In it there are no bald enunciations of abstract truths, as in the revolutionary declaration of the Rights of Man ; but there are, (wrapped up, on

doubt, in official phraseology, but still pervious to the understanding,) all the great political truths upon which the freedom of a nation depends. These may be paltered with in practice by the party in power for the time being, but can never be officially denied or impeached; and will eventually, in public opinion, acquire a sacredness, which it would be dangerous to outrage. Public opinion, too, has become of that consequence, that the party in opposition must assiduously cultivate it; which can only be done by exposing every inclination of the executive towards tyranny, and maintaining the chartered rights and privileges of the people. Public attention, in this way, is directed more eagerly to every measure, and public opinion is thus enlightened and confirmed; and, ultimately, the love of liberty becomes not merely a passion with the nation, but an irradicable habit. So many have been the revolutions in the French Cabinet since the return of the Bourbons, that almost every statesman of any note has, at one period or other, mingled in the ranks of the Opposition, and, in that position, extolled the charter and promulged constitutional principles, even though, when in the service of the state, he may not have paid hypocritical compliments to the one, or falsely professed any esteem for the other; and thus chartered liberty, at one time or another, has obtained a sanction in the recorded authority of men of all parties, which must effectually rivet it in the public mind. Men, too, mindful of the injuries which the Revolution had inflicted on their families—the Jesuits, too, whose craving for power is insatiable, may conspire and plot against the constitutional system, and the court may secretly lend itself to their designs—designs which have been too successful; but,

though the charter has already been scandalously encroached upon, public opinion is acquiring a force which will render it an effectual barrier against farther serious encroachments. The truly constitutional party in the state will be daily reinforced by deserters from the extreme parties, whose extravagances must disgust the more sober-minded among them; and those parties, if they do not moderate their views, will sooner or later sink into insignificance, or incur what is equally fatal—universal derision.

There is one circumstance in the political frame of French society, most auspicious to public freedom. Under the ancient regime the law profession, including the judges, were distinguished by their liberality, and also by their hostility to the political influence of the priesthood, whom they regarded as the main contrivers of every despotic measure, which, as rendering the law in a measure powerless, and circumscribing its operation, detracted from its dignity, and, by consequence, from the usefulness and dignity of the profession. The ancient feud between the courts of law and the priesthood appears to have been revived. The former, alarmed at the influence which the latter have acquired—aware that every recent attack upon public liberty has proceeded from them, seem perfectly well disposed, devoted royalists though they be, in every state prosecution which is brought before them, to interpret the laws both mildly and liberally. By doing so, they no less uphold the dignity of the Crown, which priestly influence ever degrades, than they fortify the rights of the people; and by acquiring the national confidence and respect, have done much to stifle every revolutionary aspiration.

On 22d December the first Session of the French Chambers in the new

reign of Charles X. was opened by his Majesty with the following speech :

"GENTLEMEN,—The first want of my heart is to speak to you of my grief and of your own ; we have lost a King, wise and good, tenderly beloved by his family, venerated by his people, honoured and respected by all foreign governments.

"The glory of his reign will never be effaced. Not only did he re-establish the throne of my ancestors, but he consolidated it by institutions, which, bringing together and uniting the past with the present, have restored to France repose and happiness.

"The touching affliction which the whole nation felt at the last moments of the King my brother, was to me the sweetest of all consolations ; and I can say with truth, it was to this cause that I owe the power of fully enjoying the confidence with which my accession to the throne has been received.

"This confidence shall not be deceived. Gentlemen, I know all the duties which Royalty imposes on me ; but, strong in my love for the people, I hope, with the aid of God, to have the courage and firmness necessary for their due fulfilment.

"I announce to you with pleasure, that the dispositions of foreign governments have experienced no change, and leave me no doubt respecting the maintenance of those friendly relations which subsist between them and myself. The spirit of conciliation and prudence which animates them gives to the nations the strongest guarantee which they have ever had against the return of those troubles by which they were for so long a time desolated.

"I shall neglect nothing to maintain that happy agreement which is its fruit. With this object it was that I consented to prolong still fur-

ther the stay in Spain of a part of the troops which my son had left there after a campaign, which, both as a Frenchman and a father, I may call glorious. A recent Convention has regulated the conditions of this temporary measure in such manner as to conciliate the interests of the two monarchies.

"The just security which our foreign relations give us will favour the development of our internal prosperity. I will second this salutary movement, Gentlemen, by causing to be successively proposed to you the melioration required by the sacred interests of religion, and by the most important parts of our Legislation.

"The King my brother found a great consolation in preparing the means of closing the last wounds of the Revolution. The moment has arrived to execute the wise designs which he had conceived. The situation of our finances will permit the accomplishment of this great act of justice and of policy without augmenting the imposts, without injuring public credit, without retrenching any part of the funds destined to the different branches of the public service.

"These results, perhaps beyond expectation, Gentlemen, are due to the order established with your concurrence in the fortune of the State, and to the peace which we enjoy. I entertain a firm confidence that you will enter into my views, and that this restorative order will be completed by a perfect harmony of will between you and myself.

"I have resolved that the ceremony of my Coronation shall terminate the First Session of my reign. You will assist, Gentlemen, at that august solemnity. There, prostrated at the foot of the same altar where Clovis received the Sacred Unction, and in presence of Him who judges nations and

Kings, I will renew the oath to maintain, and cause to be observed, the laws of the State, and the institutions granted by the King, my brother; I will thank Divine Providence for having deigned to make use of me in order to repair the last misfortunes of my people; and I will beseech the Almighty to continue to protect that beauteous France, which I am proud of governing."

The proceedings of the Chambers were commenced on the 23d by the election of five candidates for the Presidency of the Deputies, and the appointment of Bureaux, or Committees, to prepare the address in the Peers. The candidates named for the Presidency were M. Ravez, M. Chilhaud de la Rigaudie, the Prince de Montmorency, M. de Longueue, and the Marquis de Bailly. Of these the King nominated the first mentioned, M. Ravez. M. Martignac was made choice of for the Vice-Presidency. On the occasion of nominating the Members of the Bureaux, and the Commission, for the Address, the Opposition were left in a decided minority, having only 50 votes in one instance, and 61 in the next, whilst there were 91 and 107 for the Ministry. M. de Chateaubriand voted in the minority.

The Address of both the Chambers, in reply to the King's Speech, though, to a certain extent, they may be called echoes to that which they answer, were not without interest. Both the Peers and the Deputies spoke with the most unqualified approbation of the plan for indemnifying the sufferers by the Revolution. They considered the measures to be worthy of France, and worthy of a new reign. The Address in the Chamber of Peers was carried almost unanimously; the numbers in favour of it being 148, upon a total of 151. All the preparatory forms having been gone through, business was begun on Monday, 3d of

January, when three projects of law were presented to the Chamber of Deputies. These were, 1st, one concerning the civil list during the lifetime of the King, and the appanages to the Princes and Princesses of the royal family. 2d, Another relative to certain exchanges of the royal domains; and, 3d, another for indemnifying those proprietors whose estates had been confiscated and sold during the Revolution.

A discussion took place on the 8th, when a number of petitions against the Indemnity Law were reported on by the Committee. Among these was one from M. Isambert, who claimed the protection of the Chamber for the men of colour who had been expelled from Martinique, consequent to the seditious movements in that colony in 1824; and also indemnity to them for their deportation, which he denounced as illegal. The petition was supported by M. M. Casimir Perrier, General Foy, and Benjamin Constant; but, finally, the Chamber passed to the order of the day.

The same day, M. Vaublanc gave in, from a special commission, its report upon the law relative to the civil list, which embraced these, among other articles:—The vesting in the Crown the property which had been acquired by the late King, and which had not been disposed of; that the civil list, during the present reign, should be fixed at twenty-five millions of francs annually; that the appanages to the Princes and Princesses of the royal family should be fixed at seven millions of francs annually; that the restitution of the Bourbon families to their former estates should be sanctioned by the legislature, under this provision, that, failing a male descendant, they should return to the Crown.

On 12th January, the day fixed for the discussion of the report, the

article which related to the Orleans estates was condemned by M. Bazire, as having no connexion whatever with the civil list, which required for itself a law, disengaged from all other matters. The estates had been restored by the late King to the Orleans family; which now had no interest whatever in the civil list. The minister of finance replied. The object of the article, he observed, was to convert into a law the ordinances of the late King; which law would have for its basis the sacred principle of restitution. If the restitution was not good, then the law of the civil list of 1814 ought to have provided an appanage to the Orleans family, supposing the principle of restitution could be contested. That it might be so technically, was evident; for, by the law 1791, the granting of real appanages was prohibited. While, therefore, the article in question was founded on the principle of restitution, it in effect secured an appanage to the Duke of Orleans; and the very fact of its excluding him from all claim upon the civil list, demonstrated the propriety of its being made part of the law upon that subject. The article was defended by General Foy. By the finance minister, it was observed, that it was expedient and proper that the Princes of the blood should be possessed of great landed estates—a proposition which was contested by M. de Berthier, who thought that conferring of perpetual appanages upon Princes of the blood not only despoiled the Crown of its domains, but endangered the Crown itself; as an example of which he recalled to recollection the troubles excited by the Orleans and Burgundy factions, which were supported out of the immense possessions of those two families.

The article was opposed and defended by several other members, on

various grounds. One argument brought against it possessed an importance which will scarcely be appreciated out of the limits of France. It was, that to pretend to legislate upon the subject of the Orleans property, which had been restored by the late King, was to attack the dictatorial power which resided in that Monarch before he conferred the charter!

In fine, the whole articles of the project, with the exception of the article regarding the Orleans property, were unanimously carried; and that article was also carried by an immense majority, only 25 out of 303 members present, having voted against it.

On 14th January, the project was carried to the Chamber of Peers, which the same day adopted the whole of its provisions almost unanimously,—only three out of 137 members present having voted against it.

The report on the other project, regarding the exchange of the royal domains, was presented at the same time with that on the project regarding the civil list; and was adopted by both Chambers almost *sub silentio*.

During the previous session, there had been brought forward a law regarding the establishment of religious female communities; in other words, nunneries—which was rejected. A law to the same effect was now brought forward, under more auspicious circumstances. The late King was the reverse of being fanatical in matters of religion. Though he knew the importance of a priesthood to the stability of a monarchical government, and, of course, cherished it to a certain degree, he was fully sensible of its usurping spirit, and of the dangers to arise from its acquiring a permanent ascendancy in the state: but his brother, the present King, was actually enslaved by the

priesthood ; his bigotry was understood to be illimitable ; and the law in question, as well as another we shall have occasion to notice, are just so many proofs of the pernicious influence, or rather domination, which was exercised by the priesthood over him.

On 4th January, Count Frayssinous, the minister for church affairs and public education, had the unenviable distinction of bringing the project in question under the consideration of the Chamber of Peers. He observed, that the project of last year, which had been judged incomplete, was defective only in not having obviated certain difficulties which had been suggested in the course of the discussions. It was drawn up on the monarchical principle, of allowing to the Crown every prerogative which was not expressly withheld from it by the charter. One of its prerogatives, not so withheld, was the authorizing of religious female establishments, which the government had possessed anterior to the Restoration, and down to the date of the law 2d January 1817, which recognised all religious establishments, but under certain conditions. The general purport of that law could not well apply to religious female establishments, which ought to be considered only as industrious, scientific, and benevolent associations. With regard to the project before the Chamber, it committed to the King the right (which in some measure was denied to him by the law of 1817) of authorising the establishment of societies (*congregations*) of religious females, upon certain determined forms and conditions, after that their statutes, having been first approved of by the bishop of the diocese, have been verified and registered by the Council of State. It also required that the statutes should contain a

clause, binding the *congregation* to submit, in spiritual matters, to the jurisdiction of the ordinary ; and that its establishment should have the consent both of the bishop and the municipal council of the commune within which it is erected, and be authorized by a royal ordinance.

The orator then treated of the functions which the project proposed to confer upon the communities in question, relative to the enjoyment and exercise of civil rights. It was proposed generally, that they should have the means of supporting and perpetuating their existence, by being at liberty to acquire property ; but at the same time, that the power of bequeathing to them should be limited, in order that they might not acquire a superabundance, or be enriched at the expense of families. To guard against all apprehensions on that head, it provided that no community should receive a title to property without the royal permission ; and that no member of any community should be allowed to bequeath to or confer upon it, or any other member of it, more than a quarter of her property.

The report of the special commission charged to examine this project, was made to the Chamber on 29th January, by the Duke de Montmorency. The report cordially supported the views of government, as developed in the project, and suggested some amendments, the most important of which went to suspend the limitation of the power to acquire property, in favour of the communities already established, for six months after the date of the publication of the law, and in favour of those which might afterwards be established, for six months after the dates of their respective authorizations.

On 3d January, the project, with its amendments, was brought under discussion. The Marquis de Caetan

spoke against it, observing that the ancient forms of the monarchy, in erecting religious-houses, had a legislative character, and he objected to the Chambers parting with their legislative powers, in this instance, to the Council of State—a body not recognised by the charter, foreign to the national institutions, and deriving its existence simply from an ordinance. The Duke de Narbonne defended the project—as did Count Siméon, who subscribed to all the eulogies which had been pronounced upon the congregations; but while he supported the project, he suggested this difficulty, that the ancient law interdicted donations to physicians and ministers of religion who had attended the testator in his last illness, and though the prohibition did not extend to convents, it was because, at the period of the enactment, they were inconsiderable in number. The President of the Council thought, that the right of authorization which was claimed for the Chambers, would surcharge them with most painful labours, without any compensating advantages whatever.

On 4th February, the discussion was renewed with increased animation. Count Lanjunaix condemned the project as calculated to destroy the law of 2d January 1817, to reverse established principles, and to substitute for the legal and regular exercise of its powers by the Chambers, the arbitrary power of Ministers. Viscount de Bonald considered the question both in a religious and sentimental point of view; and the result of his impressions was, that the article which restricted the right of the religious to dispose of their property to the communities to which they belonged was wholly unreasonable. “The interests of families are invoked,” exclaimed this spiritualized nobleman. “Egotism and vanity may

perhaps have to regret many slight sacrifices of their fortunes; but religion and a high policy judge otherwise. *These attach another value to the existence of those immortal families who have consecrated their bodies and their estates to the service of the grand family of the State.* It was after this manner that our ancestors judged, when, instead of founding theatres, they employed their wealth in ordaining monasteries, colleges, and hospitals.” Count Carnudet considered the present project as objectionable as was its predecessor on the same subject. The Bishop of Hermopolis vigorously, as became him, supported the project, though he seemed to think it a hardship, if not an impiety, that the establishment of religious houses should be subjected to the approbation of even the King. He gave a sketch of the history of religious communities in France. Out of about 1800, scarcely 50 were devoted to a contemplative life; the others rendered assistance yearly to 140,000 sick persons, and instructed 120,000 young persons. “It is difficult after that,” observed the Bishop, “to suspect the abuse of those establishments.”

The discussion was again resumed on 5th February, when Viscount Laine denounced the project as opposed to the spirit of the ancient laws, and as calling upon the Chambers to abandon the legislative power with respect to the establishment of religious houses, which had been exercised by the ancient Parliaments, and properly belonged to themselves. He ably, at the same time, overturned a comparison which had been set up between religious and commercial societies. “The latter,” he observed, “did not form new families in the state; they exercised no influence over common life; they dissolved themselves voluntarily; they were



subject only to civil jurisdiction; they required no law, empowering them to acquire property by gift or testament. The members of the others, on the contrary, changed their state in society; they belonged no longer to their families; they were freed from paternal authority; they formed a permanent corporation." He also dwelt eloquently upon the certain tendency to undue aggrandizement which belonged to every permanent corporation,—which was constantly acquiring property, but had not the faculty of disposing of it.

Baron Pasquier, founding upon the expressions in the project,—“any religious congregation,” and “any new religious congregation,”—and perceiving that these afforded an opening to the authorization by the King of religious houses for males, insisted that though religious establishments for females were safe, and might even be useful, those for men were both useless and dangerous. His argument, which was very ably urged, completely overcame the president of the council, who frankly acknowledged the force of it, and consented to an amendment to the effect, that while the King had the power to authorize by an ordinance a community of females, a law was necessary to authorize one of males. The amendment was of course adopted, as well as some others, particularly one proposed by the Archbishop of Paris, authorizing any one of a religious sisterhood to bequeath to it her whole property, if the bequest did not exceed 10,000 francs; and another, securing a pension to those religious whose communities might be suppressed.

The project, with its amendments, having been adopted by the Chamber of Peers, was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, on 17th March, by the Minister for ecclesiastical affairs, who expatiated eloquently upon its

merits. It was reported upon most favourably on the 30th, by a committee charged to examine it; but it encountered no opposition, excepting from M. Michaud, who, while he rendered his homage to the virtue and usefulness of the charitable congregations existing, inveighed against the principles of the project. Several deputies powerfully defended it, and it was finally adopted—263 having voted for it, and 27 against it.

Another law project, proceeding from the same policy as the last, but conceived in a spirit of barbarism or fierce bigotry, which reflects scandal upon the age, was submitted to the Chamber of Peers on 4th January. A similar law, which related to the offence of sacrilege, had been brought forward the previous session, and passed by the Upper Chamber, but not submitted to that of the Deputies.

In introducing it, the Keeper of the Seals referred to the prevalence of impiety throughout the kingdom, which led to numberless acts of sacrilege, most afflicting to the feelings of the faithful; and insisted that both the interests of the state and the obligations of religion demanded their rigorous suppression. The law he proposed contained four heads; under the first of which, simple sacrilege, or the profanation of sacred vessels, was to be punished with death; and the profanation of the consecrated host, with the penalties of parricide, (mutilation and death,) if committed voluntarily, and in contempt or hatred of religion;—under the second, sacrilegious theft committed in a church consecrated to the religion of the state, was made punishable by death, when committed under the circumstances determined by article 381 of the penal code, and by perpetual hard labour, if under other circumstances;—under the third head, imprisonment and

heavy reparation were provided for delicts committed within churches, and upon subjects consecrated to religion.

The project was referred to a special committee, which, upon 29th January, made a report, highly approving of it, but amending one article of it, so as to render the profanation of vessels not containing the consecrated host punishable with perpetual hard labour, if publicly committed; and the public profanation of such vessels containing the consecrated host, punishable with death; and confining the penalties of parricide to the public profanation of the host itself.

The discussion upon the project was opened on 10th February, by Count Mole, who strongly opposed it. He maintained, that it was uncalled for, because instances of sacrilege were rare and almost unknown; and he objected to its principle, by which *sin*, a matter between man and the Deity, was confounded with *crime*, which was an offence against society, and which society might properly punish. Count de la Bourdonnaye and Marquis de Lally Tollendal supported the principle of the law; but both objected to the vagueness and indefiniteness of its expression; and the latter reasoned against the excessive severity of the punishment—death preceded by mutilation, for certain descriptions of sacrilege. It was so repugnant, he observed, to his reason and feelings, that he was almost inclined to oppose the law altogether.

Next day, the debate was resumed by the Duke de Broglie. He observed, that the inequality of punishments, which, after this law was passed, would be inflicted for profanations of subjects consecrated to different religions, would give an improper triumph and ascendancy to the esta-

blished one over the others. Among other spirited remarks, he stated, that by this law, an act which might proceed from a peculiar religious faith—such a faith as was not only tolerated by the charter, but upon a civil equality with the established one, would be punished exactly as heresy was in countries where no toleration prevailed. “The charter,” he said, “designed that the civil law should remain not indifferent to, but neuter between the different creeds. By this one act in favour of one of them, you will be conducted necessarily to the last stage of intolerance, and to the invasion of the civil, by religious authority.” The Keeper of the Seals, in defending the project, which he did at great length, affirmed, that, from all the departments of the kingdom, the government had received numberless complaints of the frequency of sacrilege, and the insufficiency of the law to suppress it. Adverting to the argument of Count Mole, which distinguished between the sinfulness and criminality of actions, he admitted the justness of the distinction; but at the same time, drew for himself another, and applied it to the case of sacrilege. According to his argument, simple sacrilege, unattended by publicity, was not an object of human punishment—it was a *sin* which must be left to the wrath of God; but when it was joined to publicity, and was a substantial act, directed against religion and its mysteries, and disturbing the state, then it was no longer simply a *sin*, but a *delict* or a *crime*, which society was entitled to punish. He concluded by observing, that the civilized people of antiquity, of Egypt, Athens, and Rome, punished sacrilege with death; “and shall France,” he asked, “display less zeal for the holy religion which she professes, than was shown by heathens for their false faiths?”

It might have occurred to his Excellency, that the practice of heathens was not the most infallible guide for a Christian people to follow; and that the former might have modes of indulging their zeal, in perfect harmony with the spirit of Paganism, and yet directly opposed to that of Christianity. It must be allowed, however, that his distinction between public and private sacrilege is quite correct; the former being an offence against decency and morals, which is hurtful to the feelings of the community, and, therefore, independently of the truth or falsehood of the religion against which the act is directed, may reasonably be deemed a delict or crime. But when the law visits it with a severity utterly disproportioned to it, if regarded only in that light, it connects it with the religious faith of the delinquent, and includes such faith, as being heresy, in the punishment. The great objection, we conceive, to this proposed law was, that its penalties far exceeded the specific offences, considered merely as delicts; and that its design, though disavowed by its authors, obviously was to punish heretical opinions in the persons of the offenders.

The Count de Bastard observed, that some of the arguments employed, if good at all, would justify the direct punishment of blasphemy and heresy, and threatened the nation with a return of the barbarous ages.

The discussion was continued during several of the following days. A variety of amendments were proposed, having in view the mitigation of the severity of the proposed law; but all of them were resisted by Ministers, and rejected, excepting one proposed by Viscount de Bonald, (by whom the principle of the project was supported,) which went to substitute for mutilation before death,

an *amende honorable*, to be made by the criminal. The amendment was opposed by Count Portales and Baron Pasquier, as unnecessarily harsh, especially in the case of the criminal being a Protestant; but it having been assented to by the Count de Breteuil, the reporter to the commission, it was adopted into the project. At length, the project, with that amendment, was carried in the Chamber, on the 18th, there having been 127 votes for it, and 92 against it.

On 17th March, the project, as amended, was carried down to the Chamber of Deputies by the Keeper of the Seals; and on 5th April, the commission charged to examine it made a most favourable report. It would be superfluous to recite all the arguments which were directed by the Opposition in the Lower Chamber against this most hideous project, as they were little more than repetitions of those which had been urged in the other Chamber. Various amendments were proposed, but all to no purpose; and on 15th April, the three last heads of the project were carried without a division, and the first was carried by a great majority.

Of all the important laws submitted to the Chambers this session, none excited more of the public interest than one for indemnifying the emigrants. The measure had been secretly entertained by each of the successive administrations which had been formed since the return of the Bourbons; but none of them had the intrepidity to bring it forward. Many difficulties, no doubt, stood in the way of it; and, from the apprehensions it would naturally excite in that powerful class, the holders of national property, it was a measure which would have been attended with no small danger. Yet natural justice demanded the adoption of it. The Revolution had completely dislocated society,

and resolved it into its primitive elements ; there was no longer any legal security for person or property ; and those individuals who had fled from the chaos which threatened to devour them, and, in consequence, been despoiled of their estates by the maniacs and ruffians to whom was delegated, or who had been permitted to usurp, the sovereignty of the state for a time, were, upon every fair principle, entitled to the fullest indemnification. It is not enough to say, in opposition to their claims, that it was their duty to have remained in their own country, to buffet and stem the revolutionary tide. There is often in man a secret consciousness of what is true, which he will not confess to himself ; and, proud and vain as the old noblesse may have been, there must have been a consciousness among them, that their body did not possess sufficient talent to contend with that which was arrayed against them ; and they could not but have perceived that their adversaries possessed advantages in the then temper and disposition of the people, which, in whatever way the balance of talent might have stood, secured to them the victory. Had they emigrated simply because the nation had been pleased to change its system of government, in order to make war against the new system, their claims might have been open to cavil ; but, in truth, they did not emigrate, until the revolutionary axe had been laid to the root, not only of their political, but of their natural existence. The case of the emigrants may be viewed in another light. When an ancient government is violently dissolved, each individual is entitled to hold and to act upon his own political opinions, until a new one is fairly consolidated—a doctrine which ought to be most readily assented to by those who derive all legitimate authority from the will of

the people. The emigrants did no more than exercise that right,—they did not turn their arms against their country—their enemies must allow that to it their hearts ever beat true—but, driven from their country, on account of their opinions or their caste, they laboured to restore to it that government which they believed was the best adapted to its happiness. When the Restoration was effected, it would have been a virtual condemnation of the legitimacy and worth of that government not to have repaired the losses sustained by individuals, in consequence of their loyalty to it.

The motives for bringing forward the measure had become every day stronger. The wishes of government regarding an indemnity, though not announced, were very well known ; and the holders of national property were naturally disquieted by the fear that the burden of the indemnity, come when it might, would fall upon them ; and, until the question was put to rest, there would continue to be two formidable parties in the state, hateful to and jealous of each other,—rendered by circumstances extreme in their politics—the one eager to restore the ancient regime in all its vigour—the other as eager for a new revolution ; and both, by their violence, threatening the state with convulsions.

The new law was brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies on 3d January, by M. de Martignac, one of the royal commissioners, who represented the sufferings of, and injustice done to the emigrants, with much eloquence ; and with great force urged their claims to indemnity, upon grounds both of justice and policy. He did not conceal the difficulty of discovering a basis on which to establish the value of the sold properties. It would be futile to look for it in the contributions of the present day, for

the present value by no means fixed what was the former value, owing to the changes in culture, the pulling down of old, and the construction of new buildings, and the divisions which the estates had undergone. To try an estimate by inspectors presented many inconveniences, as their interests and their passions would naturally influence their judgments; nor could they have recourse to the land tax about the period of the sales, for, in most of the departments, the records of it no longer existed. Besides, the sales, which commenced in 1793, and continued for nearly ten years, were paid for in assignats, mandates, &c.; and the representing value was, consequently, subject to all the variations which these species of money underwent in those troublesome times.

But government had discovered that all the sales which were made, in consequence of the law 13th Prairial in III. and 28th Ventose in IV. had prices fixed to them upon the basis of the estimates of their revenues in 1793; which had been regularly stated. The sales made under those laws were in number 81,455; and the annual revenues of the lands comprised in them, as estimated in the proces-verbal, amounted to 34,620,380 francs, 79 cents. That sum being multiplied by 20, gave a capital of 692,407,060 francs, 80 cents.

There was a necessity, however, for having recourse to other views with regard to the sales made anterior to the law 13th Prairial in III. The previous laws had not ordained any estimates of the estates offered to sale; and it had been necessary to hold their values to be the prices fixed by their adjudications, and then to reduce them according to scales of the depreciation of assignats in the departments where the sales were effected. The sales of that class of estates had been very considerable, owing to their having been exposed in large parcels. They amounted to 370 617, the determined produce of which being reduced according to the departmental scales, presented a sum of 605,352,992 francs, 16 cents.

These bases being adopted, there would have to be excepted from the application of the principle all redemptions made by the relations of the emigrants; and it would be proper also to deduct the sums which had been paid by the state to the emigrants for their relief, and which, without comprehending the succours afforded to the females and children of the emigrants, their servants' wages, &c. might be valued at 309,940,645.

In short, the documents of the basis on which government proceeded, established the following results:

	Francs.	Cents.
The estates, of which the revenues had been valued, and the values of which were ascertained by multiplying the revenues,	692,407,515	80
The estates, of which their values were determined by the prices of adjudication reduced according to the departmental scales,	605,352,992	16
Sum total, . . . . .	1,297,760,507	96
Amount of deductions, . . . .	309,940,645	0
The capital necessary for the proposed indemnity, . . . .	987,819,862	96

To award that indemnity, M. de Martignac observed, required no new imposts, but only new credit—no new loan, but simply an emission of

rentes, the profits of which, equivalent to the revenues of their estates as above estimated, should belong to those to whom the indemnity was awarded. Free from the contributions and other charges which affect real property, the revenue of three for every hundred of capital offered to the ancient proprietors, now about to become stockholders, a fair indemnification. "It is proposed to you, Messieurs," he concluded, "to authorize the issue of thirty millions of rentes at the rate of 3 for 100, by fifths, within the period of five years."

After the project had been remitted to a special Committee by the Chamber, its table was loaded with petitions claiming indemnity, from various individuals, not emigrants, who had suffered from the Revolution, particularly the ancient Magistrates and those members of the Legion of Honour who had been deprived of part of their incomes in 1814 and 1821. "Is it at all permitted," asked General Foy, "at this splendid feast given to the emigrants, to throw upon the table a few crumbs for those veteran soldiers—those maimed soldiers who have carried to the end of the world the glory of the French name?"

Amid the effervescence of public feeling and the oburgations in the Chamber by the liberal party, the Committee calmly proceeded with its labours; and on the 11th February its report, which had been impatiently expected, was presented by M. Pardessus. It combated all the objections which might be offered to the project, which it approved of generally; but recommended certain amendments, such as to add to the second article, "That any surplus there may be of the thirty millions, after the results of the liquidation are known, shall be employed in reducing the inequalities which resulted

from the mode adopted with regard to the evacuation; that in the case of the death of an ancient proprietor, the Frenchman who by law or testament represents him shall be entitled to claim his share of the indemnity; that with regard to the mortgaged estates of emigrants, a fourth of the indemnity shall be deducted, and the mortgagees declared absolute proprietors; that with regard to estates conferred upon hospitals, the demand shall be limited to such as were not actually surrendered, or only provisionally, and that for the rest the ancient proprietors should be inscribed upon the great book of the national debt for rentes corresponding to their net revenue; and that with regard to the claims of national state creditors, they shall be entitled to have these liquidated at the rate of 3 of rentes for every 100 of capital."

The discussion upon the project commenced upon 17th February by M. Girardin, who denied the competency of the Chamber to decide upon the project, since the greater number of its members were personally interested in the fate of it. He counted in the Chamber no fewer than 320 of the ancient privileged class, among whom 184 had titles, and about 260 were functionaries; and he called upon the President to reject the votes of the interested deputies.

He was followed by M. Labbey de Pompières, who traced all the evils of the Revolution to the conduct of the emigrants, who had armed themselves against the country, and stirred up the foreigner against her. "The emigration commenced in 1791, when France enjoyed peace with the whole universe, and tranquillity reigned within her interior. (Cries of denial from the right.) The decree of 1st August had recalled the emigrants; at length a constitution, modified by the King's wisdom and sanctioned

by the law, offered to France the hopes of rational liberty. Passports were suppressed, and the barriers thrown open; but a fatal obstinacy impelled the emigrants along the route to Cologne. Then it was that, according to the royal commissioner, they *planted their honour upon a foreign soil*; then it was they forgot to whom they had sworn fidelity, him whom they were bound to defend both by duty and interest—the chief, in short, of the monarchy. It was then that they armed themselves against their King and their country (*a new tumult on the right*); and clinging to their prejudices, and regardless of the proscriptions which menaced their fathers, their wives, their children, the dangers which accumulated over the heads of those who ought to have been dear to them, they called upon Europe to lay waste and to partition the land which gave them birth, which had nourished them, which, by the procurement of their families, still furnished them with the means of subsistence. The manifestoes of the Court of Berlin and those of the Duke of Brunswick had appeared, the war had commenced; then, and not till then, was confiscation pronounced. The measure was the law of the times; it had been, for three thousand years, the law of every known nation.—It is wished,” said the orator, “to make disappear the disfavour attached to the title of the new proprietor;—there never was a more legitimate title. If the possession of a confiscated estate be not good, where is the land that is exempt from challenge? Where is the land which has not been confiscated since the period of the confiscation pronounced against Robert d’Antois, or, to come nearer to our own days, that pronounced against the Constable of Bourbon? What reply would be made to a new proprietor, who,

presenting himself in the Chamber of Peers, were to address himself to the heads of the most ancient and dignified families thus:—‘What has become of the lands of Coligni, of Taligni, and of a thousand others who perished upon a day of execrable memory? Or to others, who are now the possessors of the spoils of a Concini, of a Cinq-Mars, of a De Thou, and a Marillac? In whose hands are the estates of religious fugitives, not to speak of the gifts made by them to conciliate favour?’ See, then, the impropriety of agitating this question;—see how inconsiderate is the conduct of Ministers. It revives a process which has been dormant since the days of the Gracchi—which begot such monsters as Marius and Sylla.”

There was much in this speech well calculated to curb that excessive pride of the old noblesse, which was fostered by pretensions, obsolete with all but themselves; but it was altogether beside the question. Instead of its invalidating the title of the new proprietors, one of the declared objects of the project was to confirm and put it beyond the reach of all challenge. Besides, the speech contained not a few false assumptions and anachronisms with regard to the state of France at a particular crisis. The whole emigrations did not take place previously to the irruption of the Prussians into the French territory; on the contrary, it is believed, the greater part took place subsequently to that event. The state of France at or previously to the decree of 1st August 1791, was not such as to afford any security to those who did not choose to participate in all the violences of the Revolution; in proof of which M. Agier, who followed M. de Pompières, referred to the report made on 4th June to the Constituent Assembly by M. de

la Tour Dupin, then Minister of War, upon the indiscipline and anarchy which reigned in the army, and upon the excesses which had been committed by the rebellious soldiers against their officers, which imposed upon the latter the necessity of emigrating.

We cannot notice the various arguments adduced in the course of the unprecedentedly long discussion which this project underwent; nor would it be necessary, as they turned chiefly, on the one hand, upon the supposed indiscretion (magnified into a crime by the orators) of the emigrants having abandoned their country, and, on the other, upon the alleged necessity of the emigration, the justice of the case, and the honour of the present government and of the French people being pledged to grant the indemnity required. It will be enough to record the more remarkable incidents of the discussion, and to notice that it was occasionally distinguished by extreme intemperance on both sides.

After some days of animated discussion, it was again renewed on 22d February, when M. Dudon demanded that rectifications should be made on General Foy's speech of the previous day, there being passages in it which might indicate an opinion unfavourable to the purchasers of national property. From the other side the insertion was demanded of certain passages in M. Duplessis Grenadau's speech, which denied the legality of the revolutionary sales. The latter avowed the passages with much animation; and General Foy, who was then absent, took the first opportunity of professing his belief in the perfect legality of the sales in question.

The discussion continued down till 25th February, previously to which, and on that day, a great variety of amendments were moved; but on

that day the first article of the project was carried without any amendment, excepting those made by the commission, by an immense majority; and on the 28th the second article was similarly carried.

On 4th March, after four sittings, the 3d and 4th Articles of the project were carried, with the amendments of the commission, and one proposed by M. de Lastours, which substituted for the emigrants under the first class a multiplication of the revenues of the sold estates, as in the year 1792, by eighteen instead of twenty; the result of which was a reduction of a tenth of the proposed indemnity to that class, which was to be applied in rectifying the inequalities unavoidable in partitioning the indemnity among those of the second class.

On the following day, a number of other Articles, as amended by the Committee, were carried, with some very slight amendments moved by members.

On the 11th March, a variety of amendments were moved upon Article 18, authorizing emigrants or their descendants to clear off debts due by them, by debts due to them previously to the confiscation of their estates, and to substitute for the public debt which they held previously to that period, new rentes, at the rate of 3 for every 100 of nominal capital; but the whole were rejected. An amendment was moved by M. Duhamel upon Article 22, for the registration, for a small fee fixed, of all acts of retrocession as to confiscated estates which might be concluded between actual possessors and ancient proprietors. This was vehemently opposed by General Foy and M. Benjamin Constant, as creating a most invidious distinction between different kinds of property. The amendment was referred to the Committee, who,



on the 15th, reported in favour of it. The report led to a most stormy debate, which, on the liberal side, was headed by General Foy; but it was adopted by a considerable majority.

The whole project, as amended, was then put to the vote; when upon a scrutiny, it appeared 259 had voted for it and 124 against it, making a majority in favour of it of 135.

On 16th March, the project, as amended in the Chamber of Deputies, was carried to the Upper Chamber, where Count de Vaublanc, as one of the Royal commissioners, expounded the grounds of it at considerable length. It was referred, according to custom, to a special commission, which, on 16th April, reported in favour of it, but at the same time, proposed three insignificant amendments, which affected neither its substance nor its spirit. After ten days' animated discussion, the project, with the amendments of the Committee, was adopted on 20th April, there having been 159 votes for it, and only 63 against it.

It was then re-transmitted to the Chamber of Deputies on 22d April, to receive its sanction to the amendments by the Peers, when the discussion was again revived both upon its principles and details. At length, the project, as amended by the Peers, was adopted on the 24th, there having been 221 votes for it, and 130 against it.

M. Vaublanc's great financial measure for reducing the rentes, which had been so signally defeated the last session, was again brought forward in this, but divested of its most objectionable provisions. Last session he did not choose to avow the connexion which certainly subsisted between that measure and the one for indemnifying the emigrants, but now he was less careful to conceal his views; and the circumstance of the financial

measure being known to be auxiliary to the one of indemnity, secured to it a powerful support in both Chambers.

In proposing the measure to the Chamber of Deputies on 3d January, (the same day on which the indemnity project was brought forward,) the minister, among other observations, stated, "Were we to propose to take from the sinking fund the 30 millions of rentes," (alluding to the sum to be paid to the emigrants,) "which must be issued, public credit would suffer doubly by that issue, and by the diminution of the sinking fund. The course of the rentes in circulation and of those to be issued, would be affected to a degree, which would render the measure unjust towards the present holders, and ruinous to those to whom we are about to render a tardy indemnity." Another consequence, he observed, of such a financial combination would be, that the sinking fund would be injuriously affected at the very moment of the issues, when it was most necessary that its credit should be upheld. And that its present amount would be reduced from 77 millions to 58, (which would still remain, at the end of the issuing,) at the very moment when the rentes in circulation are increased by 30 millions.

The plan of government, as divulged by the minister, was to preserve to the sinking fund the whole of its resources, that is to say, the 40 millions of the original grant to it, and the 37,500,000 of redeemed rentes, which would belong to it on 22d of June. Possessed of these means to redeem the three per cent rentes, (it was not allowed to redeem these rentes when above par, and there was no prospect of the 5 per cents sinking below it,) it was hoped to extinguish or redeem every year 3 millions of those rentes, which was a half of the yearly fifth of the sum destined for the indemnity.

of the emigrants; and it was also hoped that the progressive improvement of the revenue would suffice to discharge the other half of that fifth. Such was the object of the three first articles of the project. The fourth proposed to the holders of 5 per cent rentes, their conversion into 3 per cents, at the rate of 75 francs, that is to say, every 75 francs of the 5 per cent capital should, under the conversion, be rated as 100, yielding three, which, in effect, amounted to a reduction of these rentes from 5 to 4 per cent, or else that they should simply be converted into 4½ per cents; in either of which cases there would be a guarantee that they should not be redeemed sooner than 22d September 1835. It was expected that the rente-holders would be persuaded to embrace this offer, in the view of augmenting their nominal capital.

The project was reported upon by a special committee on 16th February. M. Huerne de Pommeuse, who was charged to make the report, stated, there was no doubt that the general rate of interest in France was below 4 per cent, while the 5 per cent rentes were above par; and that the interest paid by the state was unnecessarily burdensome. He then proceeded to answer the various objec-

tions which might be made to the project, which, he observed, did not give rise to the objections which the one of last year encountered. The proposed conversions were to be spontaneous and discretionary on the part of the holders. The reduction of the 5 per cents did not operate at all under the existing system, while the period of their redemption was undetermined and remote, so that capitalists looked abroad for other national funds in which they might invest their moneys. The situation of the small enteholders, too, he observed, would be bettered by the conversion of their

rentes into 4½, not redeemable for ten years. It had been said, in the course of the discussion of last year, that it would be more simple and prudent to effect the indemnity of 30 millions by redeeming rentes than by issuing new ones; but the Committee had made a calculation from which it appeared that the immediate pecuniary results of both plans would be the same, while the last was preferable, as it was not accompanied by the inconveniences and dangers which beset the other. In fine, the reporter strongly supported the project.

The discussion of the project was conducted with keenness, but temperately, on both sides. The remarks of the reporter combine nearly the whole arguments which were adduced in support of the measure; and the counter-arguments were precisely those which were employed against the similar measure of last year, and which were noticed in our last volume. The only amendment of the project which was adopted, was that of M. Pavy, (who supported the ministry,) which was to the effect of securing publicity and the concurrence of the Commissioners to the purchases made for the sinking fund. With that amendment, the project was carried on 26th March, there having voted for it, 237, and against it, 119.

The project, as amended, was carried to the Chamber of Peers, where also it underwent a long discussion, and was there also carried, without any amendment, on 27th April, the votes being for it, 134, and against it, 92.

Thus, a measure which, the previous year, had almost unsettled the foundations of M. de Villele's power, was carried triumphantly, without having excited any very serious clamour.

On 16th February the finance minister brought forward in the Cham-

ber of Deputies his budget for the year 1826, in the customary form of a project of law. The project bore that the expenses of the consolidated debt and sinking fund would amount to 915,504,499 francs, and that, according to estimate, the receipts would yield 924,095,704 francs, making a probable excess of 8,591,205 francs. In comparing the credits demanded for 1826 with those allowed for 1825, there appeared an augmentation of 16,571,319 francs, which arose from the increased expense of the consolidated fund, owing to the law of indemnity, the establishment of a great many new bursaries in the universities, the urgency of repairs of churches, the augmentation of the colonial garrisons, of which the navy was to be relieved, the relief required for the Vendéans, a grant of 500,000 francs assigned to the order of Saint Louis, &c. The expenses of the navy were diminished four millions of francs, in consequence of changes which were to be effected in that department with regard to the colonies. The colonial marine service had hitherto cost five millions, taken from the general funds of the state, and other five millions advanced by the colonies. Of the first five millions he now proposed to give to the minister of war 3,140,000 in order to strengthen the garrisons, and to the minister of marine, 860,000, to which would be added a million, to be contributed by the colonies, the reversion of their former contributions to go to defray the expenses of their internal administration.

The minister called upon the Chamber to admire the progress which had been made by government, amidst all its difficulties, in ameliorating the finance system. In the course of three years, one of them of war, the products of the sales of wood, the taxes upon registration, and the posts, and upon articles of consumption, and the

imposts upon commercial and agricultural establishments, had increased to the extent of fifty millions. But he reminded the Chamber, that, flourishing as the condition of the country was, it was their duty to assist the development of the nation's resources in agriculture and general industry. He had to propose an increase of the grants for various services to the amount of forty-one millions, which he thus specified; 5,500,000 francs for the ecclesiastical department; 631,745 for the salaries of judges of the first instance; 5,580,000 for the board of roads and bridges; 19,400,000 for the war department, which, united to savings that had been effected in various branches of that service, permitted an effective increase of the army, to the extent of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; and finally 7,700,000 for the marine, which would place it in a situation to realize the results announced to the Chamber in 1820.

In the meantime, the expense of the central administration had been reduced about one million, that of the minister of the interior 800,000, that of the treasury 250,000, and that of the board of improvements 700,000.

If, during that period, the consolidated debt had increased to the extent of 12,533,000, the temporary charges of the state had been reduced to nearly equal extent;—thus the life-rent debt had been reduced two millions, the ecclesiastical and military pensions 539,000, the interest of securities 856,000, annuities 1,421,000, and finally, the floating debt 2,270,000.

But that was not all. The sinking fund had redeemed twelve millions of rentes; and the funds, after having long been at or below par, had been raised since 1821, 15 per cent.

Two committees were appointed by the Chamber; one to investigate the expenditure branch, and the other the receipt branch, of the budget. The

former made its report upon 27th April, which, while it approved generally of the system of finance which had been established, and extolled its efficacy, proposed a few trifling reductions, and insisted upon the diminution of courts-royal and those of the first instance, and also upon some other reforms in the civil administration. The report upon the receipts was looked forward to with most interest. The reporter, M. Fouquier Long, remarked, as a striking indication of national prosperity, that the revenue derived from duties upon articles of consumption had increased, since 1810, by no less a sum than 81,852,896 francs, while a proportionate increase was observable in all the other branches of revenue. He insisted strongly, in name of the committee, for the suppression of the lottery, and also of the land-tax, which he considered to be essentially necessary for re-establishing "a social equilibrium" between the different classes of society.

The general discussion of the budget commenced on 4th May, and continued for a great number of days. Most of the orators allowed credit to the finance minister for the order and economy which he had introduced into his department; but his system was attacked by several of them upon a variety of grounds, but chiefly upon the absurdity of having the whole administrative powers centred in the capital, owing to which the prosperity of the provinces was retarded, there being innumerable technical impediments in the way of every paltry improvement. By some, the minister was censured for not having more largely adopted the principles of free trade, particularly with regard to corn, the ready importation of which would give new energy to manufactures; but agriculture being at that time in an extremely depressed state, the pro-

position was vigorously resisted. To afford relief to that interest, a reduction of the land-tax was much insisted upon by some of the Deputies. The Ultra Royalists in opposition took their stand chiefly upon the great number of courts-royal and courts of the first instance, which they were eagerly desirous to have reduced; while the orators on the liberal side warmly defended these tribunals, particularly the latter class of them, as one of the few remaining blessings conferred by the Revolution upon France, to console her for the sufferings which it had inflicted.

When the expense of the foreign department came particularly under discussion on 10th May, a question, equally intricate and harassing, was originated by General Foy, who complained that, notwithstanding the many brilliant promises held out to French commerce by ministers, they had utterly neglected its interests in the countries of Spanish America; and, noticing the recent recognition by Britain of the new states, he indignantly asked, "whose will is it which imposes upon France that absurd and ruinous policy, by which she incurs the risk of being thrown out of the march of nations?" He then alluded to the visit made at that time to Paris by Prince Metternich; and broadly insinuated, that the policy which he condemned, had been forced upon ministers by foreign influence. This insinuation was indignantly repelled by the President of the Council, who asserted that the visit of Prince Metternich had no political object whatever. He proceeded to distinguish between the situation of France and Britain with regard to Spain and her former colonies. Napoleon, he observed, had, by his invasion of Spain in 1808, thrown the commerce of South America into the hands of Britain, while France was excluded from

it; and it was not until the restoration of the Bourbons that she was replaced in a condition to participate in that commerce, with regard to which she was, by a treaty concluded with Spain, by which the right was accorded to France of trading with the South American provinces, upon the same footing as the most favoured nations. With regard to France recognising the independence of these provinces, the question embraced two important considerations, one of them commercial, the other political. Under the first, he had to observe, that it was well remarked by the orator on the other side, that England had not millions only but milliards invested in trade and other speculations in those countries. But how different was the situation of France! Her importations from them last year did not exceed sixteen, nor her exportations to them thirty millions. Then, as to the political question, there was this farther grand difference between France and England, that a Bourbon reigned in Spain; and the connexion between that kingdom and France was highly advantageous to both. The glorious expedition of 1823 had for its object, to re-establish the Spanish throne, and to re-knit the ties which bound the two countries together. It was not under these circumstances, then, that France could be called upon to perform an act hostile to the interests of Spain, and in despite of her protestations, which would be considered a violation of her rights, and an abuse of the position which France then occupied. The rule which France, he stated, had prescribed for herself, was to observe towards Spain and her colonies the conduct of a mediatrix. Her constant solicitude was to effect a reconciliation between the parties upon terms advantageous to both.

Without attending to the minor details upon the budget, we may pro-

ceed at once to observe, that the laws founded upon it, as modified by the Committees, were finally adopted by the Chamber on 19th May, 286 out of 339 members present having voted for it.

The following day the legislative labours of the Chamber were abruptly suspended by the presentment of a royal ordinance, proroguing the session till the 7th of June, that the members selected for the occasion, from both Chambers, might be present at the ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was to take place on 29th of May.

When the Chambers resumed their sittings, the laws upon the budget were carried to that of the Peers, where, after some inconsiderable discussion, which was confined to the Marquis de Marbois on the one side, and the finance minister on the other, they were implicitly adopted on the 10th of June, by a majority of 126 out of 183 members present.

The most imposing, if not important, event which occurred in France during the year was the Coronation of the King, which took place at Rheims on the 29th of May, as had been previously fixed. A detailed account of the ceremony will be found under the Chronicle head. It was observed, that it appeared to interest and delight the foreigners present much more than the natives, which may look like a solecism in the character of the latter; but the truth is, that the religious mummeries which disfigured the ceremony, (mummeries much too gross and palpable for the age,) especially when viewed in connexion with the superstitious character of the monarch, of which a most offensive display had been very recently made in the inhuman law against sacrilege, were well calculated to excite the contempt of his subjects. It has to be con-

dered, too, that a very great proportion of them were incapable of extending their sympathies across the great gulf which separated modern times from the times of the ancient regime; and, of course, the antiquated observances, renewed on this occasion, which might have devoutly and patriotically affected their forefathers, must have been to them unimpressive and lifeless.

However, the King, on his return to Paris, experienced a rather enthusiastic reception from the people of that capital, which, perhaps, may be construed into a grateful anticipation of the fêtes and other amusements at the expense of the state which awaited them.

His Majesty returned to Paris on the 7th of June; and the same day, the King and Queen of Wirtemberg, who had just arrived *incognito*, under the names of the Count and Countess de Teck, were presented to him and the other members of his family. That day, also, the King was solemnly invested with the English order of the Garter, by the Duke of Northumberland, Viscount Granville, and Sir George Nayler, king-at-arms, acting upon a special commission from their sovereign, who had been specially represented at the ceremonial of the coronation by the first-named nobleman, with unrivalled magnificence.

The greatest political event of the year was the recognition by France of the independence of her former colony of Hayti, the particulars of which will be found detailed under the head of Hayti.

Perhaps nothing had occurred in the course of the year which so much fixed public attention as certain judicial proceedings adopted against a part of the press, in defence of the Jesuits and the fanatical portion of the regular clergy, whom public opi-

nion had long denounced for their intolerance of Protestantism, and their entertaining ultramontane designs against the liberties of the Gallican Church. Circumstances were almost daily occurring, both to confirm and exasperate that opinion; but none produced a more deep impression than the general character of the coronation ceremony, in which the monarch was seen prostrated at the feet of a priest, and receiving the crown from him, and the re-establishment about the same time, by a royal ordinance, of the notorious College of the Sorbonne. The organs of public opinion, the *Constitutionnel* and *Courrier Français* newspapers were not inactive in exposing the intolerant spirit and dangerous designs of the Jesuits and fanatics; and, accordingly, they were selected for prosecution by the advocate-general, under the new law of the press. By that law it is not necessary for the prosecutor to found upon any specific article containing libellous matter; it is enough that he shows that the general discussions or remarks of the journal which he prosecutes are of an anti-religious, anti-moral, or seditious tendency. The question, too, is tried and determined, without the intervention of a jury, by the Cour Royale, which, if it sustains the charge, may decree either the suspension or suppression of the obnoxious journal.

The cases of the two prosecuted journals in question were, strangely enough, both included in one *réquisitoire*, or information, which was a declamatory production, breathing the very spirit of the Jesuits. It laid great stress, in particular, upon the bias towards *Protestantism*, (a religion, be it observed, not only tolerated, but supported by the state,) evinced by the editors. To prove the *malus animus* of these gentlemen,

such passages as the following in the two journals were actually founded upon:—"The petition of the Protestants of Nerac, expelled from 'heir church, was laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies the day before yesterday by General Foy."—*Courrier Francais*. "But while the schools of the Freres Ignorantins are established and supported by means of taxes, pray allow Lancasterian schools to subsist by voluntary contributions."—*Constitutionnel*. But the most monstrous feature in the proceeding of the attorney-general was, that he did not rely upon proving the imputed tendency of the discussions in either of the prosecuted journals by their own internal evidence, but, though the two were rather distinct in their politics, and altogether unconnected, he collected and then confounded the discussions of both journals, and from the aggregate drew his own hostile inferences. This was a truly jesuitical perversion of a law in itself sufficiently arbitrary, severe, and unjust. The public prosecutor concluded his elaborate sophistry by demanding the suspension of the two journals for three months.

This prosecution became a matter of the greatest public concern, since, by the new law of the press, no new journal could be established in France without the King's special authority; and the suspension (which, considering the nature of the property, was tantamount to suppression,) would have been, speaking in a political sense, to put out the eyes of the liberal party—a party the existence of which, notwithstanding the injuries it had done to the cause of rational freedom, had become necessary to counterpoise the influence of the fanatical party, which now exercised a power in the state at once mysterious and formidable.

The case was pleaded three days

before the Cour Royale, which was presided over by Baron Seguier. Such was the intense anxiety excited by the trial, that the hall was crowded with Peers of France, national deputies, and foreigners of distinction. The advocate-general, M. de Brûe, exerted the whole of his eloquence in support of his charges. On the other side, M. Dupin, for the *Constitutionnel*, and M. Merilhou for the *Courrier Francais*, contended, that the articles of accusation were vague and inapplicable, and explained and justified the selected and denounced passages in the journals under prosecution. They asserted the truth of the facts embodied in these passages; and in arguing that religion was not attacked by exposing the abuses which dishonoured it, they inveighed against the flagrant introduction into the kingdom of a religious order (meaning the Jesuits) in opposition to the law, and to the imminent danger of the independence of the throne and the liberties of the people.

On 3d December, after the King's advocate had replied to M. Dupin, the court retired for about three quarters of an hour to deliberate, and then re-entered the hall, which was crowded to excess.

The decision of the Court was as follows:—"The Court, having considered the thirty-four culpatory articles extracted from the paper called the *Constitutionnel*, resolve, that though many of the articles contain expressions and improper phrases on serious subjects, yet the spirit resulting from those articles is not of a nature to cast a slur on the respect due to the religion of the state; and likewise resolving, that it is neither casting such slur, nor abusing the liberty of the press, to discuss and oppose the introduction into the kingdom of all establishments no

authorized by law,—and that every paper has a right to point out such facts as are notoriously established as offensive to religion or morality, or such dangers and excesses as are likely to arise from a doctrine which would threaten the independence of the monarchy, the sovereignty of the King, and the public liberty, guaranteed by the constitutional charter, and by the declaration of the clergy of France in 1682—a declaration that has always been recognised and proclaimed the law of the country,—decree that there is no cause for pronouncing the required suspension, though we at the same time enjoin the editors of the *Constitutionnel* to be more circumspect. The cause is therefore dismissed, free of expense to the defendants.” As soon as this judgment was pronounced, the Justice Hall was filled with shouts of—“Live the King!” “The Charter for ever!” “The Liberty of the Press for ever!” “The Cour Royale and Dupin for ever!”

In the case of the *Courrier Français*, which had been suspended, M. de Brœe, the attorney-general, having addressed the court against that journal, and M. Merilhou, for the defence, having resumed his arguments, the President at length interrupted the latter by saying,—“Your cause is heard.” The Court retired at two o’clock into the council chamber, and at three o’clock resumed its sitting. The first President then pronounced a similar judgment in the case of the *Courrier*, acquitting the editors without costs.

Our attention has now to be directed to Spain, a kingdom which, by courtesy, is ranked among civilized states, but which bigotry, notwithstanding the natural acumen of its inhabitants, and the superior intelligence of many of them, has re-

duced to a state of perfect barbarism; at least that much may be predicated of its government. By accident the Spanish government may occasionally employ men of talents; but so organised is it, so controlled and dictated to by factious interests, that such men, in accepting office, must be aware that patriotism is a virtue at once unsafe and impracticable; consequently, they must make up their minds to act upon the selfish principle, which, in that country, requires a prostitution of all talent whatsoever. Hence ignorance and bigotry reign triumphant.

The acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of various of the South American states was communicated to the Cabinet of Madrid in January, and gave mighty offence. The communications between the two courts, in consequence, were not a little animated; that of Madrid insisting that the act of the British Government did not agree with the fact, since, according to the views of Ferdinand’s ministers, South America was in a most disorganised state, and the majority of its population were anxious to return to their ancient allegiance; and that the act in question was a direct attack upon the principles of legitimacy. An argument, founded on the principles of legitimacy, as these had lately been practically interpreted, could find little favour in the eyes of a British minister such as Mr Canning, who, resting his chief argument upon the fact of the new states being, and having long been actually independent, maintained that there was nothing inimical towards Spain in Britain’s acknowledging that fact, which was notorious and incontrovertible. The argument of the British minister appears quite resistless. Unless the pretensions of despotism are held to be unlimited, it must be allowed that, according to the law both of nature



and of nations, as well as the dictates of common sense, there may be circumstances to justify a colony in throwing off its subjection to the mother country; but, since third parties have no title to adjudicate, one way or another, with regard to the extent of the justification, and cannot, indeed, pretend to do so without embroiling itself with one of the parties, it obviously follows that, without interfering with the *de jure* question, it has a right to form relations with the revolting party when once its independence is *de facto* established. The converse of this proposition would involve not a few political monstrosities which, without their being stated, must suggest themselves to the mind of the reader. It was sufficient to escape the imputation of being unfriendly, that Britain had offered herself to Spain as a mediator between her and her former colonies; and when that mediation was contemptuously rejected, surely she was well entitled to consult her own interests, by forming commercial relations with the new States, when, in doing so, she left Spain as much at liberty as ever to reduce them to their former subjection.

The Spanish government continued harassed as usual by its pecuniary wants, its absolutely necessary expenses having come to exceed its revenue by two hundred millions reals. The idea of taxing the Church again occurred to it; but though the dignitaries of the Church assented to the scheme, the body of the clergy refused their concurrence, alleging that their tithes had been reduced one half since the period of the usurpation by Joseph Buonaparte, not to speak of the depouilment of many of the religious houses.

The king, acting upon the advice of *Bermudez Zea*, his minister for foreign affairs, presented to the Coun-

cil of Castile, for its approbation, a decree of extraordinary liberality, which granted an amnesty for all political offences committed between 7th March, 1820, and 1st October, 1823, and directed that all included within the amnesty who were in custody should instantly be liberated. This decree, twice presented to the Council of Castile, was twice remonstrated against by that body; and, in the meantime, reports having been received of new conspiracies, and of the appearance of a guerilla party in the mountains of Cuenca, and about the same time the volunteers of Madrid having been industrious in shouting "Live the absolute King," "Death to the Cortes," the measure was ultimately withdrawn.

If the perplexities of Ferdinand urged him at times into a course of humane and liberal policy, his dread of the monkish party, which, while it affected to uphold his absolute authority, in fact domineered over him, soon recalled him to the path which his own cruel and selfish nature pointed out to him. About this time, though the King had dismissed Ugarte from the office of secretary of the Council, and made other changes in his ministry which appeared auspicious to the moderate party, he still retained in his confidence *M. Calomarde*, whose ideas were directly opposed to those of the prime minister, *Bermudez Zea*; and, under his influence, and that of the Duke del Infantado, the King issued a declaration from Aranjuez, dated 19th April, in which he solemnly pledged himself to preserve intact and in all their plenitude his rights of absolute sovereignty, and to permit no change whatever in the form of his government. This declaration was intended to calm the apprehensions of the monkish faction, that Ferdinand was really meditating some essential changes; but, in that

view, it was wholly ineffective. The vengeance of the faction had not been sufficiently glutted with blood; and, because Ferdinand had been pleased to set limits to their vengeance, they, very fancifully, adopted the belief that he was becoming a Liberal.

A considerable number of changes were afterwards made in various offices of the state, by which certain Ultras were displaced by persons of the moderate party. Among the former were General Aymerich, who had held together the three important posts of minister of war, inspector-general of the infantry, and commander of the royalist volunteers of Madrid; and General Carvajal, captain-general of the province of Madrid. These changes threw the royalist volunteers into the greatest fermentation; and, affecting to believe that there was a plot laid by the Liberals to poison the whole of them, *because some drummers of their corps had taken sick after eating of lambs' head*, they appeared on the streets with arms in their hands, shouting—"Live the absolute King! Death to the Negroes! Live Aymerich and Carvajal!" and committed some dreadful excesses. Troops of the line were introduced into the city from the neighbouring towns; but it was not until after several days, and some bloodshed, that they succeeded in restoring tranquillity. A committee of physicians declared the *lambs' head plot* to be a mere fable; and a placard which had been affixed to the walls, bearing—"Live the Constitution! death to the King and religion!" was ascertained by the police to be the production of the Ultra-Royalist party.

Notwithstanding the rebellious spirit evinced by the Royalist Volunteers, the government had not the courage to suppress them; and, in the meantime, addresses poured in

from the provinces, demanding the recall of General Aymerich, and the dismissal of Recacho, the minister of police. At Segovia, Cordova, and Seville, there had been popular commotions; and, to make "confusion worse confounded," there was discovered the existence of a *white lodge*, organized upon the *Carbonari* plan, having for its object the establishment of absolutism in its utmost perfection. The prelates were enjoined by government to inculcate the duty of obedience in their flocks; but many of them refused to obey the mandate. The Bishop of Oriluela re-established the Inquisition within his diocese, by which he only imitated the example which had been set by the Bishop of Tarragona; and when the proceeding was denounced to the Council of Castile, that body had the *daring comaradice* (if such a compound expression may be allowed), not merely to extenuate, but to justify it. The various measures of the government at this juncture were so extremely inconsistent and contradictory, as to make it evident that there were two hostile parties in the cabinet, who alternately swayed the mind, such as it was, of the monarch.

At length, a discovery was made of a correspondence, by which it appeared that a formidable plot had been formed by the apostolical party, for dethroning Ferdinand, and substituting for him his brother Don Carlos; by which substitution, the party expected to gain the evacuation of Spain by the French troops, the re-establishment of the Inquisition, the confiscation, in favour of the royalists, of the estates of all who had participated in the revolution, and similar important advantages. In this conspiracy, a number of noblemen and prelates, members of the council of Castile, and persons attached to the court, were seriously implicated. It was

discovered, moreover, on 17th August, that upwards of 200,000 reals had been distributed to corrupt the royal guards; and that, on the night preceding, General Bessieres, who was to head the insurrection, had been secretly in Madrid, where he had seduced three companies of the regiment of Saint Jacques, and taken them away with him; and that he had taken the direction of Alcalha, having, on his route, invited the regular military and volunteers to join him, and assist in rescuing the King from captivity.

An order was instantly issued by the King, placing all the insurgents who should fail to surrender on the first summons, and be taken with arms in their hands, under martial law, but allowing them time to die like Christians; and promising pardon to such privates and subalterns as should deliver up their officers. The new minister of war, the Count d'Espagne, was, at the same time, directed to pursue Bessieres, with the whole disposable forces.

Bessieres, with the three companies which he had seduced, and some cuirassiers, arrived at Torrija, where he denounced death against all the ministers *excepting Calomarde*, and issued orders in name of the King, as if he had really been in captivity; but the minds of several of his military followers having by this time been disabused, they deserted him, and returned to Madrid. Bessieres then directed his route through a number of towns, in all of which he raised contributions, and arrived, on the 23d, in the village of Zaffrila, in the neighbourhood of Molina d'Arragon, where he, with eight officers, who were all that remained with him, halted, in order to bait their horses. At this place, they were overtaken by an officer named Albuin, who had distinguished himself

in the war of independence, and, at his own request, had been intrusted by the Count d'Espagne with the pursuit of Bessieres, and had under him a detachment of the grenadier dragoons of the guard-royal. Bessieres, and the whole of his party excepting one, were taken, and conveyed to Molina d'Arragon, where they were confined three days, according to Spanish custom, and then shot, after acknowledging their guilt and receiving the consolations of religion.

Consequent upon the suppression of Bessieres's rebellion, a number of the apostolical party were put under arrest, or banished from the capital; but no sensible change took place, notwithstanding, in the system of government. At the very time that a price was put upon the head of the above apostolical tool, two constitutionalists, Paul Iglesias and (to the eternal disgrace of the Spanish name, be it said) the famous Empeinado, Don Juan Martin, both of whom had been apprehended at Tariffa, were publicly executed at Madrid. They met their death like heroes.

To remedy the financial distresses of the country, a consultative junta was appointed, with directions to submit the results of their labours to the Council of Castile. About the same time, the moderate party was thunderstruck by a royal ordinance, dated 24th October, which removed their chief, Bermudez Zea, from his office of Prime Minister, and substituted the Duke del Infantado in the place of him. It is no small proof of Ferdinand's habitual deception, that the very evening previous to Bermudez's dismissal, which was quite unexpected, he had received him most graciously, and conversed with him long in the most affable manner.

Somewhat, it has been supposed, that the Danish Ambassador, a personal enemy of Bermudez, was chiefly

instrumental in bringing about his disgrace, though the influence of an ambassador of his rank, we should suppose, must be extremely feeble. However, the ex-minister received from foreign courts, especially that of Russia, assurances of the high consideration in which he was held by them; and even his successor, in name of the King, complimented him upon his great experience, sagacity, and patriotism. A number of other changes in the cabinet ensued upon the dismissal of Bermudez, and such as insured to the lately rebellious apostolical party a complete ascendancy.

In Portugal, there was more of superficial tranquillity than in the neighbouring kingdom; but there existed within it precisely the same elements of discord as in the other. The French ambassador, M. Hyde de Neuville had the influence and address to prevail with the King to retain the Count Suberra (who was attached to the French as opposed to the English interest) at the head of the ministry, notwithstanding that the politics of other ministers, the Marquis de Palmella, the Count de Pova, and C. Oliveira Leite de Barras, were directly the reverse of those of that nobleman. The arrival of Sir William A'Court at Lisbon, as English ambassador, heightened the discord which reigned in the cabinet; and the French ambassador having been recalled, the King at length determined to get rid wholly of a ministry, the composition of which was to him a source of incessant inquietude. By a decree of 15th January, he, very incongruously, appointed the Marquis de Palmella, who was in the English interest, ambassador to the French court, and Count de Suberra, who was in the opposite interest, to the court of St James;

and, by another decree of the same date, appointed the following individuals:—Cornea de Lacerda to be minister of the interior, Souza Baradas to be minister of justice, Count de Barbacena to be minister of war and marine, De Melho to be minister of finance, and Pinheiro Ferreira to be minister of foreign affairs, but only *ad interim*. By this sweeping change, it was believed that the English interest in the cabinet was materially diminished. By a subsequent royal decree, dated 5th February, the respective appointments of Suberra and Palmella to the courts of England and France, were reversed.

The new ministry devoted itself with great assiduity to the reduction of the national debt, which had been much augmented by three loans made by authority of the Cortes; and pursued the example of the British ministry, by lowering duties, in order to give an impulse and encouragement to national industry.

In the meantime, the conspiracy for dethroning the King, and placing the Queen and the Infant Don Miguel at the head of the government, which had been baffled last year, still existed, and pursued its machinations with unceasing activity. Every manœuvre was attempted to bring liberal principles under popular hatred; and the conspirators went even the length of procuring the clandestine profanation of some sacred vessels at Lisbon and Oporto, which they atrociously ascribed to the sect of Freemasons, in the expectation that the odium attached to it would excite the populace to a general massacre of them. The government, instead of opposing the machinations of this inexorable conspiracy with measures of severity, determined, most infatuatedly, to make a display of its clemency, which could have no other effect than to dishearten its own friends, and encour-

rage its enemies. On 24th June, appeared a royal amnesty, regarding the whole rebellious events of the last year, from which amnesty only were excluded the Marquis d'Abrantes, and a few obscure individuals, who were exiled from the kingdom. Others were ordered to reside at a distance from the capital. In this document, the King, alluding to melancholy events, "which had pierced his heart—the heart of a husband and a father," and for which the rules of justice required a rigorous punishment, observed, that "the love of the father had prevailed in his breast over the inflexibility of the king, and determined him, in the conflict of his feelings, to embrace the councils of a magnanimous clemency." In fine, he directed that the whole official proceedings connected with the events in question should be burned,

in order that no trace whatever of them might remain to cause uneasiness to any one.

After the appearance of this document, the conspirators renewed their infamous attempts with redoubled activity; and the walls of the principal towns were covered with their inflammatory proclamations; but fortunately, all their schemes failed in provoking a rebellion, or even any very serious disturbance.

On 15th November, there was published, at Lisbon, the treaty concluded at Rio de Janeiro, on 29th August, between Portugal and Brazil, by which the absolute independence of the latter was formally acknowledged by the former country. The particulars of this treaty will be detailed when we come to treat of Brazil.

## CHAPTER 'XII.

AUSTRIA, ITALY, HUNGARY, PRUSSIA, BAVARIA, THE  
NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN.

AUSTRIA had so completely subjugated the Germanic powers to its iron system of internal policy, that it ceased for a time from its cares with regard to the revolutionary spirit in the North, with which its imagination had been so long haunted, and congratulated itself upon what it considered the consummation of its labours in that quarter.

In April, politicians were called upon to exercise their talents for speculation by a journey which the Emperor undertook to his Italian dominions. By some it was conjectured there was to be a new Congress of the Holy Alliance at Milan, with a view to discuss the questions arising out of the political situation of Spanish America, and also that of Greece; and the continued residence of Prince Metternich at Paris was imagined to be for the purpose of smoothing down any difficulties which the policy of the French Cabinet might oppose to the propositions to be submitted to the Congress by Austria. By others it was alleged, that it was designed to constitute a federation

of the Italian powers, of which Austria was to be declared the Protector. Neither of these conjectures proved to be correct.

In the beginning of May, the Emperor and Empress, accompanied by their household and the whole corps diplomatique, made their entry into Milan, amid the acclamations of the populace. In the course of a few days, there were speedily assembled in that capital, upon the august invitation of the Emperor, the following Italian Sovereigns,—The Archduchess Maria Louisa, Princess of Parma; the Prince and Princess of Lucca and Piombino; the Duke and Duchess of Modena; the Grand-Duke of Tuscany; and, last of all, the King (Francis I. who, the previous December, had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father) and Queen of Naples. There were two Italian Princes, however, who declined being present. These were, His Holiness the Pope, and the King of Sardinia,—a circumstance which gives some countenance to one of the rumours which were circulated re-

garding the imperial visit, the policy of these two princes being naturally opposed to the aggrandizement of Austrian power in Italy. However, the Sardinian Monarch sent an ambassador to the imperial court established for the time at Milan.

It appeared in the sequel, that the only result of this grand convocation of potentates was a treaty concluded on 28th May at Milan, between the Emperor and the King of Naples, for prolonging the military occupation of the dominions of the latter by an Austrian auxiliary army till the end of March 1827; but it was stipulated, that that army was to be reduced in the meantime to 2000, should circumstances admit of the reduction with safety. This treaty dissipated whatever hopes had been entertained that the new King would adopt into his politics some of the liberality which he had so loudly professed at one critical period when heir apparent, by showing that he was determined, either from inclination or the force of foreign influence, to adhere to the system of his deceased father.

On 29th May, their Imperial Majesties, and the assembled Italian Princes, with their suites, and the whole corps diplomatique, took their departure from Milan for Genoa, where the King of Sardinia had been residing for two months. Their re-assembly at Genoa naturally gave strength to the prevailing popular belief that some important political question was under discussion; but nothing was concluded, nor any political conference held among them, which has ever transpired. After devoting a few days to the exchange of courtesies, and to pleasure, the exalted personages left Genoa on 7th July, by various routes.

The Austrian Emperor and Empress repaired to Rome, whence they

made a visit to their dominions in the north of Italy, where they made a display of their affability in visiting a variety of public and private institutions. At Venice, where the spectacle of a population reduced now to 5000—two-thirds of them beggars—might have inspired in his Majesty melancholy regrets, if not remorse, they remained five days. It may be superfluous to add, that this imperial visit to Italy was unaccompanied by any ameliorating change in the political situation of that misgoverned country.

Europe was considerably surprised by a liberal determination, formed by the Emperor, to convoke this year the Diet of Hungary; which, as our readers know, is composed of the magnates or great barons, prelates, and deputies from the noblesse and boroughs—the peasantry not being represented in it. Its functions, which are derived from a remote antiquity, are the granting of money to the Sovereign, and the levying of troops for his service; so that the Diet may be considered an essential element of the government, communicating to it a mixed and free character. The last time the Diet had been convened was in 1812, since which the most violent encroachments had been made by the Austrian Chancery upon its proper authority, and the rights and liberties of the people—all which had been solemnly guaranteed, so lately as 1790-1, by the Emperor Leopold the Second. It is doubtful whether, under the circumstances, the present Emperor would have convened the Diet, but that he was desirous to have his Empress crowned Queen of Hungary, at which ceremony the presence of the Diet was indispensable.

The day fixed for the meeting of the Diet was 11th September, on which day its members had assembled at Presburg. On the evening

of the 12th, their Imperial Majesties arrived at Schlosshoff, a country-seat distant two leagues from Presburg. Thither the members of the Diet, in magnificent costumes, and mounted on horseback, instantly repaired; and the Archduke Palatine, who was at their head, complimented, in their name, their Majesties upon their safe arrival.

On the 14th, the Diet was formally opened by a speech addressed to each of the Chambers of Magnates and Deputies by the Royal Commissioners. It was observed, that the speech addressed to the Deputies was in the Hungarian language, instead of in Latin, according to all former practice,—which innovation was considered a favourable omen.

On the morning of the 17th, their Majesties were waited upon at Schlosshoff by deputations of both Chambers, who entreated them to repair to the capital, in order to assist at the deliberations of the Diet.

This request was readily complied with, and the same day their Majesties entered the capital in great pomp. The Emperor-King was dressed in the uniform of a Hungarian Field-Marshal, and his consort wore the national costume. They were received at the gates of the city by all the members of the Diet and dignitaries of the crown, and proceeded, amid the acclamations of the people, to the chapel-royal of the palace, where Te Deum was performed.

Next day, his Majesty attended the Diet, and addressed a speech, in Latin, from the throne, to the two Chambers. He commenced by expressing the satisfaction he felt in having at length realised the intention he had long since formed, of convening the estates of the kingdom, to deliberate for the public good; and also to assist at the coronation as Queen of his august consort. He

took a review of the public events which had occurred since their last convention; and remarked, that victories, which, next to God, he attributed to the valour of his subjects, had at length conquered peace for his dominions, and restored to the Crown of Hungary the ancient provinces which had been torn from it. He loved, above all, he said, to acknowledge the fidelity of his brave Hungarians, who had unanimously repelled from among them that pernicious spirit which had introduced into other countries very great disorders, and the most frightful evils. The events of late years had made necessary a number of great financial sacrifices; and the principal object of the Diet, he observed, would be to deliberate upon a system of finance, the salutary effects of which had been already experienced. His Majesty concluded, by an affectionate expression of his wishes for the prosperity of Hungary, and of attachment to its constitution.

He delivered the speech with considerable emotion; and happening, in the course of it, to allude to his advanced years, he was interrupted by the tears of the Empress and the Archduchess Sophia, and the prayers of the Assembly, that his precious life might be long preserved to them.

His Majesty and his court withdrew, after the Chancellor Prince Kahary had presented the Diet with a sealed packet, containing the royal propositions for its consideration.

These propositions were read the same day, and found to relate to the changes which had been introduced into many branches of the administration, and sanctioned by deputations, named conformably to an article agreed upon by the Diet in 1790-1; the reduction of paper money, and the bills of redemption and anticipation created in 1812; the re-



establishment of a silver circulation ; and a new law with regard to debtors and creditors.

On 25th September, the Empress was solemnly crowned Queen of Hungary, within the chapel of the palace. The appearance of the crown, which had been brought from Open, excited the most lively enthusiasm of the Hungarians, in whose minds it was consecrated by national traditions and legends. On the day of the coronation, a royal banquet was given in honour of it, in the hall of the Casino ; at which were present eight hundred magnates and other persons of distinction.

At one of the earliest of its sittings, the Diet decreed a gift of 50,000 ducats to her Majesty, on the occasion of her coronation ; which sum was conveyed to her by four magnates, in an ebony cask, inlaid with gold, and placed upon a litter covered with crimson velvet. The Diet also agreed to naturalize Prince Metternich, as a citizen of Hungary.

But, notwithstanding those demonstrations of respect for the Monarch, the Diet was not a little dissatisfied with the nature of the royal propositions ; and, on 22d October, came to the resolution not to discuss them until they had obtained a redress of the national grievances. Accordingly, they prepared an address to his Majesty, in which the whole of their grievances were recounted—the most prominent of which were, the unconstitutional administration of the hereditary provinces ; the arbitrary enforcement by the military, of measures which required the sanction of the Diet—such as the exaction of voluntary gifts, and the employment of royal commissioners to levy troops and to change the mode of contribution ; the secret denunciations by those commissioners, which had caused

nocent of every offence, to be deprived of their offices, and others to be interdicted from the exercise of their rights ; and the long time which had elapsed, beyond the constitutional period, before convening the Diet. The address implored the punishment of the authors of these grievances ; that his Majesty would suspend, now and for ever, all orders for future levies of recruits ; and that the collection of the taxes should be restricted to the sum voted by the Diet in 1811, and all surcharges be reimbursed. The address concluded, by insisting on certain measures as indispensable to the maintenance of the constitution ; the religious observance of the law, which ordains that the Diet should be held once every three years, and that his Majesty should, before closing any one Diet, fix a time for the meeting of the succeeding one ; that the executive power should be exercised through the medium of a vice-royal council, in such a manner, that each councillor who might advise or assist in executing an illegal order, could be placed under accusation, and punished ; and that publicity should be given to the acts and deliberations of the provincial assemblies, and officers.

These demands, which, it must be allowed, develop most just notions of government, could not fail to be extremely displeasing to the Emperor, who delayed making a reply till 9th November. His reply was a masterpiece of its kind. He expressed his astonishment that they should have delayed the consideration of his propositions ; and with regard to those things which they had pressed upon his notice, he considered “ it much more wise and expedient to consign them to oblivion, than to recall them to his memory.” He knew his royal rights and duties, he said ; but he was deeply penetrated with the conviction

tion, that in those times, when "an implacable enemy" (the spirit of innovation) menaced the existence of monarchy, he could not permit the estates of his realm to consult upon extraordinary measures. After decanting long and eloquently upon the topic of innovation; but without denying or extenuating the innovations complained of by the Diet, which he himself had made upon the constitution; he asserted his determination not to suffer any of his royal rights to be called in question; and, in fine, he artfully evaded the whole demands of the Diet.

It probably was imagined by his Majesty's advisers, that the Diet would be overawed by the decisive tone of this message; but very different was the result, for the Diet, perceiving in it plain indications of a desire and design to govern despotically, adopted, by a great majority, resolutions still more vehement than those of 22d October.

In order to allay the resentments of the Diet, the Archduke Palatine, brother of the Emperor, offered to mediate for them with his Majesty; and his offer having been accepted, he repaired to Vienna, to which his Majesty had returned, and succeeded in obtaining from him a rescript, explanatory of his message of 9th November. In this rescript, he ascribed the doubts and alarms of the Diet to a misapprehension of certain expressions in his message. He declared explicitly, that it never entered into his mind to give an example in favour of such proceedings as had given rise to their complaints, nor to establish any new right in the Crown, in order to suit an occasion; and assured his faithful states, that he would never permit, under the pretext of an extraordinary conjuncture, any taxes or duties to be raised without the consent of the Diet. He invited

the estates to propose a plan for regulating contributions, and also the proceedings, and avowed his intention to summon the Diet every three years, and, if necessary, and also to establish a council for the government of Hungary, with powers, as determined by the acts of 1725 and 1790-1. After these explanations, his Majesty entered himself that all the doubts of the Diet would be dissipated, and that they would now seriously occupy themselves with the gracious propositions which he had submitted to them.

This rescript, which was read in a mixed meeting of the Chambers on 29th November, gave much satisfaction. Next day, thanks were voted to the Archduke Palatine for his successful mediation. It was agreed to transmit an address of thanks to his Majesty; but the composition of the address gave rise to as violent debates as those which followed the royal message of 9th November. Many, both nobles and deputies, wished to advance new demands; and it was only upon the condition that they should be free to do so, that they consented to the immediate consideration of the royal proposition as to subsidies. The whole of December was consumed in discussing the terms of the address, and in communications from the one Chamber to the other, concerning it, without either having come to any determination.

The affairs of Prussia for the year present nothing deserving of particular notice. The provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Posen, which had been occupied the previous year, completed their subjugation, and the results of their absolute rule. It is said, highly satisfactory to the government. But as the nature of their deliberations was strictly prohibited, it is impossible to determine

what degree of independence or of wisdom may have marked their proceedings. Encouraged, however, by the experience he had had of representative bodies, the King, by an ordinance, convoked the estates of Silesia for the 2d of October, and also those of the Rhenish provinces.

On 25th March, Professor Jahn, whose imprisonment affixed a deep reproach upon the Prussian government, was absolved from the charges brought against him, by a sentence of the Royal Supreme Tribunal of Frankfurt.

A new alliance was formed between the houses of Prussia and Orange by the marriage, on the 21st of May, of Prince William Frederic Charles, second son of the King of the Netherlands, with the Prussian Princess Louisa Augusta Wilhelmina Amelia. The ceremony took place in the Royal Chapel at Berlin. Soon after that event, 16th September, the King paid a visit to the Royal Family of the Netherlands; and, accompanied by them, made an excursion to the field of Waterloo. Having come to the spot where the Prince of Orange received his wound, the King was pleased to confer upon his Royal Highness the command of two Prussian regiments. His Majesty next repaired to Paris *incognito*, having assumed the title of Count Ruppin, and after residing there some considerable time, returned to Potsdam on 18th October.

About this time the Council of State received a new organization. Count Gneisenau, who was regarded as one of the great promoters in 1815 of the representative system, and had been expelled from the administration, was created a Field Marshal; and had both the departments of foreign and military affairs committed to his charge. This, and other liberal measures of government, indicated at least a relaxation of the system which it had hitherto pursued.

In Bavaria, where the representative system had been accorded by the sovereign to his subjects with good faith, the adoption seems to have been attended with the happiest results. A new election of deputies having taken place, in conformity to the Constitutional Charter, the States General of the kingdom assembled on 7th March, and were opened by the King in person, who addressed them in a speech full of the most affectionate sentiments.

It was the painful duty of his Majesty, in compliance with an imperative resolution of the last Germanic Diet, to propose, by his ministers, to the Chamber of Deputies, the project of a law, which, while it recognised the principle of the publicity of its debates, and printing its transactions, was intended greatly to diminish the number and importance of its sittings. The project was discussed secretly, and encountered a spirited opposition. The opposers of it at length succeeded in introducing several amendments, which, having been approved of by the King, the project, with these amendments, passed into a law on 24th March. The most important provision of the law, and one which seems effectually to guard against its abuse, is, that every motion for a secret committee of the Chamber shall be supported by at least five members, and authorized at a public sitting.

A truly constitutional proposition was submitted to the Chamber by M. Ziegler, to have the principle of publicity applied to the proceedings of Courts of Justice. It was ably supported on 11th April by M. Thimme; but it having been officially stated, that a commission which had been nominated by government to prepare a general system of judicial procedure, had finished its labours, and that a project of law, founded upon its report, and embodying the principle in question, would soon be submitted to the

Chamber, it was resolved, as there appeared no necessity for stimulating the labours of the executive, to pass to the order of the day.

In the course of the session, the project of a law was submitted to the Chambers by the minister of finance for modifying the law as to the customs of 1819—a law, we may observe, which, upon the whole, was founded on the justest principles, it having in view the removal of all unnecessary restrictions upon commerce, and the facility of transit; but it also assumed the vicious principle of protecting duties in favour of home manufactures. These, it is true, were moderate; but as they lessened commercial intercourse with foreign states, they hurt the foreign sale of articles of Bavarian manufacture. The wants of the manufacturers required some modification of those duties; and as there were temporary difficulties of opposite kinds arising out of the introduction of a new and important system, the minister proposed that the executive should be empowered to raise or lower the import duties, according to its discretion, until the next meeting of the States General. The project was adopted by the Chambers as a law.

The projects of laws which most excited attention, were two which related to the establishment of provincial councils, and regulated the rights of citizenship, domicile, marriage, and the exercise of industry. The first recognised the principle inherent to every free government, that taxes cannot be levied from the people, for any purpose whatever, but by their own consent. Both were eagerly resisted in the Chamber of Senators, as invading the feudal privileges of the nobility; but being in strict harmony with the principles of the charter, the Chamber of Deputies would listen to none of the amendments proposed by

the Senators, and the projects were finally passed into laws.

The discussion of the budget occupied a considerable portion of the time of the Chamber. The report by the finance minister exhibited a considerable deficiency in last year's receipts, and, as new imposts were out of the question, it became indispensable to resolve upon certain reductions. After a number of conferences with the minister, and having agreed upon the nature of the reductions, the Chamber of Deputies, upon 1st August, finally fixed the expenditure for the six following years at twenty-nine millions five hundred thousand florins.

The reduction of the army was insisted upon by some deputies, but its present establishment was successfully defended by others. The Chamber, by a vote, expressed its desire that any savings out of the taxes which might be effected by variations in the value of money, should be devoted to the construction of a national fortress. It also voted 755,000 florins for the purposes of education and instruction. Some of the deputies proposed that the yearly sum bestowed on the sovereign for the support of his court, should be voted for his lifetime—in other words that a civil list should be created; but the proposal was *rejected by the minister as unconstitutional*. The Chamber also voted 855,000 dollars for the erection of public buildings, and 260,000 florins for roads and bridges. Having completed their labours, the session of the States was closed on 12th September, by royal commission, his Majesty being then at the waters of Baden.

An event soon afterwards occurred most afflicting to Bavaria. On 12th October, being the day of his festival, the King received at Baden the congratulations of the distinguished person

ages there resident. In the evening, he honoured with his presence a ball given by the Russian minister Count Woronzow, according to his usual custom, and then returned in his carriage, in the middle of a thick mist, to his seat at Nymphenburg. He retired to bed, without exhibiting any symptoms of illness, after directing his valet to waken him at six o'clock next morning. At that hour, the valet entered his royal master's apartment, and with horror beheld him stretched on his bed in the calm repose of death. On inspecting his body, it appeared that life had been extinct not more than an hour at the utmost.

Thus died Maximilian Joseph, the first King of Bavaria, the most patriotic and most sagacious of all the Continental Sovereigns. The history of his kingdom, during his reign, would be a history of Europe. Amid all the vicissitudes of the times, he maintained the integrity of his dominions, and even greatly added to their extent; and having conferred upon his subjects the blessings of a constitutional government, his efforts were unremittingly directed to the consolidation of it. In the whole of his public conduct there was a frankness which inspired esteem and begot confidence; and of no monarch could it be more truly said than of him, that he reigned in the hearts of his subjects. In private life he appears to have been remarkably temperate and charitable. In the proclamation by his heir, the Prince Royal, Charles Louis Augustus, which announced his death, it was stated, that it appeared from his private papers, that in the month of October he had secretly disbursed 80,000 florins in charity, and after the 1st of October, 12,000 florins in the same way.

The new monarch, upon receiving intelligence of the death of his predecessor, at the waters of Bruckena, repaired to Munich, where, upon 19th

October, he took the oath to the constitution, in presence of the Council of State. After taking the oath, he made a speech to those present, which thus concluded: "It is difficult to reign after a monarch such as him we have lost; it is impossible to equal him."

After the ceremony of the funeral of the late King, which took place at Munich on 23d August, his successor, who had announced his intention to pursue the example and adhere to the system of his august father, made, notwithstanding, considerable changes in the administration. Count Törring, president of the council of state, and Count Rechberg, minister of the household and of foreign affairs, having given in their resignations, the appointments of the latter were given to Count Thurheim, and Count Armensparg was made minister of finances, and, *ad interim*, minister of the interior.

Among the early measures of the new reign, all of which breathed a truly constitutional spirit, were an ordinance, confiding the direction of ecclesiastical matters and public instruction to a superior council, to be attached to the home administration, and to be composed of, besides the president, three members, one of whom at least is to be a Protestant; the extension of the powers of provincial councils; and the reduction of the army, by the last of which, it was expected, several millions per annum would be saved to the state.

We shall now turn our attention to the Netherlands, the government of which was not a little embarrassed by the bigotry and proselytting spirit of the Catholic priesthood. It had been made a subject of frequent complaint, both by the Protestant and Catholic population of the provinces bordering upon France, that a great number of families sent their children to receive their education in

that kingdom, particularly to the College of St. Acheul, which was conducted by the Jesuits. It was complained also, that the country was overrun with Catholic missionaries, and that, in the small seminaries for the instruction of youth destined for the church, the most unconstitutional doctrines were taught. The remedy for these evils was a subject of long and anxious deliberation with the government. At length, on 4th April, a circular was addressed by the Director of affairs connected with the Catholic worship, to the Archbishop of Malines and the bishops under him, enjoining them to direct the curates within that see not to receive within their parishes missionaries or others, who should presume to instruct the people in matters of religion. And on 14th June, two ordinances were issued, by which it was decreed, that no episcopal seminary should in future be established without the sanction of the minister of the interior; that every seminary of the kind, which should not obtain such sanction previously to the 30th of September following, was to be suppressed; that every house of education or academy under the inspection of the bishops, should be confined exclusively to the education of youth destined for the church; and that the youths attending such academies, where there were colleges, should be instructed in science and literature, but that their exercises should be conducted within the academies, and that their religious education should be under the exclusive direction of their religious superiors. It was decreed also, that there should be a philosophical college established in connexion with the University of Louvain, the nomination of the professors to belong to the King, but the chairs of philosophy and the canon law, and the chair of ecclesiastical

theses to be confided to three Catholic professors, who were to be under the archbishop's authority. It was declared, in fine, that on the expiry of two years from the date of the organization of the new college, all lessons in philosophy should cease in the ecclesiastical seminaries. By another ordinance, of date 1st October, it was decreed, that young Belgians, having studied *humanity* abroad, should not be received into the Philosophical College of Louvain or any one of the national universities,—should be disqualified from holding any situation under government, and not be permitted to exercise any ecclesiastical function within the realm.

These ordinances, so directly hostile to the dark, subtle, and jealous policy of the Catholic priesthood, though they in no way encroached upon the independence of the Catholic Church, gave great offence to the Belgian bishops, and also to the Court of Rome. The Pope forwarded remonstrances against them to the Court of the Netherlands, and enjoined the heads of the different dioceses to join in a general remonstrance, modelled upon that which had been presented by the Belgian priesthood in 1787, against the general seminary erected by the Emperor Joseph. But the government was not to be moved from its course by this priestly opposition. It carried its different ordinances into effect; and, on 17th October, the new philosophical college was opened with great ceremony.

The session for the year of the States-General was opened by the King in person, on the same day. His Majesty, in his speech, slightly glanced at the differences which had arisen between him and the Catholic bishops; and dwelt upon the flourishing situation of the country, the improvements which had been introduced in-

to the administration of the provinces and communes, and the establishment of a sound monetary system, by the suppression of French coins. An address to the King was voted by the two Chambers, in unison with his speech.

The minister of finance, on 27th October, presented to the States his annual budget of extraordinary expenses, which reached twenty millions of florins; which sum, joined to the amount of the decimal budget, decreed in 1820, (59,875,052 florins, 80 cent.) composed a total charge of about eighty millions. But it had to be observed, that the expenditure had been gradually subjected to a reduction of about three millions per annum; and that the receipts since the year 1823, presented a constantly increasing excess. The minister also announced that the sum destined for the redemption of the debt, had, by its productiveness, increased from 200,000 to 2,200,000 florins.

The budget was attacked and defended by several members. The opponents of it (many of whom complimented the executive upon the improvements it had introduced into the administration,) inveighed against the continuance of a national lottery, and the tax upon the grinding of corn, (which one orator described as a tax on nature;) and others, from the Belgian provinces, attacked the ordinances of 14th June, as tending to give disquiet to the consciences of a very great proportion of the people. These ordinances were powerfully defended by many in the Chamber of Deputies; and, in short, the projects of law which were developed in the minister's budget, were finally carried in both Chambers.

The government showed itself disposed, indeed express great anxiety to pursue the system of commerce which had

been adopted by Great Britain; the foreign policy of which country it also adopted, by accrediting agents to the new American states.

The government of the Netherlands received accounts of serious insurrections having broken out in the island of Java, a great many of the native chiefs of which island had declared in favour of the son of their late Emperor, Sansan Haunan; but it appeared from the same accounts, that the Dutch troops had succeeded in dispersing the rebels.

The affairs of Denmark present not a single incident deserving of notice, or a topic on which to found a remark.

The history of Sweden is almost equally barren of incidents such as history should notice. She was engaged in a foolish controversy with Spain regarding the sale of an old ship of war and two old frigates, (the three, if not as old, as rickety as the Spanish government itself,) which had been sold by a Swedish house to a house in London. As it was reported that the latter purchase had been made for behoof of the new American States, the Spanish government remonstrated against the transaction, as affording assistance to its insurgent subjects; but the government of Sweden readily exculpated itself by showing that the very vessels in question had been offered for sale to Spain, and refused by her; after which they had been exposed for sale in the market, and sold to the highest bidder. Into this paltry affair, the great Leviathan of the North, Russia, chose to thrust her fingers; and, owing to her interference, an order was issued to the Swedish officers and subalterns on board the vessels to quit them, and await the further orders of govern-

ment. After much time consumed in negotiation, the English company at length stated, that the season had advanced too far to admit of their employing the ships in the commercial adventure they had intended them for. The King then agreed to have the bargain cancelled, and to indemnify the purchasers.

Because a Swedish journal, the *Argus*, had published the correspondence on the subject of the sale of

those vessels between the Swedish and Spanish courts, the editor of it was subjected to a prosecution for violating the law upon the liberty of the press; and herein the finger of Russia is distinctly visible. A majority of the jury convicted him; but as two-thirds of the jury did not concur in the verdict, he was, according to the law of Sweden, fully absolved.



## CHAPTER XIII

## \* RUSSIA.

THIS power had set up most exorbitant pretensions to the exclusive navigation of that part of the Pacific ocean which is bordered by so much of the north-west coast of America, as Russia, without the slightest title, as far as the greater part of it is concerned, claims an exclusive dominion over; and had issued ukases, denouncing confiscation and other penalties, against all foreign vessels which might be found trading, or fishing, within that part of the Pacific so demarcated. These pretensions of Russia were resisted by Great Britain and the United States of America, neither of which, it might have been supposed, would submit to them. Mr Stratford Canning, Minister at St Petersburg, entered a strong remonstrance against the exclusive right of navigation claimed by Russia; and, after a long negotiation, a mutual convention was entered into by Great Britain and Russia, regarding the commerce and fisheries of the Pacific, every way satisfactory to the former power.

On 16th April, the Emperor Alexander arrived at Warsaw, to be present at the opening of the Polish Diet, the session of which had been suspended nearly four years. He had previously, by an ukase given from Czarskiewo,

after severely lecturing the members of former Diets, upon their mischievous egotism and factious opposition, which were calculated to sow disunion among his subjects, interdicted the publicity of the Diet's debates.

On 13th May the Diet was opened with a speech by his Imperial Majesty, in which he observed, with reference to his ukase of 13th February, that it had become necessary for him to exercise an influence over the proceedings and deliberations of the Diet. He expressed his satisfaction with the general aspect of the affairs of the kingdom; announced the laws which would be submitted to their consideration, and exhorted them, in a tone truly imperial, to observe calmness in their deliberations.

Among other important laws passed by the Diet, was one for establishing a system of credit to support rural economy; another for modifying the penal laws, and a third for preparing a new civil code for the kingdom. These were adopted by a great majority of the Diet; and, on their being presented to the Emperor and King, he promised to take them into his consideration; and on the 18th June, the Diet was closed by a speech from his Majesty.

He returned to St Petersburg on 25th June, and without making any stay, he proceeded, with his characteristic activity, to inspect the military colonies which he had caused to be founded; and expressed to General Count Aratscheieff, who was intrusted with their superintendence, his satisfaction with the success which had hitherto attended them.

After dispatching several affairs of state, his Majesty, dissatisfied with the delay observed by the Turks in performing their often repeated promises of evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, determined to visit the southern provinces of his empire, and by personal inspection, to convince himself of the spirit which animated the army upon the Pruth. On 6th October, accompanied by a splendid suite, he arrived at Taganrog, a pleasant town, situate at the entrance of the sea of Azoff, near to the embouchure of the Don and Wolga, and which had its origin in a fortress, erected before the conquest of the Crimea, to defend the country against the incursions of the Turks and Tartars. Here he was received by the reigning Empress, who had preceded him, and entered the town amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants.

Having returned to Novo Tzcherskask, where he lodged, in the country house of the famous Count Platoff, the Emperor, delighted with the climate, was induced to prolong his stay there for a few days, when he again retraced his steps to Taganrog, which he reached on the 27th October. So captivated was he with the appearance of that place, and his reception by the inhabitants, that he issued an ukase, directing a tenth part of all the duties received there, not exceeding one million annually, to be retained for the improvement of the port, and the erection of public buildings. On 5th November he

visited the town of Sympheropol, which was illuminated in honour of his arrival. Next day, leaving his carriage at Sympheropol, he proceeded on horseback to the Tartar village of Alushta, inspecting on his way every remarkable spot. On the 9th he left the south coast of the Crimea, and passed through the defile called the Ladder, joined his carriages at the village of Boidari, and arrived in the evening at Sebastopol, where he was waited upon by vice-Admiral Greig, Commander-in-Chief of the fleet in the Black Sea.

The beauties of the vicinity of Sebastopol made such a lively impression upon him, that to his attendants he said, "Should I one day retire from the cares of government, I should wish to pass my old age on this spot." His pleasing anticipations of an old age, at the moment he spoke, were about to be converted into the dismal assurance of a speedy death. With the serene and devout feelings of old age, which his anticipations had inspired, he repaired to a monastery, where, in private contemplation, he remained above an hour. On his return, he complained of indisposition and chilliness—the incipient symptoms of an intermittent fever. He was removed to Taganrog, where his Empress awaited him. No solicitations could induce him to take medicine for a fortnight. At the end of that period he was made sensible of his danger; and by the persuasions of his family, and the Archimandrite, he consented to submit to the prescriptions of his physician, Sir James Wylie; but to such a height had the fever reached, that human skill, with all its means and appliances, were ineffectual in subduing it. The last words he uttered were, "Ah, is long jour!" as he observed the glancing of the sun's rays in his chamber. This was about eleven o'clock in the fore-

noon of the 18th December; and saying so, he expired in the arms of his Empress, who, with that resolution which Nature has endowed females with, as with an instinct, on such appalling emergencies, closed her husband's eyes and mouth, and crossed his arms over his breast; after performing which pious duty, she yielded to the violence of her grief, which she could no longer restrain, and suddenly fainted!

The profound grief on the occasion of her Imperial Majesty—a grief which wasted her form, and consigned her to the tomb within six months afterwards—is affectingly revealed in the following letter by her to the Empress-mother, the very imaginativeness of which, considering the height, and depth, and fervour, of woman's affections, gives it claims even to critical admiration:—

“Our angel is gone to Heaven, and I—I linger still on earth. Who would have thought, that I, in my weak state of health, could ever have survived him! Do not you abandon me, dear mother, for I am desolately alone in the world.

“Our dear deceased has resumed his looks of benevolence; his smile proves to me that he is happy, and that he gazes on brighter objects than exist here below. My only consolation under this irreparable loss is, that I shall not survive him.—I hope soon to be reunited to him.”

Thus died Alexander, in the 44th year of his age, to the regret of his family and his subjects. The latter events of his reign, which, speaking humanly, we would call fortunate, so far as he was concerned, rather than his own personal character, have immortalised his memory with a temporary grandeur. He had properties, both negative and positive, which could not fail to win the affections of his subjects; but it occurs to us, that the key-

stone of his character was egotism—a love, nay, an avariciousness of the esteem of others, which, when it is not the accompaniment of virtue, (as it certainly is not always) is often at least the prolific parent of good actions. This egotism of his led to many foolish theatrical displays of philanthropy, consisting of professions; but, having other wants than that of the world's admiration to satisfy, it was constantly dragging him into measures which belied his professions. We may take for example, the sentiments he expressed upon the first capture of the city of Paris: They breathed a *liberalism* equally injudicious and extravagant, (considering the times,) and most preposterous, as proceeding from the mouth of an Autocrat. He then was almost a second Anacharsis-Cloutz, impelled, we believe, to be so by his love of vulgar admiration. But what ensued? The moment he found or rather suspected (for selfishness is ever wakefully and unreasonably suspicious) that the progress of liberal opinions might endanger his *own absolutism*, he became all at once their most systematic and determined enemy—the grand architect of the Holy Alliance; but, most characteristically, with a regard to his own reputation, did he try to conceal his enmity to freedom under the cloak of religion. Nothing more disgusted us, when he was in England, than his condescending to court even the sect of Quakers, a respectable sect, certainly; but not of such consequence as to command the notice of a great monarch, who had not been imbued with their doctrines. Egotism, when it has a large stage, must, of necessity, display many contradictions; but to detail those of Alexander, after having noticed that he was one year the grand patron of liberal principles, another the founder of the Holy Alliance, may be very superfluous. Yet, it may not be amiss

to observe, that having, when "in the vein," given a free constitution to his kingdom of Poland, he *autocratically* punished those members of the Polish Diet who opposed his views, thereby annihilating the freedom of debate; and that he, after all his evangelical professions, and his patronage bestowed upon Bible Societies, of a sudden expelled every missionary from his dominions.

The art and duplicity of Alexander must have been great, indeed, since they effectually concealed his intense egotism from the eyes of Europe. In the midst, and at the end of victories, he ever contrived to appear moderate; and it was fortunate for the transient reputation he enjoyed, that the conservative nature of the last war he was engaged in, put to rest, for the time, all suspicion of his real character;—equally fortunate for that reputation was it, that his other wars were noiseless, and their results overlooked. But there is not a passage of his life can be pointed to, where he ever made a concession which political necessity did not extort from him, or abandoned a conquest which he could retain. So deluded at one time was the public mind of Europe with regard to him, that it was not till after his death it came to be considered, that he had made more additions to his empire by conquest and treaty, than any the most ambitious of his predecessors, having incorporated with it, Finland, Bessarabia, the Persian provinces as far as the Araxes, Bialystock, and the kingdom of Poland.

It is well known that Alexander was compelled into that war which ended so fatally to Buonaparte; and that he would have avoided it by any concession short of those which were demanded of him—to have made which, in the then temper of the nation, would, in all probability, have cost him his life. He seemed to la-

bour under an extraordinary prestige regarding the talents of the despot whom he had to oppose, which certainly were of such a transcendent grade as to extort the homage of the most masculine minds;—but Alexander's estimation of them amounted to a veneration, or rather dread, which was almost childish. Too much praise cannot be awarded to the Russians for the obstinate courage with which, and the cost of the sacrifices at which, they defended their country; but it may fairly be questioned, whether, had he not been sustained by that species of desperation which fear begets, as much as by the enthusiasm of his people—and had there been no personal danger to himself in an inglorious compromise, the mind of Alexander would not have quailed under the disasters which marked the commencement of the campaign. However, it must be allowed that he followed up his successes with great activity and spirit; and the persevering exertions he afterwards made beyond his own territory, to pull down the despotism which had so long overshadowed Europe, entitles him to the gratitude of its nations.

Alexander was not without many amiable qualities, such especially as are chiefly estimable in a prince. He was courteous and affable in his deportment; in his temper mild and placable; and in his habits, active and temperate. His education had raised his mind above the baneful prejudices which haunt the courts of absolute sovereigns; and gave to him sympathies in the welfare of the humblest of his subjects. He laboured with as much zeal as was consistent with his own safety, to put an end to the condition of villainage throughout his dominions; and by emancipating the crown serfs, set a generous example to his nobility. He was a warm friend to every improvement, especially in the

department of agriculture; and exerted himself with more anxiety than judgment, to extend manufactures within his dominions. With all his terrors of jacobinism, he continued to be the last a great promoter of general education; but subjected it, as well as the press and foreign journals, to a rigid censorship.

Petersburgh had been agitated with conflicting accounts, which arrived daily, of the Emperor's convalescence, and of his disorder having become more decidedly dangerous. On the 9th December, the melancholy intelligence was received of his death, while the Empress-mother was attending *Te Deum*, which was celebrated in consequence of favourable accounts of his Majesty's health, which had been received the previous evening. The Archduke Nicholas, who first received the news, caused divine service to be stopped, and commissioned the Archimandrite to announce to her Majesty, with the crucifix in his hand, the loss with which Heaven had afflicted her.

Before describing the events immediately consequent upon Alexander's death,—events which perplexed and astounded all Europe, it is necessary, to a proper understanding of them, first to notice the extraordinary position which Russia then stood in, both with regard to the succession to the vacant throne, and to the dispositions of the soldiery.

It was scarcely to have been imagined, that the troops, which had followed Napoleon's bloody footsteps through Germany, and in France had formed part of the Army of Occupation, would return to Russia with precisely the same sentiments with which they had left it. The stirring events of the times must necessarily have led them to reflect deeply upon the principles of government, and upon the institutions which impeded the prosperity, and those which conduce to the

greatness and stability of states. In Germany, they observed in full action, not that instinctive patriotism, (such as they had been accustomed to) which consists in a mere attachment to soil, but that exalted, generous, and comprehensive love of country, which desires for it the happiness and honourable eminence to be derived only from national independence and political freedom; and they beheld the mighty wonders which that spirit accomplished. There was something extremely equalizing in the condition of Germany at that period. The usual relations between the governors and governed had been violently disturbed, the latter having been virtually released from the ties which bound them to the state, and left to act from the impulses of their own feelings. The person of the sovereign was of little more value than that of the meanest of his subjects who could wield a weapon, had he been lost to his people, the objects for which they fought still survived, and there remained the same principles and spirit to animate them. It was impossible that the Russian officers could fail to catch a portion of the spirit which everywhere around them displayed itself so imposingly; and, in the congenial clime of France, they had leisure to reduce the sentiments they had imbibed into theory and system.

It appears that so early as 1817, there had been organized, chiefly in the army, secret associations, modelled upon the plan of the German Tugendbund, having in view the regeneration of the empire by conferring upon it free institutions—a most absurd and chimerical object, seeing that in Russia there were not the materials of which a free government must be formed. The conspirators, among whom were officers who belonged to the first families of the empire, did not divulge to their inferior associates the full ex-

tent of their plans ; but, such was their fanaticism, that they had determined to go the atrocious length of assassinating the Emperor. Fortunately, this shocking project was disconcerted by his Majesty's journey to the southern provinces ; after which, distrust and disorder having crept in among them, most of the societies withdrew from the union, and suspended their sittings. There still existed to the last, however, one which had its committee of direction established at Petersburg, and had at its head the Prince Trubetzkoi, one Rylecoff, a retired sub-lieutenant and journalist, the Prince Obolensky, and other officers ; another in the south, having its head-quarters at Toulezin, under the direction of Colonel Pestel ; and a few others of less consideration, some of which had extended their branches even into Hungary.

Alexander had frequently received communications regarding those societies, and so positive that he could scarcely doubt their existence ; and it has been affirmed, that shortly previous to his death, he issued from Taganrog an order for the arrest of the principal conspirators attached to the army of the south.

We come now to speak of the succession to the throne upon the death of Alexander. The Grand-duke Constantine, as the eldest surviving brother, (Alexander having died without issue,) was, according to the established order of succession, the undoubted heir. But he having, in 1823, determined to divorce his Grand-duchess, Princess Ulrica of Saxe-Cobourg, and marry Jean Grusynska, afterwards Princess of Lowicz, the daughter of a Polish gentleman, he, in order to obtain the consent of his brother the Emperor, and the Dowager Empress, (who appears all along to have maintained an extraordinary ascendancy over the minds of her

sons,) to those ~~outré~~ proceedings, entered into a family arrangement with them, by which he solemnly renounced his right of succession to the throne, in favour of his immediate younger brother Nicholas. Consequent upon that arrangement, the Emperor Alexander issued a manifesto, of date 16th August, 1823, in which he declared the Archduke Nicholas to be his heir-presumptive. Authenticated duplicates of this document were lodged at the time in the archives of the Directing Senate, of the Holy Synod, and of the Cathedral Church of the Ascension at Moscow. The conventional destination of the crown thus effected was unknown to all but the diplomatic circles in Europe ; and the indiscreet appearance of the name of the Archduke Nicholas as heir-presumptive, in the Court Calendar of Berlin, (the consort of Nicholas being a daughter of the Prussian King,) excited at the time no little speculation.

Upon the receipt in Petersburg of the intelligence of Alexander's death, the Archduke Nicholas, though perfectly cognizant of his own claims, with a generosity which has scarcely an example, refused to ascend the throne, and directed the Senate to take measures for having his brother Constantine, who was then in Warsaw, as Viceroy of Poland, proclaimed Emperor. He also took the oath of fidelity to Constantine in presence of the guards ; and also caused it to be taken by them, the other troops, and the whole public functionaries then in the metropolis.

At Warsaw, the news of Alexander's demise had been received on the 7th December, two days earlier than at Petersburg. Constantine, faithful to his engagements, at once dispatched his brother Michael, who was residing with him, with two letters, one to Nicholas, the other to

the Empress Mother, in which he freely and fully ratified his former renunciation of his right of succession, declaring it to be his unalterable resolution to adhere to that renunciation, and only requesting that he might be permitted to retain the title of Czarowitsch, with which his illustrious deceased brother had been pleased to honour his services.

These dispatches involved the Archduke Nicholas in no little perplexity, since they had been written and forwarded by Constantine, in ignorance of his having actually been proclaimed Emperor; and to avail himself of Constantine's renunciation under the circumstances, might appear to the people as taking advantage of a sudden and rash impulse of generosity upon the part of his elder brother. Nicholas, therefore, resolved to wait from day to day, to allow time to Constantine to recall his resolution; but Constantine continued inflexible; and a letter, by him, dated the 20th, was received, so full of affectionate attachment to his brother, whom he addressed as his sovereign, and so decisive in its tone, as to leave no doubt of the sincerity and unchangeableness of his purpose, as conveyed in his former letter.

Thus terminated this most remarkable contest; and on the 25th, Nicholas, his right being now undoubted, ascended the imperial throne, and was duly proclaimed. The same day, he issued a manifesto, in which he recapitulated at length the different documents on which his right was founded, taking care specially to notice the whole letters by Constantine, renouncing his right of succession; and, in conclusion, expressed his resolution, in all his public measures, to pursue the policy of the deceased Emperor.

These events revived the hopes of the conspirators who were in Peters-

burgh. They reasoned among themselves, that it would be an easy matter to persuade the soldiers that it would be a solemn infraction of the oath which they had just taken to Constantine, to swear allegiance to Nicholas; and they resolved to assemble in front of the hall of the Senate, with all the soldiers whom they could gain over, and, occupying that position, to control the measures of government. It was believed by them that Nicholas, rather than have recourse to force, would renounce his rights, and enter into a negotiation with them; in which event they were prepared to demand, that national deputies should be convoked from the different provinces; and that, for the conducting of affairs in the interval, a provisional government should be established. In the meantime, they were to endeavour to instil doubts into the minds of the troops with regard to the reality of Constantine's renunciation, and to spread a report that he was advancing with the First and the Polish army, to extirpate those who should take the oath to Nicholas.

The day for executing their plot was the 26th, on which day the troops were to have the oath of fidelity tendered to them. The conspirators were on the ground; but their chief, Prince Trubetzkoi, betrayed irresolution and fear, and infected the others with his feelings. The far greater part of the regiments took the oath without difficulty, though there were a few recusants, who were instantly put under arrest. Two battalions, however, proved refractory. One of these was the Moscow regiment; and Prince Ramstoffskey, one of its chief officers, surrounded by others, harangued several of the companies, adjuring them to be faithful to the oath which they had taken to Constantine. "The Emperor Con-

stantine," he said, "loves our regiment, and will reward it." The soldiers proceeded to load their muskets. At this juncture, an aide-de-camp of the Archduke Michael rode up, and demanded whether they acknowledged his Imperial Highness for their commander? to which Ramstofsky replied, that he did not recognise his authority; and having thrown his sabre at the head of Major-General Friedrichs, he marched off his rebellious troops, shouting, "Long live the Emperor Constantine!" towards the Senate-house. The spirit of revolt had communicated itself to the marine battalion, and the battalion of grenadiers, who also repaired to the Senate-house, where the mutineers amounted to about 1800, and were applauded by many among an immense number of civilians who had thronged to the place to watch events.

The insurrection had become truly formidable, when the Emperor Nicholas, with great resolution, put himself at the head of a battalion of the regiment Preobajensky, and, amid the acclamations of his people, advanced in the direction of the mutineers, determined not to employ force, if persuasion would recall them to their duty. The military governor of Petersburg, Count Milaradowitch, who had made himself so famous in the campaign of 1812, presented himself to the mutineers, in order to address them, when he received a mortal shot fired from a pistol. The Emperor in vain implored them to yield obedience; in vain he appealed to their loyalty and patriotism, and promised pardon to all but the most guilty. They remained obstinate. His Majesty was speedily joined by a number of other regiments, who supplicated him to allow them to execute summary justice upon the rebels. He was also joined by the Archduke

Michael, who, having just arrived in the capital, had forced six of the companies of the Moscow regiment, which remained in their barracks, to take the oath, and advanced with them against their companions.

The clemency of the Emperor was not yet exhausted; but night was approaching, and there was a necessity for instantly crushing the rebellion. The artillery opened a destructive fire upon the rebels, and in an instant the place was cleared of them. The cavalry charged the feeble remains who fled, and pursued them in all directions. Patrols were dispatched to scour the streets; and in a few hours, upwards of 500 of the rebels were in custody. Those of them who bore commissions were conducted to the fortress. The Emperor returned to his palace, where, in his presence and that of his whole Court, *Te Deum* was performed in celebration of the return of tranquillity.

About midnight, Prince Trubetzkoi, who had sought an asylum in the hotel of his friend the Austrian ambassador, was delivered up, on the requisition of Count Nesselrode; and having been brought into the presence of the Emperor, fell upon his knees, and revealed the whole details of the conspiracy.

Next day, the Emperor appointed a commission of inquiry, for the purpose of more clearly unravelling the conspiracy, and reporting upon the different degrees of guilt of those who were implicated in it. But this did not restrain him from exercising, in the meantime, the noblest prerogative of a monarch, by pardoning and setting at liberty many whose youth, or the arts which had been practised upon them, extenuated the guilt of their conduct.

The same day, the Emperor reviewed the troops who had engaged in the insurrection, and had since



testified their repentance. "You have lost your honour," he said, "but I pardon you; try to recover it." The soldiers replied by loud huzzas. He also rewarded the troops who had remained faithful to him, by conferring upon them honourable distinction.

His Majesty lost no time in announcing his accession to all the foreign ambassadors, and conveying to them his assurances, that he would faithfully adhere to the policy of his predecessor. He also took the constitutional oath as King of Poland; and, in a proclamation addressed to his Polish subjects, he declared his resolution not to attempt any change in the institutions which Alexander had conferred upon them. He, by an ordinance, was pleased to continue Prince Joseph Zayazek in the dignity of Lieutenant-General of Poland; and also the whole officers intrusted with the civil administration of that kingdom, in possession of their functions.

At Warsaw, *Te Deum* was performed in honour of Nicholas' accession, and Constantine received in person the oath of fidelity to the new Emperor by the Russian guards; after which, he dispatched a letter of congratulation to his Majesty, abounding in professions of unalterable devotion to his service.

As a consequence of the discoveries made by government, numerous arrests took place, particularly in the southern parts of the empire, of persons of distinction, who were

or had been connected with the late secret societies. Among two brothers Mouravieff, company of officers, be society "Re-united Slaves," the Mouravieffs were ~~nowhere~~, rescued from confinement in the neighbourhood of Kieff, and who now endeavoured to seduce the regiment Tscherzigoff into rebellion. Their arts succeeded with six companies of that regiment, with which they overran the country, and which were joined by a troop, composed of members of the "Re-united Slaves" society. A detachment, under Lieutenant-General Rott, was dispatched against these fanatics, and came up with them on 13th January. Apostol Mouravieff, who commanded them, formed them into a square, and caused them to advance as friends towards the imperial troops, in the hope that they also might be disposed to join his standard. They were received with a fire of musketry, which broke their square; and a charge of cavalry completed their disorder; on which the rebels laid down their arms. Their commander was wounded by a musket-shot and the stroke of a sabre, and he and most of his officers and 700 privates were taken prisoners. Thus ended the only demonstration made in the provinces by a conspiracy which, most insane in its projects, was, in its composition, truly formidable to the peace of the empire, and the safety of the reigning dynasty.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### • TURKEY AND GREECE.

**DURING** the year, M. Mintziacky, the Russian charge d'affaires at Constantinople, continued to receive from the Porte almost daily promises that the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia would be evacuated by the Turkish troops; but the measure, notwithstanding, remained unexecuted.

The high powers of Europe having at length taken an interest in the affairs of Greece, concurred in remonstrating with the Porte against the continuance of a war, which had assumed the character of one of extermination. The most distinguished of these powers for their zeal in behalf of Greece were Great Britain and Russia; but all their arguments were repelled by the Porte by complaints as to the assistance which had been afforded to the insurgents by their respective subjects.

The Porte was still farther perplexed by some rebellious movements on the part of the Janissaries. The police having arrested several individuals of that body, suspected of plotting against the life of the Sultan, their officers stirred them up to mutiny; upon which their Aga and the Grand Vizier repaired to their barracks; and such was the influence of their authority, that they succeeded

in arresting the principal insurgents, fifty of whom they caused to be strangled on the spot: the others were embarked in boats, and drowned in the Dardanelles.

The Sultan, in the meantime, amid all his embarrassments, displayed extraordinary activity in preparing for a new campaign. He issued the strictest orders for levying the new inposts throughout the provinces; and to supply the poverty of the public exchequer, he advanced from his own private treasury 19,000 purses.

The outline of the plan of the new campaign was, that the insurgent provinces should be invaded by no fewer than four armies. The first of these was to be assembled on the Asiatic coast, embarked in European transports, and escorted by the Turkish fleet; the second, to be composed of troops disciplined after the European manner, was destined specially for the Morca, and placed under the absolute command of Ibrahim Pacha, son of the Pacha of Egypt; the third, to consist of troops scattered over Thessaly, Bulgaria, Romelia, and Macedonia, but since organized at Larissa by Redschid Pacha, who had been named Pacha of Thessaly, besides being invested with the title of Seraskier;

the fourth was one of Albanians, commanded by the Pacha of Scutari, which was to co-operate with the third army.

About the end of October a number of important changes took place in the Turkish administration. The Home Secretary, Sadek-Effendi, who had powerfully influenced the national politics, was superseded by Ahmed Chelussi Effendi; and the Mufti, Mekesade Assem Bey, was deposed, to make room for Hadisad Teher Effendi, (grand judge,) a person of Armenian birth. These changes were regarded as the triumph of the moderate party in the Divan; and that it was so, seemed to be proved by a remarkable proceeding which immediately ensued. Two commissioners were appointed to proceed to the Morea, to offer terms of pacification to the Greeks; and the rank of these commissioners, the one being Husim Bey, who had lately been nominated Tschausch-bashii, or marshal of the empire, and the other Netschib Effendi, agent of the Egyptian Pacha, was an earnest of the importance which was attached to their mission. The proceedings under this mission have never been revealed to the public; but that it ended abortively is certain.

For the Greeks, the campaign of this year commenced under highly favourable auspices. The overthrow of Colocotroni's party had given a force and consistency to the Government, which inspired the people with confidence, and enabled it to introduce order into the civil administration, and discipline into the army. It proceeded to levy both men and money, and to put a stop to those piracies committed by Greek vessels, which had excited the just indignation of foreign powers. The chiefs of the rebellion, who had been shut up in a monastery in the island of Hydra, were brought to the seat of government to undergo the judgment of a commission, appointed

to inquire into their conduct; and suspecting Odysseus, who ruled in Livadia and Attica, of a design to revolt, the Executive called upon him to render an account of his exactions. While Eastern Greece was exulting in the brave defence made by the garrison of Missolonghi, the government did not relax its cares for the farther defence of that important place. Mavrocordato, who had conducted the affairs of Nauplia, under Conduriotis, was recalled; and, by his influence, a special council, under the presidency of General Zongos, was instituted at Missolonghi, and intrusted with its defence. With the money which had been received from the last loan, an army, consisting partly of some thousands of Romeliotis and Albanians, was organized and equipped; one part of which was to be dispatched to Hydra, and the other was destined for the siege of Patras, and placed under the command of the President of the Executive.

But all the brilliant prospects of this suffering people were doomed soon to be clouded; owing partly to their characteristic fickleness, and partly to the want of energy, if not the corruption of their rulers, among whom the money remitted from England had introduced jealousies and discords with regard to its distribution. The military arrangements, which had been formed with so much judgment, were left unexecuted; and even the news of the near approach of Ibrahim Pacha, and of his formidable armament, were received by the government with the most stupid apathy.

The expeditions fitted out by the Egyptian Pacha were three in all, upon a more gigantic scale than those of the previous year, and calculated, it might not unreasonably have been thought, to overrun Greece, and crush all opposition. No fewer than from 25,000 to 26,000 troops, disciplined

after the European manner, and partly officered by Europeans, chiefly French, were successively shipped from Alexandria, and landed in Candia or Rhodes. On the 24th February the first division, consisting of 7000 men, of the first expedition, was again embarked at Candia, and landed under the walls of Modon, where they encamped. Ibrahim, at the head of 800 men, at once advanced into the country, to the summit of the mountains which are in the rear of Navarino; and so struck were the inhabitants with terror by his presence, that they unhesitatingly delivered up their arms. A corps of Romeliots, who were stationed in the environs of the fortress, shunned an encounter by throwing themselves into it. Ibrahim, whose only object then was to reconnoitre, retired to his camp, where he waited the return of his fleet, which had been dispatched to Suda and Candia to convey across the rest of his army.

The Greek Government was at length terrified into a vigorous measure, which was the investing Conduriotis, the President of the Executive Council, with the supreme command of the whole troops in the Peloponnesus, and with all the powers which belonged to the Council itself. At the same time, Odysseus, by the nature of his movements, having afforded proofs of his having placed himself in treasonable communication with the Pacha of Negrepont, Gourras was directed by the Government instantly to reduce him to submission.

The first proceedings of Conduriotis, on receiving dictatorial powers, displayed considerable vigour. The troops engaged at the siege of Patras were recalled in great haste to the east of Navarino, the garrison of which place now amounted to 2000 men, besides a corps of artillery; and provisions were collected from all parts of the Morea, to enable it to undergo

a lengthened siege. A considerable corps of Romeliots and Suliots was collected, at same time, under Tzavellas, Kara-Tasso, and Constantine Botzaris; and Conduriotis, having repaired to Tripolitza, along with Mauvrocordato, succeeded in reassembling a number of veteran soldiers, and brought into the field a force of about 3000. The whole of these different corps were stationed between Navarino and Modon; the extreme right being commanded by Tzavellas, the left by Constantine Botzaris, and the centre, consisting of Moreots, by a Hydriot of the name of Scurtza.

The Greek fleet, at this period, consisted of nearly 100 vessels, including fire-ships, and was divided into three squadrons; the first commanded by Sachtouris, which had gone to meet the Turkish fleet, had it ventured out of the Dardanelles; the second, under Miaoulis, which was employed in watching the Egyptian fleet at Suda; and the third was directed to cruise along the shores of Western Greece.

On the 19th April, at day-break, Ibrahim Pacha directed an attack to be made upon the two wings of the Greek army by his infantry and artillery, while he himself, at the head of his cavalry, charged its centre. The wings stood their ground with considerable firmness, but the centre, which had neglected all precautions, was speedily put to the rout. The corps of Botzaris was finally cut to pieces, and he himself escaped with the greatest difficulty. This defeat, which obliged the Greeks to abandon their positions, though it cost them only a few hundreds of men, had the most disastrous consequences. The ancient dissensions between the Romeliots and Moreots revived; and the former determined to retire from the country of the latter, and leave it to its fate. Conduriotis, unable to punish their defection, gave them a formal leave to

withdraw. One party retired to Livadia, where they joined Gourras, who was watching the movements of the Turks in that quarter; another crossed from the coast of the Gulf of Lepanto over to Missolonghi. From that time Conduriotis abandoned all thoughts of offensive movements, and confined himself to superintending the defence of Navarino.

On the 27th April, the Egyptian fleet, commanded by Hussim Bey, and amounting to upwards of ninety sail, including transports, sailed from Suda for Modon. It had on board 2500 troops, besides horses, provisions, and a great quantity of ammunition and artillery. It was soon observed by the Greek squadron under Miaoulis, who in vain tried to dispatch into the centre of it two fire-ships. Having doubled Cape Malara, the Egyptians observed the Greeks making demonstrations of attack, and drew up in line; but a calm having occurred, the Greeks were prevented from approaching. On the morning of the 29th a cannonade commenced between the two fleets, when the Greeks had the misfortune to have two fire-ships and two brigs sunk; but that did not prevent their renewing the engagement in the evening, but without any decided success. The Egyptians then proceeded, without farther molestation, to Modon, in front of which the indefatigable Miaoulis arrived on the 3d of May, with the view of opposing the debarkation; but the superior artillery of the enemy compelled his fleet to move to a distance; and Ibrahim had the satisfaction of seeing the whole of his transports preserved.

He then prepared with spirit to attack the island of Sphactarie, which commands the entrance to the harbour of Modon. It was assailable only at one point on its western coast, which was defended by a battery of three guns and 200 men, commanded by

Anagnostara. This very small garrison was reinforced by 300 Arcadians and Hydriots, and a number of volunteers or Philhellenes, whom Mauvra-cordato succeeded in throwing into the island. Among the Philhellenes was the famous Piedmontese, Count Santa Rosa, who had the chief direction of the defence.

On the morning of the 8th May the Egyptian vessels of war took post between Navarino and the island, to oppose the squadron of Miaoulis, which was cruising within sight; and fifty boats succeeded in landing upon the island, where the battery was situated, 500 regular Arabian troops, commanded by the French Colonel Seves, who had assumed the name of Soliman Bey. The garrison withstood the attack with most determined courage, but were finally overpowered and cut to pieces. Among the slain were Anagnostara, Sakine, and Santa Rosa. The troops stationed at other points of the island were struck with terror, and made no resistance. The crews of the small Greek boats, which were in the port, partook of the general fright, and fled.

On the 11th, Ibrahim made a spirited attack upon the position of Old Navarino, and succeeded in making prisoners the Greek chief, Hadgy-Christo, and 180 men.

On the 13th, Admiral Miaoulis, taking advantage of a favourable wind, ran twenty-eight of his vessels between the islands of Cabrera and Sapienza and the main land, and succeeded in approaching the Egyptian fleet, which had been reinforced by the arrival of the Algerine squadron. While one part of Miaoulis' fleet kept the enemy in check, six fire-ships were directed against his ships in the roads. One of them grappled with the Asia, a frigate of 54 guns, which had been converted into a transport; two others came alongside of some

corvettes, which, with twenty transports, were instantly in a blaze. The fire continued five hours; and the wind wafting the flames across the town, it seemed as if the whole of the Egyptian magazines were to be reduced to ashes. However, Ibrahim succeeded in preserving them from the conflagration.

Glorious as this event, did not preclude an instant downfall of Navarino. On the 28th, the garrison capitulated on these conditions, that they should surrender the place, with its whole artillery, ammunition, arms, and provisions; that they should deliver up their arms, but be allowed to carry off the small baggage; and that they should be embarked on board English and Austrian vessels, and transported to Lemnata, under the escort of the French corvette, *L'Amara*. The commander of that corvette and an Austrian galley, who were present at the capitulation, undertook to see its conditions honourably fulfilled. The garrison of the place, at the time of its surrender, amounted to 1100 men. There were found within it by the enemy, forty-six cannons and six mortars, eleven hundred muskets, six hundred pistols, provisions for a month, and water for only four days.

On this occasion, Ibrahim affected moderation and generosity. Excepting that he retained of the garrison a son of Mavro Michalis and a Captain Yatrakos, as reprisals for the detention by the Greeks of two pachas taken prisoners at Tripolitza, contrary to the terms of the capitulation of that place, he faithfully observed the whole of the terms upon which Navarino had surrendered;—he offered to the Greeks who had composed the garrison, service under his standard, which, however, they patriotically rejected; and even held out to them the prospect of partial independence to their country.

On the western coast the affairs of Greece presented an equally dismal aspect. Redschid Pacha, with an army of 25,000 men, chiefly Albanians, arrived on 27th April within sight of Missolonghi, having penetrated, without resistance, through the defiles which Macrynoras and Notos-Botzaris had been charged to defend. Having encamped his army in a grove of olives, he commenced that siege, which will be ever memorable in history.

After the downfall of Navarino, a remarkable revolution was operated in Greek politics. The soldiers in the Morea ascribed the whole of the national misfortunes to the incapacity of the president, or rather the new dictator, Odysseus, and refused any longer to combat under his orders. In consequence of this disaffection, Constantine was constrained to quit the

camp at Corintha, and returned to Hydra. The skeleton of a government which still retained was, in the meantime, harassed by the demands made upon it by foreigners for indemnification of the losses they had sustained from Greek pirates; and equally embarrassed was it by the arrival from England and France of Philhellenic missionaries, bringing with them supplies of money and munitions of war, who, affecting diplomatic state and consequence, too officiously and authoritatively obtruded their advice on many occasions. The most prudent of these, perhaps, was the French general, Roche, who adhered to the instructions he had received, by attaching himself to neither party. In this crisis, there was a general disposition to reverse the victory which had been obtained by the moderate over the military party, by restoring the latter to political power; and the government accordingly entered into negotiations with those of the party who were under confinement; and, as the first step, reinstated Peter Mavro

Michalis in all his political rights. After which, Colocotroni having engaged to bury all resentments in oblivion, and devote himself to the common good of the country, a general decree of amnesty was passed in favour of the whole who had been compromised in the late troubles. In consequence, Colocotroni, his son Theodore, and his associates, Delejani, Sissines, Londres, Zami, and others, were released, and entered Nauplia in triumph upon 30th May, amidst the acclamations of the troops and populace. The restored party then repaired to the church of St George, where they took an oath of fidelity to the nation; after which the Minister of War delivered a bombastic speech, prognosticating glorious results from Colocotroni and his son being placed at the head of the armies. It concluded by adjuring the whole soldiery, many of which had resumed their civil occupations, to march, "in order to confound the fierce Egyptian, who had dared to pollute with his presence the illustrious soil of the Peloponnesus." The remainder of the day was spent in public rejoicings.

While this revolution was being transacted, Admiral Sachtouris obtained some brilliant but inconclusive advantages over the Turkish fleet, which had sailed from the Dardanelles, with the design, it was supposed, either of surprising Samos or Hydra, or of throwing troops into Negropont, for the invasion of Attica. Sachtouris' squadron having encountered this fleet near Cape Doro, succeeded in burning a ship, pierced for 64 guns, having, it was said, the treasury of the army on board, and forced the rest to put into Rhodes and elsewhere for repair.

About this time the government adopted a judicious measure—that of establishing at Nauplia a commission for the adjudication of maritime prizes, and the punishment of piracy.

On land Colocotroni had succeeded, in the course of a few days, in collecting an army of about 4000 men; Pappa Flescias had thrown a garrison into Arcadia, a fortress situate upon the coast north of Navarino; and Mavro-Michalis occupied Maina with an army of partisans, with which he hoped to join Colocotroni, and operate upon the rear of the enemy.

After the capture of Navarino, Ibrahim Pacha divided his army into three columns; the first of which took up a position at Nesa; another was directed against the fortress of Arcadia; and another marched against Tripolitza, which it reached without encountering any obstacle but such as the nature of the ground presented. In his march to Tripolitza, Ibrahim, by promises of protection, endeavoured to prevail upon the peasants to remain in their villages; but the greater part of them, as much afraid of an Egyptian as of a Turkish army, betook themselves to the mountains upon his approach. He also offered to the chiefs an amnesty and military employment; but he could find no one base enough to abandon his allegiance to the cause of his country.

The second column of the Egyptians arrived at the fortress of Arcadia, which was gallantly defended by its small garrison. It inflicted considerable loss upon the Egyptians, by whose superior numbers, however, it was finally overpowered and put to the sword.

The other columns advanced upon Calamata; which town, in the face of 5000 Moreots, commanded by Mavro Michalis, they entered without any obstruction, after having ravaged the whole country upon their march. Colocotroni, who commanded a considerable body of irregular troops, determined now to resort to a mountain warfare, and withdrew to the district of Leondari, in the hope of arresting

the progress of the enemy. A great many skirmishes took place in the gorges of the mountain passes, by which the Egyptians seriously suffered; but, notwithstanding the able manœuvres of the Greek general, they overcame all opposition, and on 20th June entered Tripolitza.

Ibrahim, relying upon the terror which his name had inspired, determined to put an end to the war by a single blow, namely, the capture of Nauplia, the seat of government, which was very inadequately garrisoned. On 25th June, the heads of his columns appeared on the road to Nauplia, in front of Myli, a most important post for the Greeks, for there they had their mills and their depot of provisions. The place was defended by only 200 irregulars, commanded by Demetrius Ypsilanti; but these, upon the suggestion of General Roche, to whom the defence of Nauplia had been committed, were reinforced by a company of a newly raised regiment of voltigeurs, and 300 Greek sharpshooters.

The enemy issued from the defile in front of Myli, in three divisions, and formed into platoons. They amounted to upwards of 6000 cavalry and infantry. After a long and obstinate contest, in which equal skill and bravery were displayed by the Greeks, the enemy was repulsed at all points, and retired by the road to Argos, after having sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded.

Arrived upon the coast of Argos, Ibrahim Pacha was joined by 2000 men, who had arrived from Salona. At the same time 6000 troops, under the command of Omer Vrione, the new pacha of Salonica, having proceeded from Thessaly, pushed across the isthmus of Corinth, while the Capitan Pacha landed on the coast of Epidaurus 5000 Asiatics and Macedonians, who had been embarked at Constantinople

and Salonica. It was fully expected that, by the combined operations of all those troops, the Greeks, in a few weeks, would be wholly driven from the plains to the mountains.

But, on other points, the prospects of the enemy were less favourable. The Turks of Thessaly were repulsed, and in a manner surrounded within Salona, by Gourras and other Greek captains. The siege of Missolonghi made no progress, while the besiegers were allowed no rest by the Greeks of Acarnania and Etolia. And the Capitan Pacha, either from apprehension of danger, or in obedience to orders, declined all co-operation with the troops on land.

The army, under the immediate command of Ibrahim, which he had concentrated at Tripolitza, after sending detachments into the interior, to maintain his communications with the other captured forts, was constantly harassed by Colocotroni; and between the two armies a series of petty engagements took place, in which generally the Egyptians were victorious. On the 15th July, Colocotroni having drawn together the whole of his forces, some from a considerable distance, determined to attack Tricorpha, in the neighbourhood of Tripolitza, and then in possession of the Egyptians. In consequence, he directed Demetrius Coliopolu, with 2000 men, to occupy the position of Voltezy, which he did; and Canello and Pappazoni, with his own son, Gennaos, who had under him 3000 men, to guard the entrepôts. In the evening he was joined by 4000 men from Livadia, under Yzaimi and other officers, who took post at Scherpa. The engagement commenced by Generals Deligianni and Gennaos attempting to take up the necessary positions, some of which had already been occupied by the enemy. Coliopolu advanced from Voltezy to their assistance, but was driven back



by the enemy's cavalry. The combat raged for nearly five hours within the entrenchment which had been cast up by Delegianni and Gennaos. The enemy made repeated fierce attacks upon it, but was as often repulsed and scattered over the plain. From time to time the assailants were reinforced from Tripolitza, while Colocotroni drew to the spot proportionate reinforcements from Scherpa. At length the enemy, in full force, under Ibrahim himself, made a general attack upon the Greek positions. His chief force was directed against the post occupied by Natara, who having lost his adjutant, could no longer maintain together the Corinthians whom he commanded; and their dispersion was followed by the retreat of the rest of the army. The Greeks suffered a severe loss in officers; the loss of the Egyptians, according to the Greek account, amounted to 600, including a great number of superior officers.

At no period since the commencement, had the appearance of affairs been so cheerless and disheartening to the Greeks as at present. Both their strength and their spirits were completely broken by repeated disasters; and, observing that their imagined superiority at sea did not in the least prevent the enemy receiving constant supplies—that he was master of the plains, and of most of their fortresses, they resigned themselves to utter despair. Their misfortunes and courageous endurance of the miseries of war had failed to procure for them much of the active sympathy of foreign powers, while the piracies committed by Greek ships had greatly exasperated them; and though they were deriving considerable succours from foreign nations, these could not enable them to make head against the formidable enemy whom they had now to contend with.

The sentiments of despair expressed

by the nation generally, were entertained also by the members of government, who came to a resolution which despair only could have suggested. On the 20th of July they held an extraordinary sitting at Nauplia, when Mavrocordato made a report on the state of the country, in which he represented it as desperate, and farther resistance as unavailing; and concluded by observing, that there remained no other means of safety but to place the country under the protection of some European power. That power he recommended should be Great Britain, on account of both its financial and maritime greatness. Mavrocordato's proposal and recommendation were unhesitatingly agreed to; and next morning, he and several of his colleagues repaired on board the British frigate, the *Cambrian*, then in the roads, and, in name of the nation, submitted to Commodore Hamilton, as representative of his sovereign, the resolution which they had come to the previous day. The manner in which the resolution was received by Commodore Hamilton has not been made public.

The same day on which the government at Nauplia had determined to claim the protection of Great Britain, a similar resolution was come to by the people of Spezzia. And three days after, the inhabitants of Hydra were convened by their primates, and harangued by Basil Buduri, who having represented to them the desperate crisis of their affairs, called upon them to adopt the measure which had been resolved upon by the national government; but his proposal provoked the indignation of the multitude, who tumultuously exclaimed that they knew he had long meditated selling them to the English.

In the meantime, the resolution of the Government, after it had obtained the signatures of upwards of 2000 of

the national representatives, clergy, and civil and military chiefs, was formally protested against by Messieurs Roche and Washington, the deputies of the French and American Philhellenes. They did not hesitate to represent the measure as the work of a faction, dictated by a spirit of anarchy, and injurious to the two nations whom they represented! And they threatened to abandon the cause of independence instantly, if the Government did not furnish them with a satisfactory explanation.

Of this proceeding of the two deputies there can be only one opinion. The services rendered to Greece by societies of private individuals in foreign countries, could never confer upon such societies or their agents an authority to control the proceedings of the national government. It was the welfare of the Greeks alone which the services of their deputies ought to have been devoted to; and to bring into collision the interests of the Greeks (which would infallibly have been promoted by the protection of Great Britain) with the interests, whether real or imaginary, of the countries which they affected to represent, was obviously running counter to the straight path of their duty. It was too much, too, to suppose that any foreign country, whose government had neither assisted nor countenanced the Greeks in their struggle, had a claim upon their gratitude, because a few of its people had assisted in supporting their cause. Besides, what other nation but Great Britain could the Greeks, with the slenderest hope of success, look up to for protection? The powers composing the Holy Alliance had anathematized all insurrections whatever, and, at the Congress of Verona, had especially put their seal of reprobation upon that of the Greeks. By their own declared principles, if not by their fears and jealousies, they were re-

strained from favouring Greece, while Britain was rather differently situated. All that could be said against the measure was, that, as we before observed, despair alone could have suggested it; for it was unreasonable to suppose that Great Britain would have compromised her own interests, as she must have done, by acceding to it.

In the meantime, the hopes of the Greeks were partially revived by the news that a naval expedition, for their relief, was being fitted out in Great Britain; to be commanded by the celebrated Lord Cochrane, who had abandoned the Brazilian service. In truth, a considerable portion of the last Greek loan negotiated in England had been appropriated to the building and equipping of steam-vessels and frigates, both in England and America; and Lord Cochrane had been engaged by the Greek Committee in London to command them. How the building of these vessels was delayed, and much of the Greeks' money was wasted, owing to the gross neglect of some, and the criminal cupidity of others of that Committee, remains to be explained in a future volume.

We must now direct our attention to Western Greece, where the siege of Missolonghi had hitherto proceeded but slowly. The garrison of that place amounted to upwards of 5000; while the besieging army was not less than 11,000, exclusive of considerable picquets which its commander had established at Carvanserail, and within the defiles of Macrynoras, to protect its rear.

The besiegers had become much disheartened by the want of provisions, as well as by the bad success of the various assaults they had made, when, about the middle of July, the fleet of the Capitan Pacha brought them succours and assurances of more. On 2d August the Seraskier summoned the garrison to surrender; to which Boz-

zaris and Nikitas, two of the Greek commanders, made reply, that the standard of the Prophet should never float within Missolonghi until a passage had been gained for it over their bodies.

On the morning of the 3d, at three o'clock, the garrison was aroused by preparations which were being made by the enemy for an attack at seven different points. The Turks, preceded by a number of howling dervises, planted their standards to the north of the ditch; and the air was rent with the firing of their ordnance and musketry. The Greeks flew to their arms, and, falling upon their knees, prayed to Heaven for victory. Having received the benedictions of their priests, they hastened to the ramparts, where they discharged their deadly volleys upon the Turks, who, notwithstanding, forced their way into the place, in which they established themselves at five o'clock; but at six they were completely repulsed; and the smoke dispersing, the banner of the Cross was seen displayed on every part of the walls. The defeat of the enemy was complete.

During the conflict on land, the Ottoman fleet attempted a variety of awkward manœuvres at the entrance of the roadstead and within it, where some of its vessels cast anchor. At this time three Greek vessels, with two fire-ships, commanded by Sachtouris, made their appearance, on which the Turks cut their cables in great haste, to make for Lepanto; but Sachtouris having come up with them, he sunk one of their galliots, burnt a brig, and captured forty shallops. While the heavy ships of the Turks were endeavouring to recover from their confusion and rally, another division of Greek ships, twenty-three in number, and commanded by Miaoulis, hove in sight; at which the Capitan Pacha gave the

signal to avoid battle, and steered with his whole fleet to the Gulf of Cyllene.

On the 7th the garrison attempted several sorties, and succeeded in constructing a number of batteries in the rear of those which the Turks had destroyed. Redschild, on the other hand, commenced erecting a *digue d'union*, hoping by means of it to carry the Franklin battery; but though he carried that battery at length, it was not suffered to be long in his possession.

The situation of the Seraskier had become very critical. The Albanians, who composed the principal part of his army, became discontented, owing to the fatigues they had endured, and the want of their pay, and threatened to abandon him; while his rear was menaced by a corps under Tzavellas and other chiefs, who almost besieged him in his camp.

On the 21st, having received a reinforcement of 2500 Albanians, he ordered another general assault. The garrison, which had also been reinforced by sea from Etolia, sustained the assault with the most determined courage. The conflict was sanguinary. At length the enemy was driven back to his entrenchments, Redschild being the last to retire; his batteries were destroyed, his trenches filled up, and his *digue d'union* thrown down.

Towards the end of September very heavy rains set in, which compelled the enemy to suspend farther operations. On the 24th October, the garrison having thrown some bullets into the enemy's camp, the soldiers, who were watchful of every movement made by him, and discovering not the slightest stir, rushed out from the batteries, and approached the camp, which they found deserted. They instantly proceeded to destroy its various fortifications, and carry away the materials. In fact, the Seraskier had

retired to Vrachovi, to direct the operations of his columns in re-establishing his communications, which had mostly been cut off, with Arta, Janina, and Salona.

Livadia, which, during the early part of the campaign, had been suffered to enjoy tranquillity, was destined, towards the end of it, to be the theatre of most animated warfare. The Turks of Thessaly had been concentrated at Zeitouni, with the design of joining the Albanians, who were stationed on the coast of Salona. General Gourras, who had returned to Attica, where he was menaced by the Turks of Negropont, advanced across the mountains by a rapid movement to Livadia, where the militia of most of the districts hastened to his standard. Having surprised the advanced guard of the Turks, he overthrew it, and drove it beyond Thermopylæ; then marched against Salona, having left a small corps of observation in the north of Livadia to watch the Thessalian Turks. After several other successful engagements, he effected a junction with Constantine Botzaris, and recovered Salona from the enemy.

In the Morea, the war, after the affair at Mily, was one of small detachments. Ibrahim, who had concentrated his forces at Tripolitza, sent out parties in all directions, partly to forage, and partly to maintain his communications. The Greeks made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to surprise Tripolitza. Demetrius Ypsilanti beat a detachment of the enemy at Doliana; and near Vidonia Colocotroni checked the advance of another detachment, and caused it a loss of between 400 and 500 men, and most of its baggage. But that general's exertions were ill seconded by the Morea chiefs, the zeal of most of whom had evaporated, and they had retired with their families to the mountains.

The Government, about this time,

began to display some little vigour. It dispatched a force of from 4000 to 5000 Romelioti to the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, to secure them from any attempt which the Capitan Pacha might make; it proceeded steadily in organising the regular corps commanded by Colonel Fabvier, with the design of assimilating to it by degrees the whole other corps in its service; and, to put a stop to the spirit of emigration, which threatened wholly to depopulate the invaded provinces, it published an ordinance on 15th August, declaring all emigrants infamous, and deprived of their civil rights.

By an important law of 22d September, having in view the augmentation of the regular army, which, it was found, could not be adequately accomplished by the old plan of recruiting, it was decreed that there should be a conscription of one soldier for every hundred souls throughout the whole provinces; that, excepting the infirm and only sons, all between the ages of sixteen and thirty should be subject to it; and that at the end of every three years a third of the army should have leave to retire from it, their places to be supplied by new conscripts: and, to provide for the support of the army, it was decreed that part of the national domains should be sold, and the produce, as well as what was received of foreign loans, and the contributions of foreigners, should be appropriated to that object.

But the intended conscription it was found impossible to execute, owing to a total want of zeal on the part of all the military chiefs, with the exception of Gourras, who appears to have been, on all occasions, the most patriotic, as well as most able among them. The enlargement and organization of Fabvier's corps, however, was proceeded in with great activity at Athens,

whither it had been dispatched ; and, at the end of the year, consisted of two battalions of infantry, a squadron of light cavalry, and a company of field artillery.

Among its other disquietudes, the Government was alarmed by the threat of the Austrian commodore, commanding on the Greek coast, that he would recapture the Austrian vessels which had been seized by the Greeks for having violated their blockade, and, in opposition to the laws of neutrality, been employed as transports in the Turkish service. The threat was worthy of a power which, from the days of Richard *Cœur de Lion*, has ever proved itself devoid of every exalted or generous feeling. The British commodore, Hamilton, however, having represented the injustice of the threat, and that while he himself was fully disposed to put down piracy, under whatever flag committed, he conceived it was the duty of all to respect a blockade by a belligerent, and to observe and submit to the laws of neutrality, the Austrian naval chief thought proper to recall his threat, and issue an order to the masters of vessels of his nation not to take any part in the war, and to conform themselves to the laws of neutrality in future.

By the humane interference of Commodore Hamilton, an exchange of prisoners was effected ; of Turks 67, including the two pachas taken at Tripolitza, and of Greeks 77, including George Mavro Michalis and Captain Yatruco, who, at the capitulation of Navarino, were made prisoners by Ibrahim, as reprisals for the detention of the two pachas.

There arrived at this time, in the harbour of Nauplia, an American squadron, commanded by Commodore Rogers, between whom and the Government some civilities were exchanged.

On the 5th November a new Egypt-

tian expedition, consisting of no less than 133 sail, including transports, and having on board 1000 cavalry and 6000 infantry, arrived at Navarino from Alexandria. Ibrahim, who was prepared for this reinforcement, retained under his own immediate command the greater portion of it, by which his force was increased to 18,000 men. The remainder was dispatched by sea to Redschid Pacha, who had received the most peremptory orders to renew the siege of Missolonghi, to the capture of which the Porte attached the greatest importance.

With his augmented force Ibrahim resolved, in opposition to all Turkish precedent, to undertake a winter campaign, hoping to profit by the terror of the Greeks, and the circumstance of their irregular troops having returned to their homes. His first measure was to put the works of Tripolitza in a good state of defence ; after which he overran the interior of the eastern provinces ; and, intending to join Jussuf Pacha, who commanded at Patras, he next scoured the whole coast, appearing as if he meant to fall back upon Corinth ; and then, after some affairs of posts within the defiles of Irene and the Isthmus, he established his head-quarters at the Little Dardanelles, where he commenced a new series of operations, his communication with Jussuf Pacha being now entirely open.

On the 19th November the Capitan Pacha arrived in front of Missolonghi, where he found Redschid Pacha engaged in reconstructing his works for the siege, and debarked the troops he had on board without opposition. The Turkish fleet had been followed by the Greek squadron under Miaoulis, who, owing to the bad weather, could not effect the design he had formed of attacking its rear. However, he brought with him to the garrison a reinforcement of 500 men and a store

of provisions; after landing which, Miaoulis anchored his squadron at Procarnistos, in order to watch events. The Capitan Pacha had also resolved upon remaining; but, afraid of the fire-ships, kept at a great distance from the Greek anchorage.

On 27th December, Redschid Pacha commenced battering the fortress; and, confident in the valour of his disciplined Egyptians, he directed the most distinguished of them to make an assault, they being supported by the Turks and Albanians. The assailants advanced in excellent order; and succeeded, at many points, within

the Greek entrenchments; but they were received with the greatest intrepidity, and compelled to retire with considerable loss.

Some days after this conflict, which was the last that distinguished the campaign of the year, there fell a deluge of rain, which compelled the enemy to abandon his works, and retire to the heights of Mount Aracynthus. The Ottoman fleet, at the same time, set sail for the coast of Patras, while the garrison exerted themselves in re-establishing their batteries.

## CHAPTER XV.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA · MEXICO—COLOMBIA—PERU  
—BOLIVIA · BUENOS AYRES—BRAZILS—HAYTI.

THE affairs of the United States, during this year, presented to foreign nations, as usual, an unvarying aspect of domestic content and tranquillity. When we contemplate their condition, with reference to their central government, they are as a youthful giant in a state of repose, who, in his slumbers, is making the greatest additions to his growth and his energies. The object is interesting, but too little diversified in its features for the beholder to dwell long upon. When, again, we consider them apart from that government, and mark the rapid advance which they are making in internal improvements, owing chiefly to the enterprising and ceaseless activity of their citizens, in their individual capacity, we are struck with wonder at the cheapness and simplicity of the process by which their future national greatness is being elaborated. America owes much, doubtless, to her institutions, but infinitely more to her admirable position with regard to foreign powers, and to her vast expanse of fertile and unoccupied territory. Remote from "warring Europe," her interests can be in no way affected by the changes which may be there operated; and having few inducements to

go to war, and secure from all invasion by ambitious neighbours, she is under no necessity of maintaining a large standing army, which has become a necessary condition of the existence of every European power, and weighs most heavily upon its resources. Its back woods, too, while they admit the fullest developement of the principle of increase of population, present an admirable outlet from the mass of the nation, for all those unquiet spirits who can ill brook the conventional restraints of civilized life, and those whose wants may have rendered them desperate; and thus internal peace is maintained, without having recourse to many of the restrictions upon natural liberty which, in the freest states of the old world, are indispensably necessary. The grossest misgovernment alone, under these happy circumstances, could have retarded the growth of America's prosperity; and they who would peremptorily reason from it in favour of democratical governments, must either be without judgment, or desirous to impose upon the judgment of others. They must be as fanatical and dishonest in their way as an opposite class of writers are in theirs, who see nothing in the situation of Ameri-

ca, or her prospects, or the character of her citizens, which they do not abuse and decry.

As none of the candidates for the Presidency had obtained an absolute majority of votes throughout the Union, the right of choosing a President from the three who stood highest upon the list devolved, by an article of the constitution, upon the House of Representatives. These three were General Jackson, who had 99 votes, Mr John Quincy Adams, who had 84, and Mr Crawford, who had 41. The only other candidate was Mr Clay, who reckoned 37 votes. On 9th February, the House, having assembled, proceeded, after a number of formalities, to discharge the important trust. A delegate for each state was first nominated; and the whole delegates having balloted for the new President, the votes were declared to be as follows: For Mr Adams, 13; General Jackson, 7; Mr Crawford, 4. This result, which was brought about by Mr Clay transferring his interest to Mr Adams, gave great offence to the democratical party throughout the Union, by whom Jackson was chiefly supported, and who represented it as an act of contempt of the national voice by those who were most religiously bound to respect it. The discontents of that party engendered a scheme for changing the constitution, so far as it related to the election of President; which scheme was actually submitted, in the course of next session, to the House of Representatives, by one of its members, but without success.

The answer which Mr Adams returned to the deputation who announced to him his election, was remarkable for its modesty. Alluding to the circumstances of the election, particularly the preference of him by the House of Representatives to two citizens, whose names were associated with the national glory, he declared

that he would decline the Presidency to afford the people the opportunity of making an approach to unanimity in their suffrages, but that the provision made by the constitution for the case which had occurred, left him no alternative but to accept the office.

On 4th March, the new President was formally installed in the capital, in the presence of the two Chambers, the public authorities, and foreign ambassadors; on which occasion he pronounced a glowing eulogy upon the constitution, and the administration of his predecessors; and dwelt at great length upon the political relations of the Union, and the policy which its interests imposed upon it. He then took the prescribed oath to the constitution.

The proceedings of Congress, after the installation of Congress, were not in any respect remarkable; if we except the passing of an act authorizing a loan of twelve million dollars, at four and four and a half per cent interest, for the redemption, in 1826, of an equivalent portion of the public debt, which bore six per cent interest.

The annual report made from the treasury to Congress exhibited the following statement: The revenue received for the year 1824 amounted to 24,381,212 dollars, comprehending a loan of 5,000,000 dollars; which, with the sum remaining in the treasury on 1st January, 1824, constituted a sum total of 33,845,135 dollars. The disbursements for the year amounted to 31,898,538 dollars; consequently, at the end of the year, there remained in the treasury 946,599 dollars. The receipts of the treasury for the three first quarters of 1825 were 21,581,444 dollars; those for the last quarter, it was calculated, would be 5,100,000 dollars, which, with the balance of 1824, would constitute a sum total of 2,872,851 dollars. The entire disbursements for that year were esti-



mated at 23,443,979 dollars, which would leave in the treasury a balance of 5,284,061 dollars. The amount of the public debt on 1st October, 1825, was 80,985,537 dollars. The receipts of the treasury for 1826 were estimated at 25,500,000 dollars, the expenses at 20,584,730, making a balance of 4,915,270.

In the course of the year a dispute arose between the federal government and the legislature of Georgia, which at first assumed a serious character. The Georgians wished to take possession of certain lands within their territory which belonged to the Creek Indians; which lands had been ceded to the state by one of the Creek chiefs, in consideration of a small sum of money; but the other chiefs, instead of ratifying, protested against the cession, and, to mark their displeasure still more strikingly, put the author of it to death. Further, they claimed the protection of the federal government against the attempts made by the Georgians to dispossess them of their territory; which protection was extended to them, and violently complained of by the usurping party as unjust and unconstitutional. The governor of the state, in a message to its legislature, entered at great length into an enumeration of the many wrongs and indignities which, by his account, the state had sustained at the hands of the federal government, its interference in the affair of the Creeks being represented as the climax of all. The message was referred to a special committee, which made a report in its exact tone and spirit; and even went the length of recommending an appeal to arms. Fortunately, the good sense of the legislature stood opposed to this intemperate report, which was not even taken into consideration; and the quarrel finally terminated by the unfortunate Creeks abandoning the disputed territory,

after protesting that they did so only to avoid bloodshed, and that for the land of their forefathers, where they had wished to live and die, they had not received a single dollar.

General La Fayette had, the previous year, upon the invitation of the federal government, paid a visit to the United States, the scene of his early exploits. Everywhere throughout the Union he was received with enthusiasm, and every honour which popular gratitude could invent or bestow. On 7th September, he left Washington to return to his own country. On that day he was waited on by the President, and all the inferior functionaries, when the President addressed to him a speech, in which he recounted the various services, which, from his youth downwards, the general had rendered to the cause of liberty. After taking an affectionate farewell of his visitors, La Fayette embarked in a new frigate, fitted out by the American government for reconducting him to France, and named the Brandywine, in commemoration of the battle fought upon the banks of the river so called, in which La Fayette was wounded.

The states which had recently been constructed out of the colonial possessions of Spain in America had, in the general case, passed from a state of internal discord to profound tranquillity; but there was this bane to the happiness of many of them, that their finances were in extreme disorder, while their military establishments, which it might have been unsafe to reduce, were of a magnitude out of all proportion to their revenues. The war of independence had all but exhausted their resources; and it is not to be wondered at, that, independent as they had become, their revenues were considerably short of those which had been derived from them when governed colonially.

The session of the Constitutional Congress of Mexico was opened on 1st January; on which occasion it was addressed by the President, Vittoria, in a speech, in which he congratulated it upon the final establishment of a republican government, and announced a variety of laws with regard to the administration of justice, which, he observed, would be submitted to it in the course of the Session.

The Minister of Finance, Esteva, on 4th January submitted to Congress an estimate of the revenue and expenditure of the republic for the year then commenced: According to which, the former would amount to 12,347,371, including 2,476,315, the produce of a loan negotiated in England, and the latter to 10,352,637 dollars.

On 5th April, the Congress passed a decree, which for ever abolished, throughout the whole of Mexico, all titles of nobility whatever. But the subject which most occupied its attention, was the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Mexico, which had lately been negotiated. It differed in few particulars from the other treaties which the former power had recently concluded with Buenos Ayres and Colombia. It might have been expected that a treaty which, on one side, was the first formal recognition which had been made by a European power of the independence of Mexico, would have escaped all scrupulous criticism on the part of the national representatives. However, it was not so fortunate. By one party it was maintained that the reciprocity of import duties, which it established, was altogether illusory. Another exclaimed against the article which secured to British subjects the free exercise of their religion as an impious toleration, opposed to the spirit of Catholicism; but the principal objection to it was, that by it Great Britain did not in

express terms admit and recognise the independence of Mexico. But by the greater number of members the importance and value of the treaty were duly appreciated; and on 26th April, it received the approbation of the Congress by a majority of 32; 44 having voted for, and 12 against it. The Senate, on 10th May, adopted the treaty without any difficulty, and the President affixed to it his ratification.

\* There still was wanting the ratification by his Britannic Majesty, which, for reasons never yet explained, was withheld from it for a considerable time; a circumstance which excited serious apprehensions; but all uneasy feelings were dispelled by the arrival in the capital of Mr Ward, the British charge d'affaires, who, on presenting his credentials, on 1st June, assured the Executive of the lively interest which his Majesty took in the greatness and prosperity of Mexico.

At the close of the Session of Congress, the President addressed to it a speech, in which he announced the result of the financial measures which had been adopted; that the army had been paid its arrears, and the magazines been supplied; that he had appropriated certain funds for the purchase of vessels of war; that the claims upon the civil list had been satisfied; that the last loan had been contracted for on advantageous terms, a part of the debt extinguished, and the paper money retired; and, in short, that he had reduced the finances to a system which promised the happiest results.

It having been publicly rumoured, and affirmed in several American journals, that French garrisons were about to be introduced into the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, the Mexican general, Santa Anna, who commanded in Yucatan, proceeding upon the persuasion that in the former island there was a powerful party eager to wrest it

from the dominion of Spain, collected upon the coast an army of about 6000 men, with the determination of invading it. But Vives, the governor of Cuba, being apprised of his design, caused to be thrown into prison a number of persons of suspected politics, and adopted such other vigorous measures, that Santa Anna thought proper to abandon the enterprise. Government publicly disowned all participation in it; and Santa Anna was ordered to Mexico to render an account of his conduct, the Congress being then sitting, and replaced by another general.

About the same period one of the regiments stationed at the Isle de Sacrificios, which was composed of Indians, hoisted the Spanish flag, and murdered their officers. A number of troops were sent against them from Vera Cruz; on whose approach the mutineers surrendered, and twenty of them were afterwards shot.

An event soon afterwards occurred, which may be deemed of importance in the history of this infant republic. The crews of the Spanish ship of war, the *Asia*, and brig *Constantia*, having become discontented, owing to their want of pay and the fatigues they had endured, mutinied at one of the *Marianne* islands, and having put their commanders into confinement, sailed direct for the coast of California; and on their reaching the Bay of Monterey, their leader, Lieutenant Martinez, entered into a negotiation with the military commander of the place, by which the two vessels and their whole furniture and munitions were delivered up to the Mexican Government; and that Government, on the other hand, became bound to pay to the officers and crews the arrears due to them, to permit those of them who chose it to settle in Mexico, and to give to the others passports to any other independent American state.

The Congress was again convoked upon 1st of August. The chief subject of its deliberations was the state of the negotiations with the Holy See. In a letter addressed to the Pope, the President had felicitated him upon his accession, and also explained to him the wants of the Mexican Church. In reply, the Pope studiously refrained from all allusion to political questions, but, after congratulating the President upon the purity of his religious sentiments, and the constancy of his faith, he bestowed upon him and the whole of the Mexicans his apostolical benediction. This rescript was little calculated to remove the difficulties which beset the Mexican Church, especially the one which related to the supply of vacant bishoprics; and it was commented upon in Congress in a truly Protestant spirit. At length the Congress, by whom the Pope was strongly suspected of mischievously intermeddling, by means of his emissaries, in the temporal affairs of the republic, published a manifesto, in which they declared their unalterable determination to maintain the rights of civil government against the usurpations of any religious power whatever; and denounced the severest penalties against all who should make religion a pretext for exciting disturbances in the state.

This year the siege of St John D'Ulloa was renewed by the Mexicans with increased vigour. Their general, Barracon, repeatedly summoned the garrison to surrender; but the Spanish commander, Coppinger, trusting to reinforcements from the Havannah, continued to hold out obstinately. At length a Spanish squadron, consisting of three frigates and transports, appeared within sight of the fort, but was encountered by the united Mexican and Colombian squadron. The Spanish commodore's frigate, having had its mast carried away by a gale of wind, the others did not venture to

force the blockade, and the whole returned to the Havannah. Coppinger, reduced to the last extremity, capitulated on 18th November, upon the conditions that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and with four pieces of artillery, and be conveyed to the Havannah at the expense of the Mexican government. Thus passed away from Spain the last spot which she held within the Mexican territory.

In Colombia the Legislative session opened on 2d January. In his message to the Legislature, the Vice-President, Santander, presented a general view of the affairs of the republic. The consuls commissioned by England for Colombia, had demanded *exequaturs*, or executive powers from government, which had been refused, because the terms of their commissions were inconsistent with the dignity of the nation, they being accredited not to the republic or the President, but to the *provinces of Colombia*, and to the *persons* there in possession of power. The Haytian government had proposed a defensive alliance with Colombia; but, interested as the Colombians were in the prosperity of Hayti, he, the Vice-President, had declined the alliance, as it might eventually involve the country in a war with France. With regard to the internal state of the republic, the Vice-President observed, that there were numberless difficulties to be overcome, and great sacrifices to be made, in order to realize the blessings of independence; and he entreated the Legislature to devise and adopt such measures as would accomplish that desirable end.

The official *exposé* submitted to Congress of the state of the finances was disheartening and deplorable. The receipts for the year ending 1st June, 1824, amounted only to 6,196,725 dollars; while the expenses for that year,

*which could not be exactly ascertained*, were known greatly to exceed the above sum. It was anticipated that the receipts for the current year would rise to 11,794,596 dollars, owing partly to certain reforms which had been introduced in the collection, and proceeding partly from a new foreign loan, which had been contracted for, and which was destined to the extinction of home debts, after advancing out of it three millions upon loan to the cultivators of tobacco, in the hope that the extended cultivation of that plant would enable the State to draw from it a revenue of four millions dollars. The expenses for that year, it was remarked, would include 15,487,710, the interest upon foreign loans; and, of the sum applicable to that purpose, twelve millions had already been diverted to defraying the charges of the army and navy.

As there was no possibility of meeting the expenses of the year by the ordinary revenue, the Legislature authorised a new loan of thirty millions dollars to be contracted for; which measure was followed by a number of salutary reforms, such as the abolition of the law against the exportation of silver, and a diminution of the duty upon gold.

Notwithstanding the many pecuniary difficulties of the State, however—difficulties which the practice of borrowing only smoothed down for the time, but ultimately aggravated, the Congress ventured to decree a loan of a million dollars to the agriculturists at 7 per cent, and half a million for the coining of copper money.

The Legislature received with much satisfaction the official announcement of treaties having been at length concluded, under the auspices of Bolivar, between the different new American States; and their having agreed to convene at Panama, in the ensuing October, a Congress composed of deputies from

the whole of them, in order to deliberate concerning their common welfare, and the means to be adopted for resisting the hostile attempts of Spain; and, finally, to oppose an American confederation to the Holy Alliance of Europe. The United States and the Brazils had been invited to join the Congress; but these powers declared, that though they would send ministers to the Congress, as friendly and, at same time, interested spectators, they would not become parties to its decisions.

Colombia, as well as Mexico, made attempts, and with no better success, to obtain for herself a concordat from the Pope. Incensed by the obstinacy of his Holiness, the Congress, with becoming spirit, passed a memorable law, by which it was declared that the right of patronage over metropolitan churches, cathedrals, and parishes, which had been exercised by the kings of Spain, now belonged to the republic.

During the last days of the Session, there was submitted to the Legislature treaties which had been negotiated with Guatimala and Chili; also a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between Colombia and Great Britain, which had been signed at Bogota on 18th April, by the respective plenipotentiaries of the two nations. After discussing this latter treaty for three days, the Legislature unanimously sanctioned it.

On 3d May, Colonel Campbell, one of the two British plenipotentiaries, (Colonel Hamilton being the other,) was presented to the Vice-President, on which occasion congratulations were exchanged upon the conclusion of the treaty. About the same time a deputation from the Peruvian Congress arrived at Bogota, charged with thanks to the Colombian government for the services which it had rendered in liberating Peru, and a request that the immortal Bolivar might be permitted

to remain in Colombia, until he consolidated its institutions by his virtue and his valour.

Peru now had nothing to dread from the efforts of Spain. The only point of territory she occupied was the port of Callao, which was invested by a very superior force; and her dispersed troops, roving over Upper Peru, were actively pursued by the Colombians, who had triumphed at Ayacucho.

The Peruvian Congress having commenced its sittings on 10th February, it received a message from Bolivar, in which he recapitulated the measures he had adopted for the safety of the republic, demanded a recompense for those who had fought for its independence, and beseeched Congress to resume the supreme authority which it had intrusted to him, and which, when vested in a single individual, was incompatible with the maxims of a free government.

The Congress replied to this address by passing a law to the following effect: that a medal should be struck in honour of the Liberator; that an equestrian statue of him should be erected in the capital, and others in the principal towns of the provinces; that he should retain for life the title and privileges of President of the republic; that the liberating army should be rewarded with the donative of two millions of dollars; that General Sucre should have the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho; that the soldiers of the liberating army should enjoy within Peru all the privileges of Colombian citizens; and that Bolivar should have the power of decreeing, according to his discretion, the nature of the reward which was due to those who had rendered, or might render service to the cause of Peruvian independence.

Bolivar, immediately upon the passing of this law, addressed a letter to the Congress, in which he acknow-

ledged his gratitude for its munificence towards General Sucre and the liberating army; but expressed himself embarrassed and humbled by the excess of its generosity, as respected himself. The medal and the statues which they had decreed, he observed, more than remunerated all his services, and surpassed all his expectations.

The state of affairs, however, did not admit of the Congress accepting the resignation by the Liberator of the supreme authority confided to him; and, having nominated two deputies to the Congress of Panama, it also, of new, conferred upon him dictatorial powers.

The Congress having dissolved itself, Bolivar instituted a council of government under his own immediate direction; and, after having taken measures to render more effectual the blockade of Callao, he took his departure for Upper Peru, where the aspect of affairs required his attention. Olanetta, the Spanish general, having collected the remnants of the army which was defeated at Ayacucho, retreated before the conquerors to the neighbourhood of Potosi. Having, with a corps of about 800 men, taken possession of the small town of Tumusla, he was there attacked by the Peruvian general, Urdimima, who was at the head of a force of only 300 men. At the commencement of the attack Olanetta fell mortally wounded; and his troops, discouraged by the circumstance, surrendered after a short resistance.

After this engagement the Spaniards no longer dreamt of contending with their fate; and from the different provinces there were constantly arriving at the head quarters of the liberating army, officers and detachments of soldiers, to make a surrender of their arms. There was, however, one Spanish commander, in the province of Chiquitos, Don Sebastian Ramos,

who, instead of capitulating, chose to have recourse to the protection of the Emperor of Brazil; and, with an unprecedented assumption of diplomatic authority, gravely proposed to the Governor of Mato Grasso the union of Chiquitos with the Brazilian empire. The Governor at once acceded to the proposal, and took possession of the ceded province with an armed force. But General Sucre, on being made acquainted with the proceeding, intimated to the Governor of Mato Grasso that the cession of the province was an act of treason upon the part of Ramos; that the Emperor of Brazil could have no possible claim to it; and that if the Brazilians did not immediately withdraw from it, they would be attacked. There can be no doubt that Sucre would have made good his threat, had the Brazilians continued refractory; but the Emperor, on being made acquainted with the event, solemnly disavowed it, directed the immediate evacuation of Chiquitos by his soldiery, and expressed to the Governor of Matto Grasso his astonishment at his conduct, particularly at his having, without orders, pushed an armed force across the frontiers.

Bolivar, having arrived in Upper Peru, proceeded to organize a government for the extensive districts which composed the territory of that name. Some of them had formerly been included in the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, and therefore were now claimed by the Argentine Republic. But, considering the universal dislocation which had taken place of the Spanish system, Bolivar could admit no claim, resting on such a foundation, to countries which he himself had liberated; and conceived that the more prudent and equitable proceeding would be to convene a meeting of the people, that they might decide upon the plan of their future government. Previous to which, however, he had the address to

procure from the Congresses of Lower Peru and Buenos Ayres acknowledgements of their complete independence. Accordingly, the chief inhabitants of the provinces of Upper Peru, La Paz, Potosi, Charcas, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz, having assembled at Potosi, on 6th August, they formally declared their independence, and erected the above provinces into a republic, to be named Bolivia, in honour of the Liberator. They also constituted a provisional government, of three persons, of whom General Sucre was nominated the president.

An end was thus put to the anarchy which, for five years, had wasted those extensive provinces; and Bolivar had the satisfaction of seeing a seventh free American state start into existence under his fostering patronage. Previously to that event, he had been incessantly employed in personally inspecting the social and political condition of the different provinces, and bestowing upon them laws suited to their altered circumstances. Among his laws there was one decreeing the equal liability of all to the payment of taxes; another, intended to ameliorate the situation of the aboriginal natives, and giving them a political status; and another suppressing all hereditary titles, and among the rest that of Cacique.

As a rupture between the Argentine Republic and Brazil was every day becoming more unavoidable, the government of the former, justly conceiving it to be of great importance to conciliate the friendship, if not to procure the active assistance of Bolivar, sent a deputation to congratulate him upon his glorious successes. The deputation, which included General Alvarez, arrived at Potosi on 7th October, where they were most magnificently received by the Liberator. Numberless entertainments were given in honour of their arrival; but the deputa-

tion was wholly unsuccessful, Bolivar conceiving that the quarrel between the two states ought properly to be submitted to the approaching Congress at Panama.

Chili, during the year, was a prey to contending factions. The liberty which the people possessed was that of the savage state, there being no law, and scarcely a government, to restrain violence, or to punish crime.

The national Congress assembled in the month of December 1824; but its attention was speedily withdrawn from several projects of law which had been brought under discussion, by the discovery of a plot to assassinate several of the members. Some of the conspirators having been seized, they revealed the names of their associates, and also accused the Minister of Justice of being the principal author of the plot. So violent were the altercations which ensued in the Chamber, that the Supreme Director, General Freyre, found it necessary to place one of the most turbulent of the deputies under arrest, and, in a message to the Congress, implored it to take the dangers which threatened the republic into its immediate consideration. The debates which ensued were most hot and intemperate. At length one party had the fortitude to bring forward a law for dissolving the Congress, as the only panacea for the evils which afflicted the state, and for remodelling the constitution. Its preamble bore, that the Congress, after sitting three months, had been able to accomplish nothing, owing to the spirit of faction which reigned among its members; and that the state of affairs demanded the utmost energy and activity on the part of the Executive, and also that it should be invested with extraordinary authority; and it decreed the immediate dissolution of the Congress, and the conferring upon the Supreme Director

dictatorial powers for one month; that the three provinces of Coquimbo, Santiago, and Concepcion, should each have a separate legislature and government, and also be formed into a federal republic, to be represented in a new Congress, composed of deputies to be elected according to a new system. After long debating, the law was adopted by a very small majority, on 17th May; after which suicidal acts the members separated.

The provincial assemblies which were convoked in consequence of the above law, agreed to recognise the powers conferred by it upon the Supreme Director, and also to submit to the authority of the future federal Congress, reserving to themselves, however, the power of reviewing and withholding their sanction from such laws of the Congress as involved the fundamental principles of government.

The period fixed for holding the Federal Congress was suffered to pass without Freyre having convoked it; but having received an invitation from Bolivar to send plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Panama, he took that opportunity of ordering the elections to proceed, by a decree of 6th July. In that decree he arbitrarily prescribed the qualifications of both the electors and the elected, and fixed the representation at the rate of one deputy for every 5000 inhabitants.

But the troubles of Chili were not yet at an end. Certain duties which Government had imposed upon commerce, excited an extraordinary ferment at Valparaiso, where, in an assembly of the people, all the acts of the Director were declared to be void and null; and, in the provincial Congress of Santiago, where the Director was residing, opposition rose to an extraordinary height, and was conducted with so much violence, that he, affecting to be afraid of his personal safety, mounted his horse, and,

at the head of his body guard, sallied out of the city. He was followed by his friends; and having collected in the environs a considerable body of troops, he re-entered the city at their head, and immediately dissolved the Congress, and appointed a new ministry. The better to secure his power against future hazards, he arrested and banished from the territory a number of inimical individuals. Those members of the legislature who were public functionaries, he treated with more lenity, having only banished them to their estates, after supplying their immediate necessities.

By this act of vigour the President restored at least order and tranquillity to the state, while he crushed its liberties; and during the remainder of the year, he occupied himself in fitting out an expedition for the invasion and conquest of the Chiloe islands.

We now come to treat of the affairs of the Argentine republic, which had, in its progress, reached a doubly interesting crisis—at once conspicuous and hazardous. An end was put to the dissensions which had so long agitated the interior provinces; and these, with the exception of the Upper Peruvian ones, had formally announced their adhesion to the federal government established at Buenos Ayres. By the Constitution, which had been at length promulgated and agreed to, each province preserved its own peculiar institutions; and the government of Buenos Ayres was charged with the executive powers of the federation, so far as respected the enforcement of the acts of Congress and the external relations of the State, and also the negotiation of treaties; but with regard to the national legislative power, Buenos Ayres was placed upon an equality with the other states.

The first National Congress assembled at Buenos Ayres, and after being



duly installed on 25th January, it passed a law, declaring itself legislative and constituent.

The Buenos Ayres government was then administered by Don Juan Gregory de las Heras, who, in virtue of his constitutional powers, entered, in the name of the Federation, upon a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, with Great Britain, upon the principles of reciprocity. The British plenipotentiary was Mr Woodhine Parish, our consul-general at Buenos Ayres. As the instructions given to Mr Parish were most liberal towards the new republic, and as, on the other hand, the acknowledgment by Britain of its independence, (an acknowledgment which the treaty implied,) was to the republic of paramount consequence, the negotiation was very speedily concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. The treaty agreed upon was approved of by Congress without opposition; and the event was celebrated with great rejoicings.

But while it thus secured a powerful friend, the republic, by urging its just pretensions, was about to call into action a most dangerous enemy. The Emperor of Brazil still continued to occupy Monte Video and the whole of the Banda Oriental, which had formed part of the former Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, and of the republic which succeeded, until 1816 and 1817, when the Portuguese general, Lecor, forcibly and fraudulently acquired possession of them, in name of his sovereign. The republic demanded of the Emperor that the whole Banda Oriental should be evacuated by his troops; but he, founding on an act passed by a sham Congress of a few interested individuals, pretending to represent the inhabitants of the district, by which act the district was declared to be incorporated with Portugal and Brazil; and pleading also, strange to say, the

*sovereignty of the people*—refused to comply with the demand. To give a still better colour, however, to his injustice, he, by the advice of his counsellors, caused detachments of his troops to traverse the country with registers, and employ the influence which attaches to an armed force, in persuading the inhabitants to subscribe their names to an engagement to support the imperial authority. Some names were thus obtained; but many were fraudulently adhibited; and among these there were some altogether spurious and imaginary.

The Montevideons were, in point of fact, extremely dissatisfied with their political condition; and even the Cabildo of the place, partaking largely of the general feeling, forwarded repeated remonstrances to the Emperor against his continued occupation of the place; but the only answer they received, was an order by General Lecor deposing them from their office. Many of them, in consequence, repaired to Buenos Ayres, and solicited for their country the aid of that government.

The popular discontent in Montevideo at length extended itself to the troops there stationed, who were natives of the province. Among them was Colonel Ribiera, one of Artigas' old officers, but who latterly had been attached to the Brazilian service. About the beginning of May, this officer, with the regiment which he commanded, sallied out of the town, and throwing himself into the province of Entre Rios, called upon the inhabitants to take up arms to recover their liberties. He was soon joined by General Llavalleja, with eighty of the most considerable inhabitants; and, in a short time, the whole of the old partisans of Artigas flocked to his standard.

On 14th June, a number of the inhabitants of the disputed territory assembled at Florida, in the department of

Saint Joseph, and established a provisional government, at the head of which was Don M. Calleros, who, after convoking a provincial legislature, repaired to Buenos Ayres in the character of a deputy to the Federal Congress, and demanded for the Banda Oriental the national protection.

The news of this insurrection excited great alarm at Rio Janeiro, where a squadron of three vessels of war, and some transports, having on board 1800 troops, including a German regiment, was instantly dispatched to relieve Monte Video, the garrison of which was greatly reduced by desertion. It had been seriously menaced by Ribiera; but he, after capturing Maldonado, thought proper to retire into the interior.

The Government of Buenos Ayres, under existing circumstances, thought it prudent, as a measure of precaution, to cause the line of the Uruguay to be fortified, and reassembled the whole of its forces.

About this time the Brazilian squadron, commanded by Admiral Lobo, after having reinforced Monte Video, appeared within sight of Buenos Ayres. Lobo demanded from the Government an explanation of its conduct, alleging that it had excited the insurrection in the Banda Oriental. The Government denied the imputation, but refused to give a categorical answer to the demand, on the pretext that Lobo was not authorised to enter upon negotiations; upon which his squadron retired from Buenos Ayres, and commenced a blockade of the river.

After having communicated with the whole of the provinces, the Federal Congress, on 25th October, voted an important decree, incorporating the Banda Oriental with the Argentine Republic. This decree, which was all but equivalent to a declaration of war against Brazil, inspired the people with patriotic enthusiasm; and, amid the general tumult of joy, the

rabble proceeded to the house of the Brazilian Consul, to whom they threatened such outrages, that, to secure his personal safety, he retired to Monte Video. The decree of the Congress was formally notified by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Court of Brazil.

The Congress, before it closed its sittings, distinguished itself for a liberality superior to that of other new American states, by decreeing a right to all to worship the Deity according to the dictates of their own consciences. It also authorised the sending of a minister to the Congress of Panama.

We shall now direct our attention to Brazil, the equivocal character of whose Emperor inspired serious apprehensions both in his own subjects and the neighbouring states. He had deigned to bestow, during his father's lifetime, without any right, legitimate or rational, to do so that we can imagine, a constitutional government upon the Brazilians; but he had subsequently shown that when the constitution did not work according to his own mind, he valued it no more than so much blank paper; and that though he had no objection to constitutional forms, he wished these to be so far delusive, as to permit him, in effect, to govern despotically. All this was sufficiently apparent; but farther, he was suspected by the neighbouring states as irrevocably attached to the principles of legitimacy, and of a design to make Brazil a *fulcrum* for such machinery as the Holy Alliance might choose to employ to reduce the whole of South America to its former vassalage. The Emperor, however, was by no means deficient in either: or energy; his government, if arbitrary, was mild and enlightened, and under his government Brazil was astonishing progress.

An event occurred in the month of May, well calculated to confirm the

sincerity of the suspicions entertained of the Emperor's attachment even to the forms of a constitution; but which his Majesty contrived to turn to an excellent account. At a meeting of the general council of three towns in the province of Saint Paul's, it was agreed to address his Majesty, imploring him to abolish the Constitution, and to assume absolute power. The Emperor, in his answer, rebuked the sentiments thus conveyed to him, and expressed his unalterable attachment to the Constitution. At the same time, he suspended from his functions the chief magistrate of the town of Tambate, who had been instrumental in procuring the address, and directed him to repair to the capital, to give an account of his conduct.

In his dispute with the Argentine republic, the Emperor had occasion to regret the retirement from his service of Lord Cochrane, who had returned to England, for reasons never yet explained, in the *Piranga*, a Brazilian frigate.

On 17th July, Sir Charles Stewart, a Portuguese plenipotentiary, arrived from Lisbon at Rio Janeiro, empowered to enter into a treaty for the recognition of Brazilian independence. After a number of conferences, a treaty was definitively arranged, by which Portugal admitted the independence of Brazil, and conceded to Don Pedro and his successors the title of Emperor, while the same title, from courtesy, was allowed by Brazil to the King of Portugal during his lifetime; and it was remarked at the time as extraordinary, that no provision was made in the treaty for the succession to the crown of Portugal, upon the death of King John. Don Pedro was the undisputed heir to the crown, and were he to ascend according to law, the two monarchies would again be united in a monarchy under the same govern-

ment, though the treaty was ostensibly designed perpetually to disengage them; in which event the one would be converted into a dependency of the other.

The merit was at this time conceded to Sir Charles Stewart, by very common consent, of having persuaded the Emperor to direct the evacuation by his troops of the Upper Peruvian province of Chiquitos; and it was also believed that he had exerted himself, though in vain, to prevent the rupture between the Emperor and the Argentine republic.

Sir Charles Stewart was also invested by the British Cabinet with full powers as its ambassador to the Brazilian Court; in which capacity, he negotiated two treaties between the two states. The first contained a recognition by Britain of the independence of Brazil and the imperial dignity in the person of Don Pedro and his successors; and certain mutual stipulations with regard to trade, upon the principle of reciprocity, for the freedom of religious worship by the subjects of either state within that of the other, and for placing each state, in relation to the other, upon the footing of the most favoured nations. The second treaty stipulated for the abolition of the slave-trade, on the part of the Brazilians, at the expiry of four years from the ratification of the treaty, and confined the trade, in the interval, to certain specified limits. The treaties having been transmitted to England, our Government took exception to some of the articles, and declined ratifying them until they had undergone certain alterations.

In the course of the summer, the Emperor received an invitation from Bolivar to become a party to the Congress at Panama, thereby to strengthen the ties which bound together, in one common destiny, the new states of America, and secure their future peace.

dependence. The Emperor, by the advice of his council, decided to send a minister to the Congress, but only as a spectator and friendly adviser.

In addition to the reinforcements sent by him to Monte Video, the Emperor commenced preparing a new expedition for the Banda Oriental; and also issued an ordinance, provisionally suspending within that territory every law which guaranteed the liberty of the subject, and subjecting the insurgents to the rigours of military law. This ordinance was more calculated to disgust his Brazilian subjects than to intimidate those against whom it was directed.

On receiving intelligence of the decree of the Congress at Buenos Ayres, incorporating the Banda Oriental with the Argentine republic, the Emperor did not venture at once upon a declaration of war, but published a manifesto, in which he attempted to justify his claim to the disputed territory, and recapitulated the injuries and insults which he had endured from the Government at Buenos Ayres. That Government shortly afterwards replied to his by a counter-manifesto.

Hayti, in the course of this year, purchased from the French monarch the acknowledgment of its independence; and, by the purchase, tarnished the glory it had acquired by having, through the persevering valour of its citizens, virtually emancipated itself. The process by which this event was brought about, was not a little refined, elaborate, and curious.

An ordinance by the French king, of date 17th April, was secretly prepared, by which his Majesty (expressing himself as if he had been both the actual and legitimate sovereign of Hayti), decreed, 1st, That its ports should be open to the trade of all nations; and that the duties levied in its ports upon all foreign merchandise

should be equal, without any distinction of national flags, but with this exception, that the duties upon French ships and merchandises should be one half less than those levied on others. 2d, That the inhabitants of the French part of Hayti should pay into the French treasury, by five equal and yearly instalments, the first being payable on 31st December 1825, the sum of 150 millions of francs, for the indemnification of the ancient colonists. 3d, Under the above conditions, the acknowledgment of the complete independence of the Haytian government. The absurdity of the French king decreeing conditions which he could not enforce, and which were properly subjects of negotiation, is abundantly manifest; but it has to be considered as an attempt to reconcile a practical measure, dictated by common sense, with the ineffably sublime doctrines of the Holy Alliance.

M. the Baron de Mackau, captain of the *Circe* frigate, was charged to convey the above ordinance, and present it to the Haytian government. The *Circe* left Rochefort on 4th May, and having been joined by other vessels on the Martinique and other stations, he arrived at Port au Prince on 3d July, where he was received with great ceremony. The President, Boyer, wrote him that he, in name of the people of Hayti, accepted the Royal ordinance; and on 11th July, it was solemnly accepted, and all its conditions sanctioned by a full meeting of the Senate. After many brilliant fetes given to him, the French envoy returned to France, having on board with him three Hay-

the conditions of the ordinance.

Upon the return of M. de Mackau, a commission was constituted for investigating the claims of the ancient colonists. And a treaty was entered into with the Haytian commissioners, both explanatory and confirmatory of

the terms of the ordinance. With great difficulty the Haytian commissioners negotiated a loan with an association of bankers for payment of the first instalment of the price of the national independence.

The almost extinguished party of Christophe took advantage of the partial discontent excited by this treaty, the terms of which were considered extravagant by many, to hatch a con-

spiracy at the Cape against the existing government. Boyer, hearing of it, repaired to the Cape, where he caused the commander of the place, General Toussaint, and other officers who were implicated, to be arrested. Toussaint blew his brains out; the rest were delivered over to military commissions, by which the greater part of them were banished from the island.

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**PART II.**

**LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.**

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## PART II.

# LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

## CHAPTER I.

### REMARKS ON THE CLIMATE AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COUNTRIES.

BY JOHN RICHARDSON, M. D., MEMBER OF THE WERNERIAN SOCIETY.

Communicated by the Author.\*

THE following observations have been thrown together, and the subjoined tables drawn up, principally with the view of making public the few facts collected during Captain Franklin's late expedition through the Hudson Bay territories, that relate to the inquiry so ably prosecuted by Baron Humboldt, into the *geographical distribution of vegetable forms*, and on which so much light has been thrown by the observations of our learned countryman Mr Brown. Occasion has also been taken, in the course of the paper, to insert as many circumstances relative to the *climate* of these northern countries as were known to us.

The expedition landed at York Factory, Hudson's Bay, in lat. 57° long. 92°, (a few miles to the westward of the line of no variation of the magnetic

needle, and nearly in the longitude assigned by Dr Brewster to *one of the poles of cold*, but 23° to the southward of it,) and travelling on a W.S.W. direction, reached Carlton House, on the Saskatchewan, distant in a direct line about 430 geographical miles. This place is in lat. 53° long. 106° W., and lies nearly midway between the Pacific and Hudson's Bay; the Continent here being about 33° of long., or 1000 miles wide. From Carlton House, the course, for 1000 miles, was north, inclining to the west, to the mouth of the Coppermine River, in lat. 67° 47' N. long. 115°½ W.

All the plants collected up to this point, amounting, *Agamæ* inclusive, to nearly 700 species, and to at least 5000 specimens, were brought home, and form the ground-work of the subjoined tables of natural families. About 500

\* Read before the Wernerian Natural History Society, 8th and 22d January, 1825.



miles of sea-coast, including the circumnavigation of the bays and inlets, were visited to the eastward of the Coppermine River, and the latitude of  $68^{\circ} 18'$  N. attained at Point Turn-again; but the whole of the plants collected during this part of the voyage were left behind, owing to the hardships encountered in the subsequent return across the barren grounds. This loss has been supplied, as far as regards the purpose of the present paper, by the collections made during Captain Parry's second voyage in the same parallels of latitude, and at no great distance to the eastward.

In making a few desultory remarks upon the circumstances which are likely to influence the vegetation of the districts, I shall begin with their altitude above the sea; and it is almost superfluous to remark, that we have few precise data on this subject, and must for the present be content with rude approximations. The line of country travelled through is destitute of lofty mountains, table-lands, or great plains; except that Carlton House may be said to stand on the northern boundary of a sandy plain, which, opening to the south, and extending to the confines of Mexico, is favourable to the migration of plants to the northward; but our stay in that quarter being confined to ten days at the commencement of spring, during which only thirty species of plants were gathered, few of these southern plants find a place in our list. Few hills were seen during the whole voyage, rising beyond 300 or 400 feet above the level of the surrounding country, and none exceeding 800, except on one part of the Coppermine River, where a range was observed to rise, on a rough estimation, to 1200 or 1500 feet; but even this was free from snow in the beginning of July.

Indeed our route, being by the great rivers, and almost uninterrupted water communications of the districts, was

necessarily through the lower part of the country. Our barometer was rendered useless soon after leaving York Factory; so that I can only state in general terms, that, from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains, (a continuation of the Andes,) the ascent appears to be gentle, most rapid, however, about fifty miles from Hudson's Bay, where the rivers, in crossing a ridge of primitive mountains, form a quick succession of cascades and rapids.

Carlton House, the south-west limit of our journey, I estimate to be 1000 feet above the sea of Hudson's Bay. From this spot, our route to the north lay nearly parallel to the Rocky Mountain chain.

The summit of Portage La Loche, or Methy Portage, which lies in  $56^{\circ} 43'$  N. lat., and  $109^{\circ} 52'$  W. long., and is about 250 miles from Carlton House, I estimated at 1500 feet. Methy Lake, the commencement on the south of this portage, of the water communication with Hudson's Bay, at 1000 feet, and Clearwater River, which flows from the north side of the Portage uninterruptedly to the Arctic Sea, under the names of Athabasca, Slave River and Lake, and Mackenzie's River, at 800 feet. Slave Lake at 400 feet above the Arctic Sea. The height of land to the north of Fort Enterprise, from whence the descent of the Coppermine River to the Arctic Sea, is gradual, at 900 feet. The data from which these altitudes have been deduced are not precise enough to be worthy of detail; but the results, imperfect as they are, may be sufficient to show that the elevation alone of these districts is not great enough to give a decided character to their vegetation.

The peculiarities of the Hudson's Bay climate, which have a more marked influence on the vegetable productions, may be, in some measure, collected from the following tables, and

the remarks appended to them. The tables are formed on the model of those given by Humboldt, and the deeply interesting memoir of that illustrious man on the *Distribution of Heat*, published in the *Mémoires d'Arcueil*, or its translation in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes

of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, may be referred to, for the original views which prompted the formation of such tables, and the many interesting deductions that may be made from them.

TABLE I. *Exhibiting the Mean Temperatures in various Latitudes.*

MONTHS.	Mean Temperature of the Air in the Shade.				
	Cumberland House, Lat. 54° Long. 102½° W.	Near Fort Enterprise, Lat. 64° Long. 113° 6' W.	Winter Island, Lat. 66½° Long. 83½° W.	Igloodik, Lat. 69½° Long. 82½° W.	Melville Island, Lat. 74½° N. Long. 111° W.
	1819—20.	1820—21.	1821—22.	1822—23.	1819—20.
September,.....	+ 49.20	+ 34.30	+ 29.06	+ 22.45	+ 22.54
October,.....	+ 36.68	+ 23.94	+ 10.21	+ 10.29	— 6.96
November,.....	+ 14.60	— 0.23	+ 4.75	— 23.37	— 25.60
December,.....	+ 2.14	— 29.12	— 16.94	— 32.80	— 26.79
January,.....	— 14.19	— 15.08	— 27.96	— 22.07	— 35.09
February,.....	— 1.82	— 24.80	— 29.97	— 25.41	— 37.19
March,.....	+ 11.09	— 11.07	— 15.64	— 24.75	— 23.10
April,.....	+ 33.97	+ 5.11	+ 2.51	— 4.68	— 11.87
May,.....	+ 49.05	+ 32.11	+ 21.09	+ 22.85	+ 14.16
June,.....	+ 59.88	+ 46.62	+ 31.97	+ 30.16	+ 34.24
July,.....	+ 69.80	+ 53.20	+ 36.34	+ 40.04	+ 42.41
August,.....	+ 73.73	+ 55.36	+ 36.68	+ 33.68	+ 32.68
Annual Means, ..	+ 32.01	+ 14.19	+ 6.84	+ 2.20	— 1.71

#### *Remarks upon Table I.*

The temperatures for lats. 54° and 64°, were deduced from Captain Franklin's observations: those in the three remaining columns are copied from Captain Parry's journals, with the modifications noticed below.

Cumberland House is situated in lat. 53° 57' N. long. 102° 17' W., in a flat limestone country, covered with wood, and abounding in swamps and lakes. The month of September was occupied in travelling from lat. 57° to 54°, for which an allow-

ance has been made in the table at the rate of 1°.8 of temperature for each degree of latitude, by which the place of observation exceeded 54°; and the same addition was made to the recorded temperatures for June, July, and August 1820; during which months we travelled from Cumberland House to lat 64½° N. The allowance of 1°.8 here used is greater than that which Humboldt specifies for the same parallel of latitude; but it was obtained from a comparison of the mean annual tem-

peratures of Cumberland House and Fort Enterprise, which are  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude apart. The observations for the other months in the Cumberland House column, were made within the stockade of the fort, and a deduction of  $1^{\circ}$  has been made from each recorded observation, to compensate for the radiation from the neighbouring buildings—an allowance which corresponded with the few observations we made upon the subject. The means for some of the months were deduced from three or more observations each day, taking into account the length of the intervals. In the rest of the months, the means of the extremes have been used, which differ only in a fraction of a degree from the more correct mode of taking the intervals into account.

The temperatures in the column for lat.  $64^{\circ}$  were (except those for the latter end of June, the month of July, and the beginning of August) taken at Fort Enterprise, in a shaded situation, on a northerly exposure, and not subject to any material radiation from warm buildings; and an addition of  $0^{\circ}.5$  has been made to the registered temperatures, as a reduction to lat.  $64^{\circ}$ ; Fort Enterprise being actually 28 miles north of that latitude. The temperatures for July, and the early part of August, in this column, having been observed during the journey from the parallel of  $55\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , an allowance of from  $1^{\circ}.5$  to  $1^{\circ}.8$  has been deducted for each degree of latitude, according to the situations of the places of observation. The temperatures for June, after the 10th, were

taken in lat.  $65^{\circ}$ , and have therefore been corrected for lat.  $64^{\circ}$  by an addition of  $1^{\circ}.5$  Fahr.

With regard to the temperatures in the three remaining columns, Captain Parry observes, "that the thermometer, when placed on the shore, or on the ice, at a distance from the ship, invariably stood from  $3^{\circ}$  to  $4^{\circ}$  or  $5^{\circ}$ , and on some occasions  $7^{\circ}$  lower than the temperature registered on board;" and he in consequence deducts  $3^{\circ}$  from the mean temperature for the year. In the above table, an attempt has been made to proportion the compensation for the warm atmosphere of the ships, amongst the months, so that the greater allowance is made when the difference of temperature between the atmosphere and ship was greatest, or, in other words, in the coldest months. Thus, in July and August, when the radiation of the earth is supposed to be nearly equal to that of the ship, the registered temperatures are used without alteration. In the other months, a deduction has been made, increasing from  $2^{\circ}$  to  $5^{\circ}$ , as their mean temperatures decreased. The annual means thus obtained are nearly the same with Captain Parry's corrected temperatures; but the differences between the summers and winters a little exceed those given by his tables.

The means were obtained by Captain Parry from the twelve daily observations, made at intervals of two hours, or from 4380 observations in the year, and thus possess a degree of accuracy which is very rarely attained.

TABLE II. *Showing the Distribution of Heat in the different Seasons, in various Latitudes.*

SEASONS.	Mean Temperature of the Air in the Shade.				
	Cumberland House, Lat. 54°	Near Fort Enterprise, Lat. 64°.	Winter Island, Lat. 66½°.	Igloodik Lat. 69½°.	Melville Island, Lat. 74½°.
<i>Six Summer Months, } April—September, }</i>	+ 55.97	+ 37.78	+ 26.28	+ 24.08	+ 22.36
<i>Six Winter Months, } October—March, }</i>	+ 8.12	— 9.39	— 12.59	— 19.68	— 25.79
<i>Spring,—March, } April, May, }</i>	+ 31.37	+ 8.72	+ 2.65	— 2.19	— 6.94
<i>Summer,—June, } July, August, }</i>	+ 67.80	+ 51.71	+ 35.00	+ 34.63	+ 36.44
<i>Autumn,—Septem- } ber, Oct. Nov. }</i>	+ 33.49	+ 19.34	+ 14.67	+ 3.12	— 3.34
<i>Winter,—Decem- } ber, Jan. Feb. }</i>	— 4.62	— 23.03	— 24.96	— 26.76	— 33.02
<i>Mean Annual Tem- } peratures,..... }</i>	+ 32°.01	+ 14°.19	+ 6°.84	+ 2°.20	— 1°.71

TABLE III.

PLACES.	Position.		Height in Feet.	Distribution of Heat in Seasons.						Diff. betwixt 3 summer and 3 winter months.	Diff. between hottest and coldest months.	Highest Tem. observed.	Lowest Tem. observed.	Diff. or extreme annual range.
	Lat. N.	Long. W.		Mean Annual Temperature.	Mean Temp. of Spring.	Mean Temp. of Summer.	Mean Temp. of Autumn.	Mean Temp. of Winter.	Mean Temp. of warmest month.	Mean Temp. of coldest month.				
Cumberland House, Near Fort Enterprise,	53° 57' 10.2"	17° 17' 17"	800	+ 32.01	+ 31.37	+ 67.80	+ 33.49	+ 4.62	73.73	+ 14.19	72.42	+ 87.92	+ 87.44	131.0
Winter Island,	64° 0' 11.3"	6° 8.50	+ 14.19	+ 8.72	+ 51.71	+ 19.34	+ 23.03	+ 55.36	+ 29.12	74.74	84.48	+ 78.57	+ 42.1	135.98
Igloolik,	66° 11' 83.30"	0	+ 6.84	+ 2.65	+ 35.00	+ 14.67	+ 24.96	+ 36.68	+ 29.97	59.96	66.65	+ 54.42	+ 50.50	100.1
McLewie Island,	69° 19' 82.80"	0	+ 2.20	+ 2.19	+ 34.63	+ 3.12	+ 26.71	+ 40.04	+ 32.80	61.39	72.84	+ 50.50	+ 50.50	115.1
From Humboldt:	74° 45' 11.1"	0	— 1.71	— 6.94	+ 36.44	+ 3.34	+ 33.02	+ 42.41	+ 37.19	69.46	79.60	+ 60.60	+ 55.55	115.1
Transatlantic region,	... {	58 to {	0	32	...	+ 55.40	...	+ 1.40	...	...	54.00	...	...	...
Labrador,	53° 0' 57.40"	72° 0'	0	+ 26.42	+ 23.90	+ 51.80	+ 33.44	+ 3.20	+ 51.80	+ 11.20	48.00	63.00	...	...
Labrador, Nain,	57° 08' 61.20"	20° 0'	0	+ 26.03	+ 23.90	+ 52.20	...	+ 6.80	...	...	48.98	...	...	...
Churchill, Huda Bay	59° 02'	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59.00	...	...	...
Europe:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Enontekiä,	68° 30' 20.47"	135° 26.96	+ 24.98	+ 54.86	+ 27.32	+ 0.68	+ 59.54	+ 0.55	54.18	60.12	...	...	...	...
Hoslopede Stigard,	46° 30' 8.22"	63° 30' 0	+ 30.39	+ 26.42	+ 44.96	+ 31.82	+ 18.32	+ 46.22	+ 15.06	26.64	31.14	...	...	...
North Cape,	71° 0' 25.50"	0	+ 30.00	+ 29.66	+ 43.34	+ 32.06	+ 23.72	+ 46.58	+ 22.10	19.62	24.48	...	...	...
Umeå,	65° 50' 20.16"	0	+ 33.26	+ 33.80	+ 54.86	+ 33.44	+ 12.92	+ 62.60	+ 11.46	41.94	51.12	...	...	...
Umeå,	65° 3' 25.26"	0	+ 33.08	+ 27.14	+ 57.74	+ 35.96	+ 11.84	+ 61.52	+ 7.30	45.90	54.02	...	...	...

TABLE IV. *Showing the Increase of Vernal Temperature.*

NAMES OF PLACES.	Latitude.	March.	April.	May.	June.	Difference of the Temperatures of the Four Months.			Mean Temp. of the year.
<i>Continental Climate :</i>									
Umeo, .....	63 50	+ 23.0	+ 34.2	+ 43.7	+ 55.0	11.2	9.5	11.3	33.3
Uleo, .....	65 0	+ 14.0	+ 26.2	+ 41.0	+ 55.0	12.2	14.8	14.0	33.1
Enontekies, .....	68 30	+ 11.5	+ 26.6	+ 36.5	+ 49.5	15.1	9.9	13.0	27.0
Cumberland House, .....	53 57	+ 11.1	+ 34.0	+ 49.1	+ 59.9	23.0	15.1	10.8	32.0
Fort Enterprise, ...	64 0	- 11.1	+ 5.1	+ 32.1	+ 46.6	16.2	27.0	14.5	14.2
<i>Climate of Coast :</i>									
Winter Island, .....	66 11	- 15.6	+ 2.5	+ 21.1	+ 32.0	18.1	18.6	11.0	6.8
Igloodlik, .....	69 19	- 24.7	- 4.7	+ 22.0	+ 30.2	20.0	26.7	10.0	2.2
Melville Island, ....	74 45	- 23.	- 11.9	+ 14.2	+ 34.2	11.2	26.1	20.0	- 1.7
North Cape, .....	71 0	+ 25.0	+ 30.0	+ 34.0	+ 40.0	5.2	4.0	6.1	+ 32.0

TABLE V. *Comparing the number of days that reach temperature 51° 8, and the Warmest Months of various Latitudes, and Isothermal Lines, (Lines of equal Annual Temperature).*

Isother. Lines of	NAMES OF PLACES.	Lat.	Mean Temp. of the year.	Sum of the Temperatures of the Months that reach 51° 8.	Number of those Months.	Mean Temp. of days which reach 51° 8.	Mean Temp. of warmest months.	OBSERVATIONS.
32°	Umeo	59 56	38.8	236	4	59.0	65.7	East of Europe.
		53 50	33.3	118	2	59.0	62.6	Gulf of Bothnia, east coast.
	North Cape,	71 0	32.0	0	0	0	46.6	Interior climate.
	Enontekies,	68 30	27.0	116	2	58.1	59.5	Continental climate.
	Cumberland House,	53 57	32.0	213	3	66.5	73.7	Continental climate.
59	Nismes,	43 50	60.3	593	9	65.8	78.3	Basin of Mediterranean.
53.6	Philadelphia,	39 56	53.4	463	7	66.2	77.0	
50	Buda,	47 29	51.1	323	5	64.6	72.0	Interior climate.
41	Upsal,	59 51	41.9	229	4	57.2	61.9	
10	Fort Enterprise,	64 28	13.7	108	2	uncertain	54.6	Continental climate.
	Winter Island,	61 11	6.8	0	0	0	36.7	Coast.
Zero,	Igloodlik,	69 19	2.2	0	0	51.8 1 day	40.0	Coast.
	Melville Isl.	74 45	- 1.7	0	0	51.1 1 day	42.4	Partly interior climate.

*Remarks on the preceding Tables, principally with a reference to the Climate of Cumberland House.*

Humboldt informs us, that "in all places whose mean temperature is below 62°.6, the revival of nature takes place in spring, in that month whose mean temperature reaches 42°.8 or 46°.4. When a month rises to

41°.9, the peach-tree (*Amygdalus Persica*) blossoms ;

46°.8, the plum-tree (*Prunus domestica*) blossoms ;

51°.8, the birch-tree (*Betula alba*) pushes out leaves.

"Barley, in order to be cultivated to advantage, requires, during ninety days, a mean temperature of from 47°.3 to 48°.2.

"In reference to the culture of useful vegetables, we must discuss three things for each climate; the mean temperature of the entire summer, that of the warmest month, and that of the coldest month.

"By adding the mean temperatures of the months that rise above 51°.8, that is, the temperature of the months in which trees with deciduous leaves vegetate, we shall have a sufficiently

exact measure of the strength and continuance of vegetation."

Wahlenberg has also remarked in his *Flora Lapponica*, that "the air must acquire a mean temperature of 4° centigrade, or 39°.20 Fahr., before the frozen rivers break completely up."

The river Saskatchewan, which flows about two miles an hour at Cumberland House, broke up on the 28th April, 1820, the mean temperature of the ten preceding days having reached only 36°; but it is to be noticed, that one of the principal branches of this river rises in a more southerly latitude.

The narrow but deep streams which flow from Pine Island Lake, on which Cumberland House stands, into the Saskatchewan, did not freeze at any time during the winter; a circumstance to be attributed to their receiving a constant supply of warm water from the bottom of the lake. The lake itself was covered with ice about three feet thick.

The phenomena of spring, however, are perhaps most readily exhibited in a tabular form.

TABLE VI. *Tabular View of the Phenomena marking the Progress of Spring at Cumberland House, Lat. 63° 57', Long. 102° 17' W.*

Date.	Means for the Month and 10 days preceding the respective Phenomena.				Highest Temperature observed within 10 preceding days.	PHENOMENA.
	Mean Temp. of preceding month.	Mean Temp. of preceding 10 days.	Means of Maxima for 10 days.	Means of Minima for 10 days.		
1820. Mar. 8.	...	...	...	...	...	The snow covering the ground to the depth of three feet, was first observed to moisten in the sun, the temperature in the shade having risen to + 27° Fahr.
10.	...	+ 1.0	+ 11.0	- 9.0	+ 27°	
12.	...	...	...	...	...	Temp. in the shade rose to 30°, and the melting snow began to drop from the eaves of the houses.
20.	...	+ 18.0	+ 27.6	+ 7.6	+ 39½	
21.	...	...	...	...	...	The temp. this day rose in the shade to 40°, patches of earth became visible from the wasting of the snow, and the River Saskatchewan broke up partially.
22.	...	...	...	...	...	On the 22d the highest temperature of the air was + 26°; but the surface of the snow, which was moist in the sun, was observed to assume a bluish hue, from myriads of minute hemipterous insects, which made their way through it with great rapidity, and were, without injury to their vital powers, frozen up with the snow after sunset.
24.	...	...	...	...	...	A white-headed eagle seen. Temp. 50°.
28.	...	...	...	...	...	Temp. in the shade 29°. Many grasses and bents ( <i>Carices</i> ) were observed shedding their seeds, which had withstood the winter firmly grasped in their glumes. This circumstance, and the sap still remaining in the culms, renders the hay or grass of the swamps nutritious to cattle in the winter of these climates.
31. April 2.	+ 11.1	+ 15.2	+ 24.2	+ 6.3	+ 50	The temperature sunk yesterday to - 14°, and did not rise to-day above + 20°. The River Saskatchewan is again frozen up.
7.	...	...	...	...	...	Rooks seen to-day.
9.	...	...	...	...	...	A merganser seen.
10.	...	+ 25.0	+ 35.0	+ 15.0	+ 49	Willow catkins beginning to burst.
12.	...	...	...	...	...	Geese and swans seen. Temp. in shade + 51°. Wind SE.



TABLE VI.—*Continued.*

Date.	Means for the Month and 10 days preceding the respective Phenomena.					PHENOMENA.
	Mean Temp. of preceding month.	Mean Temp. of preceding 10 days.	Means of Maxima for 10 days.	Means of Minima for 10 days.	Highest Temperature observed within 10 preceding days.	
1820.						
April 13.	...	...	...	...	...	Poplar catkins bursting. Temp. + 54°.
14.	...	...	...	...	...	Duck killed. Temp. in shade + 62°.
17.	...	...	...	...	...	Plovers, grackles, and orioles seen. Temp. in shade + 75°.
18.	...	...	...	...	...	Canadian jays and flycatchers seen. Highest temp. to-day + 38°, and at midnight on the 19th the thermometer sunk to + 21°.
20.	...	+ 50.6	+ 60.5	+ 40.9	+ 75	Tussilago flowering. Highest temperature to-day + 34°.
26.	...	...	...	...	...	Alder ( <i>Alnus glutinosa</i> ) flowering. Temp. + 46°.
28.	...	...	...	...	...	River Saskatchewan completely broken up.
30.	+ 34.0	+ 35.5	+ 43.0	+ 28.0	+ 54	
May 1.	...	...	...	...	...	<i>Anemone Ludoviciana</i> flowering, its leaves not yet evolved. Mosquitoes first seen, and in a few days afterwards severely felt.—Sugar harvest commenced about 20th of April, and lasted till the 10th of May, showing the period during which the sap flowed freely in the sugar maple ( <i>Negundo fraxinifolium</i> , De C.) The mean temperature of these two decades was + 36½° Fahr.; but it is to be remarked that the sugar boilers observe the flow of sap not to be so immediately influenced by a high mean temperature, as by the power of the direct rays of the sun. Most sap is collected when a smart frost during night is succeeded by a warm sun-shining day.
10.	...	+ 38.0	+ 46.2	+ 29.6	+ 67	
14.	...	...	...	...	...	Sugar maple and gooseberry bushes flowering.
17.	...	...	...	...	...	Willows, gooseberries, and aspens ( <i>Populus tremula</i> ), in leaf. Various <i>Draba</i> in flower.
20.	...	+ 51.0	+ 60.4	+ 41.0	+ 84	
25.	...	...	...	...	...	Fine Island Lake clear of ice.
28.	...	...	...	...	...	<i>Prunus virginiana</i> , <i>Prunus pennsylvanica</i> , and <i>Aronia ovalis</i> , flowering.
31.	+ 49.1	+ 60.0	+ 78.0	+ 51.0	+ 80	The mean temperature of this month being only 40°, is nearly 3° below that which Baron Humboldt considered necessary for the evolution of deciduous leaves; but the influence of the direct rays of the sun was at this time very great, and the high temperature of the last decade of the month compensated

In the course of the month of May, ground was prepared at Cumberland House: and towards the end of it, barley sown, to be reaped again in August, after an interval of about 90 days, whose mean temperature may be stated at  $67^{\circ}.8$ . This latitude is therefore well adapted for the cultivation of barley and of spring wheat. Maize ripens readily here, although it frequently fails in the climate of Britain. At Edinburgh, for instance, in lat.  $56^{\circ}$ , where the mean temperature of the year is  $47^{\circ}.8$ , and there are five months that reach a mean of  $51^{\circ}.8$ , maize rarely ripens except in very favourable situations, and under the shelter and reflection of a wall, because the mean temperature of these warm days does not exceed  $55^{\circ}.8$ , or  $12^{\circ}$  below the summer temperature of Cumberland House.

The great plains on the Saskatchewan and Red Rivers, immediately to the north of the United States' boundary line, are extremely favourable to the cultivation of the Cerealia, the crops seldom suffering from late frosts or heavy rains, and at a future period may provide for a redundant population. At Carlton House, which is only sixty-six miles to the southward of Cumberland House, but where the sandy soil speedily feels the influence of the sun's rays, and where the presence of an icy lake, such as Pine Island Lake, does not moderate the spring heats, barley and wheat were sown in April, and by the middle of May the fields were green with the young blade.

These extensive plains are, however, at present subject to a great scourge,—a periodical visit of locusts or grasshoppers, at intervals of twenty years.

At Cumberland House there were 7 days in September 1819, 3 in April 1820, 16 in May, the whole of June and July, and 27 days in August,

which exceeded  $51^{\circ}.8$  of mean temperature: making in all 114, the sum of whose mean temperature is 7584, which give a general mean of  $66^{\circ}.53$ , as in Table V.

The largest pine-trees and balsam-poplars (*pinus alba* and *populus balsamifera*) were between eight and nine feet in circumference. The Saskatchewan River, or lat.  $54^{\circ}$ , and perhaps the isothermal line of  $32^{\circ}$ , is the most northerly limit, in the longitude of Cumberland House of the sugar-maple, (*Negundo fraxinifolium*,) elm, and ash, (species unknown,) hazel, (*Corylus Americana*,) and arbor-vitæ tree, (*Thuja occidentalis*.) At Carlton House, the maple goes to about fifty miles north of the river, so as nearly to reach the latitude of Cumberland House. Oak and beech (species unknown) terminate about  $4^{\circ}$  to the southward in lat.  $50^{\circ}$ , within the limits of the Red River Colony. The mean annual temperature of that colony cannot be much wide of  $+38^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit; but the mean temperature of the three summer months may perhaps rise to  $72^{\circ}$ , a degree of heat sufficient for ripening the vine, if the shortness of its duration and the severity of the winter do not preclude the cultivation of that plant. The natural families of *Polemoniaceæ* and *Liliaceæ* seem also to have their northern limit at lat.  $54^{\circ}$  in these longitudes, a solitary species of each being found on the banks of the Saskatchewan. The *Cisteæ*, *Geraniaceæ*, *Rhamneæ*, *Umbellifereæ*, *Araliæ*, *Apocineæ*, *Valerianææ*, *Hydrophyllææ*, *Chenopodeææ*, *Santaleææ*, *Urticeææ*, *Aroideææ*, and *Asparagæææ*, send some straggling species a few degrees farther north, on a rude estimate not passing beyond the isothermal line of  $+27^{\circ}$ .

It will be seen by an inspection of Table I., that, in the year 1819–20, the month whose mean temperature, at Cumberland House, approached

nearest to the mean of the year, was April; but perhaps the mean of observations, continued for a series of years, might point out the month of October as approaching more nearly to the mean of the year. Baron Humboldt observes, that this last month coincides generally within a degree of that of the year on the isothermal line of  $+35.6^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit. The mean of the spring and autumn temperatures at Cumberland House,  $+32.4^{\circ}$ , coincides very nearly with the annual mean; and the same thing occurred at Fort Enterprise, and also at Melville Island, within the fraction of a degree. At Igloodik and Winter Island, the climate being more of a maritime nature, the coincidence was not so exact. Melville Island, lying directly north of the centre of the Continent, must be warmed in the summer by occasional southerly breezes, which may account for its greater proportional summer temperature, when compared with Igloodik and Winter Island.

The mean temperatures for the last ten days of October at Cumberland House, and for the last ten days of April at Fort Enterprise, correspond very nearly with the mean annual temperatures at the respective places. Baron Humboldt remarks, that "it is an object of importance for travellers, whose observations are necessarily limited as to time, to know the ratios that exist between the temperatures of certain portions of the year, and the mean annual temperature;" and although observations for a single year, in high latitudes, are not to be depended upon, yet they may form the groundwork for future correction or verification; and we trust that the expeditions of Parry and Franklin will supply much that is wanting.

On comparing the seasons at Cumberland House with the seasons found

on different isothermal lines in Europe, as laid down by Baron Humboldt, we find that the winter of Cumberland House, in Lat.  $54^{\circ}$ , and isothermal line of  $+32^{\circ}$ , is colder than that of Enontekies, in Lat.  $68^{\circ}$ , on the isothermal line of  $+27^{\circ}$ ; that the *isocheimal* line, or line of equal winters, at Cumberland House  $-4^{\circ}.6$  passes to the north of Europe, being much colder than that of the North Cape in Lat.  $71^{\circ}$ , which has a maritime climate, and  $4^{\circ}$  below that of Enontekies, which has a more interior climate, and higher elevation above the sea. The *isothermal* line, or line of equal summer-heats, which in this instance is  $+67.8^{\circ}$ , on the contrary, when carried across the Atlantic, diverges to the southward nearly three degrees of latitude, passing to the southward of London, Brussels, and Paris, which lie in the isothermal band of from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $52^{\circ}$ . In more interior continental situations, however, the isothermal line again curves to the north, passing to the north of Warsaw in lat.  $52.25^{\circ}$ , on the isothermal line of  $+49^{\circ}$ , and to the south of Moscow, in lat.  $55.75^{\circ}$ , and on the isothermal line of  $+40$ . In the interior of Siberia, the severity of the winter being great, it is more than probable that an entirely similar climate may be found. Humboldt, in one of his tables, has assigned the mean summer heat of Cumberland House to Central Russia, in lat.  $58^{\circ} 30'$ , and long.  $36^{\circ} 20' E.$ , and to Canada, in lat.  $47^{\circ}$ , long.  $71^{\circ} W.$ , on the isothermal line of 41. The low summer-heat here assigned to long.  $71^{\circ}$ , in Canada, may be ascribed to its much more maritime climate, when compared to the interior situation of Cumberland House. The differences of these climates may be rendered more manifest by the following tabular view.

TABLE VII. *Difference of Summer and Winter on the Isothermal Line of + 32°.*

Situation.	Winter.	Summer.	Difference.
Cisatlantic Region, Long. 1° W. and 17° E.	+14.0° Fah.	+53.6°	39.6°
Transatlantic Region, Long. 58° W.—72° W.	+ 1.4 —	+55.4	54.0
Cumberland House ( <i>Continental</i> ) 102½ W.	— 4.6 —	+67.8	72.4

The effects of the Cumberland House climate, which may be considered as a perfect specimen of the *interior continental climate*, seems to be, as Baron Humboldt has somewhere remarked, that, after a long and severe winter, there is generated a great degree of irritability, both in animals and vegetables, which renders them more susceptible of the succeeding summer-heats. It may be, that it is

this excess, as it were, of irritability, that renders the puncture of the mosquito so much more distressing at Hudson's Bay than in any other part of the world, and not the more poisonous nature of the insect itself.

The following *Cree names of the months* are indicative of certain natural phenomena, which recur with the returning seasons.

March,	<i>Mergeshew-cepashim,</i>	Eagle-moon.
April,	<i>Nocsa-'pashim,</i>	Goose-moon.
May,	<i>Atheck-cepashim,</i>	Frog-moon.
June,	<i>Opuskow-cepashim,</i>	Hatching-moon.
July,	<i>Opceneyoo-cepashim</i>	Moulting-moon.
July,	<i>Opahow-cepashim,</i>	Flying-moon.
August,	<i>Attechtch-cepashim,</i>	Ripe-berry-moon.
September,	<i>Tuwquaggan-cepashim,</i>	Fall-moon (Fall of the leaf).
October,	<i>Onotchechtow-cepashim,</i>	Rutting-moon (of moose-deer).
November,	<i>Weetheckopeyoo-cepashim,</i>	Hoar-frost-moon.
December,	<i>Keesheh-pawattagganum,</i>	{ The great-dreaming moon, the moon in which the sun travels low.
January,	<i>Keesheh-pawattagganawasce,</i>	
February,		Lesser-dreaming-moon.

The February moon, including part of March, is sometimes termed *Keesheh 'peeshim*, or Great Moon. The names of the months are by no means fixed in the Indian languages, varying with the nature of the district the hunter resides in, and perhaps with the fancy of the individual who speaks.

*Remarks upon the Climate of Athabasca and Slave Lakes.*

Having discussed as many facts respecting the Cumberland House climate as we could collect, I shall, before proceeding to details regarding the climate of Fort Enterprise, notice some circumstances connected with two in-

intermediate spots, namely, Fort Chepewyan, on the Athabasca Lake, in lat.  $58^{\circ} 43' N.$ , and long.  $111^{\circ} 18' W.$ , and the Little Lake, near the *de-bouche* of Slave River into Slave Lake, in lat.  $61^{\circ} 12' N.$ , long.  $113^{\circ} 12' W.$ , because, at the former, barley, and I believe wheat, are advantageously cultivated, and the latter is the most northerly fur-post, at which, as far as my information goes, barley has been

tried, and succeeded. We possess no observations of the temperatures of these districts for an entire year; but the summer temperatures of 1820 were obtained whilst we were travelling through them, and agree sufficiently near with the following interpolations; from which, however, the chilling effect of the icy covering of both lakes, in spring, is excluded.

TABLE VIII. *Interpolated from TABLE II.*

SEASONS.	Athabasca, Lat. $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} N.$ Long. $111\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} W.$	Slave Lake, Lat. $61\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} N.$ Long. $113\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} W.$
Six summer months. April—September, .....	+ $47^{\circ}.33$	+ $43^{\circ}.24$
Six winter months. October—March, .....	— $0.40$	— $4.14$
Spring. March, April, and May, .....	+ $20.61$	+ $15.52$
Summer. June, July, August, .....	+ $60.16$	+ $57.0$
Autumn. September, October, November, .....	+ $26.87$	+ $23.59$
Winter. December, January, February, .....	— $13.36$	— $18.00$
Mean annual temperature, .....	+ $23^{\circ}.56$	+ $19^{\circ}.53$

TABLE IX. *Interpolated from TABLE I.*

SITUATION.	MEAN TEMPERATURES.			
	May.	June.	July.	Aug.
Athabasca, Lat. $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} N.$ .....	$41^{\circ}.0$	$53^{\circ}.6$	$62^{\circ}.0$	$64^{\circ}.5$
Slave Lake, $61\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} N.$ .....	$37.2$	$50.6$	$60.5$	$60.4$

These Tables show, that, at Athabasca, there are three months which reach  $51^{\circ}.8$ , and that their united mean temperatures amount to  $180^{\circ}$ . At Slave Lake, there are only two months that attain that height; and the sum of their mean temperatures is  $120^{\circ}$ . At Slave Lake, in the year 1822, it was nearly the end of May before the mean temperature of any considerable number of days reached the vernal temperature of  $42^{\circ}.8$ . On the 25th of that month, Slave River broke up, the passage of the lake over the ice being at that time

considered unsafe. From the 25th of May to the 2d of June, we observed, on the voyage to Fort Chepewyan, willows, gooseberries, the *Anemone Nuttalliana* (D.C.), *Aronia ovalis*, *Prunus Virginiana*, and *Hippophae Canadensis*, flowering nearly in the order in which they are here mentioned. The leaves were also rapidly evolving at this period, in perfect accordance with Humboldt's observations as to the temperature required.

The *Prunus Virginiana* was not observed to the north of Slave Lake;

and the *Pinus balsamea* also terminates there; although, farther to the westward, on Mackenzie's River, it is said to attain a higher latitude. The *Populus balsamifera* sends straggling trees as far north as lat. 63°; and the *Populus tremula* grew in pretty large clumps half a degree farther north, beyond which, however, it was not seen. The *Populus balsamifera* forms a large proportion of the drift-timber observed on the shores of that part of the Arctic Sea which we visited, and is supposed to come principally from the south branch of Mackenzie's River, named also *Rivière aux Liards*.

*Remarks upon the Climate of Fort Enterprise.*

Fort Enterprise (now dismantled) stood in a district of primitive rocks, about 21° north of Slave Lake, and 31° south of the Arctic Sea, above which it was supposed to be elevated about 800 feet. The banks of Winter River, upon which it was built, are ornamented with groves of the *white spruce-tree*, (*Pinus alba*), and flanked on each side by an irregular marshy plain, varying in breadth from one to three or four miles, somewhat broken by abrupt elevations of coarse gravel, and bounded by an amphitheatre of disconnected hills. The summits of these hills generally consist of naked, smooth, rounded masses of *gneiss*: their sides are very thinly covered with a loose gravelly soil, and frequently exhibit accumulations of large cubical fragments of *gneiss*, which are the debris of mural precipices of various heights. In the upper parts of the inclined valleys, at the bases of the hills, there is commonly a thin stratum of mountain peat, but the bottom of almost every valley is occupied by a lake. Many of these lakes are of a consider-

able depth, but a large proportion of them are entirely land-locked, communicating with each other only when flooded by the melted snow. Winter River is merely a succession of small rapids, connecting lakes of various magnitude with each other. This is the case with all the rivers that traverse the *barren grounds*; and the features of the description here given are characteristic of the whole district. The sides of the hills, and all the dryer spots of the valleys, are clothed with a beautiful carpet of the lichens, which form the favourite food of the rein-deer, amongst which the *Cenomyce rangiferina*, *Cetraria nivalis* and *cucullata*, and *Cornicularia ochroleuca*, are predominant. The principal shrubs are the *Vaccinium uliginosum*, *Empetrum nigrum*, *Ledum palustre*, *Betula glandulosa*, and several *Salices*. The *Vaccinium vitis Idæa*, *Arbutus Uva Ursi* and *alpina*, are very common, and the *Andromeda polifolia*, and *Kalmia glauca*, occur in almost every peaty spot. In sheltered situations, where the peat is deeper than usual, there are frequently a few starved *larches* and *black spruces* scattered. There are also some thin clumps of the *Betula papyracea*, upon the borders of the rapids. The *white spruce* itself, which thrives better here than any other tree, is found only in sandy spots by the side of the river, or in valleys upon the borders of the lakes. Farther to the eastward, and more within the *barren grounds*, the trees disappear altogether; but a little to the westward, upon the secondary and transition strata of the Coppermine River, the *white spruce*, in scattered clumps, attains the lat. of 67° 34' N., within 13 miles of the Arctic Sea. Amongst the *spruces* cut down at Fort Enterprise, one of

16 inches in circumference, had 45 annual rings,

18	ditto,	90	ditto,
21	ditto,	90	ditto,
36	ditto,	130	ditto;

the ~~greatest~~ increase being an inch of circumference in three years, and the least an inch in five years. The average is four rings or years, to an increase of 1 inch in circumference, or about 1 inch of diameter in twelve years; the tree above mentioned, which measured 36 inches, was one of the best grown that was observed; but some, with short crooked trunks, measured more. Our house was 24 feet wide; and considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining half a dozen trans-

verse beams long enough to support the roof, most of the trees tapering too much. The spruces seen near the mouth of the Coppermine, were about one-third of the size of those which grew at Fort Enterprise. In a few sheltered alluvial spots on the barren grounds, the *Betula glandulosa* was about 4 feet high, and in a warm crevice at the mouth of Hood's River, lat. 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ °, the *Alnus glutinosa* was found growing to the height of 5 or 6 feet.

*Names of the Months in the Copper Indian Language, adapted to the meridian of Fort Enterprise.*

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. { March,     | } <i>Det-ance-charah.</i> Eagle-moon.   |
| { April,        |   |
| 2. { April,     | <i>Bennee-thleeng-thillah.</i> Dog-rump Moon. The month in which deer are run down with a dog, owing to a crust having formed upon the ice, sufficiently strong to bear a dog, but through which the deer break, and are impeded. Termed also Crust-moon. |
| { April,        |   |
| { May,          | } <i>Khtunsee-ham-ang-naw)-a-zellah.</i> The month in which the icicles with crooked tips hang from the rocks.  |
| { May,          |   |
| 3. { May,       | } <i>Bennee-ahkaurza.</i> Egg-moon. Laying-moon.  |
| { June,         |   |
| 4. July,        | <i>Bennee-atichthah.</i> Moulting-moon.   |
| 5. August,      | <i>Bennee-awitillah.</i> The month in which the female reindeer pass during the dewy nights with their young from the coast.  |
| 6. September,   | <i>Bennee-arasseetchah.</i> The moon in which the large or male reindeer arrive from the coast.   |
| 7. October,     | <i>Bennee-awrhawntch.</i> Rutting-moon.   |
| 8. November,    | <i>Bennee-tsee-ch' ellyee.</i> The moon in which the fetus floats.  |
| 9. { November,  | } <i>Nea-ts-tsillah.</i> Hoar-frost-moon. Trees covered with festoons of snow.  |
| { December,     |   |
| 10. January,    | <i>Nee-tsa-tchah.</i> The big moon of the earth. The long moon. Half the winter.  |
| 11. { January,  | } <i>Nintsee-za-tsillah.</i> The moon of light winds.   |
| { February,     |   |
| 12. { February, | } <i>Nintee-a-tchah.</i> Big windy moon.  |
| { March,        |   |

TABLE. X. *Tabular View of the Progress of Spring in the year 1821 at Fort Enterprise, Lat. 61° 28' N., Long. 116° 6' W.*

Date.	Mean Temperatures.				Highest temperature within 10 Days.	PHENOMENA.
	Of preceding Month.	Of 10 preceding Days.	Of maximum for 10 Days.	Of minimum for 10 Days.		
1821.						
March 7.		—8.10	+2.10	—18.30	5	Coloured spirit thermometer in the sun + 39°. In the shade + 6°
10.		—23.55	—13.80	—33.30	—1	+ 2 — 2
20.						+ 16 + 5
26						+ 32 + 21
31.	—11.73	—3.54	+8.73	—15.82	+ 24	+ 63 + 40
April 1.	...	...	...	...	...	
						Smart thaw all day. The snow at this time was nearly 3 feet deep on the lakes, and the ravines were nearly filled.
10.	...	+8.20	+18.70	—2.30	+ 14	Eagles seen. Rein-deer making a northerly movement. The fineness of the weather at this time induced the Indians to think that the spring and consequent migration of the deer towards the coast had commenced; but their hopes were deterred by the subsequent cold weather.
20	...	—7.90	+3.20	—19.00	+ 21	Arctic hares copulating, and beginning to change their fur.
30.	+1.70	+13.80	+27.20	—0.10	+ 4	Temperature in the shade + 42.
May 3.	...	...	...	...	...	Hawks first seen. Young in the nest of the cinereous crow ( <i>Corvus C. n. densus</i> ). Down of the American hare becoming grey. Trees thawed. Sap beginning to flow.
5	...	...	...	...	...	Twilight all night. Snow melted from the summits of the hills. Ptarmigan pairing. Temperature in the shade + 46.
7.	...	...	...	...	...	Large patches of ground on the sides of the hills visible, 7 weeks later than the same occurrence at Cumberland House, 10½ degrees more to the southward. Snow everywhere moist. Temperature in the shade + 41°.
8.	...	...	...	...	...	A house-fly seen.
9.	...	...	...	...	...	A merganser seen. Rein-deer migrating northwards, exactly a month later than the Indians had predicted, from the fine weather in April.



TABLE X.—Continued.

Date.	Mean Temperatures.				Highest temperature within 10 days.	PHENOMENA.
	Of preceding Month.	Of 10 preceding Days.	Of maximum for 10 Days.	Of minimum for 10 Days.		
1821. May 10.	...	+ 31.75	+ 42.90	+ 20.40	+ 52°	Two gulls seen. Berries of the <i>Vaccinium Vitis Idææ</i> , <i>Empetrum nigrum</i> , and <i>Arbutus alpina</i> , may now be gathered abundantly, having withstood the winter. The berries of the <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i> are also very fine in flavour at present, but so ripe and tender, that they can scarcely be plucked without crushing beneath the finger. The ground is still frozen, but the snow thaws rapidly in the sunshine. Many of the <i>Musci</i> are beginning to sprout, and the <i>calyptra</i> of some <i>Jungermannia</i> are already visible.
11.	...	...	...	...	...	Loons ( <i>Colymbus glacialis</i> ) arrived.
17.	...	...	...	...	...	Teals ( <i>Anas crecca</i> ) killed. Their crops were filled with insects which now swarm in the small rivers.
20.	...	+ 26.55	+ 37.20	+ 15.90	+ 52°	The weather for ten days past has been disagreeably cold and blowing, but the arrival of the summer birds shows, that the fine weather has set in to the southward; and we were informed by the natives, that, on the northern shores of Great Slave Lake, only 23° to the southward, the snow was quite gone before the 10th of the month. A difference of nearly 10 days in the progress of spring was noticed in the following month, on advancing only 30 miles to the northward. The cold weather experienced at this period at Fort Enterprise, arose from northerly winds, caused, I suppose, by the heating of the earth, and consequently of the atmosphere to the southward. This cause of northerly winds terminated this year about the 20th of June, by the ground to the northward being cleared of snow, and getting rapidly heated. Up to this date, there was no external appearance of vegetation amongst the phenogamous plants except the gradual evolution of the willow catkins.

TABLE X.—*Continued.*

Date.	Mean Temperatures.				Highest temperature within 10 Days.	PHENOMENA.
	Of preceding Month.	Of 10 preceding Days.	Of maximum for 10 Days.	Of minimum for 10 Days.		
1821.						
May 21.	...	...	...	...	...	Geese arrived ( <i>Anas Canadensis</i> , and <i>hypleborea</i> .) Tem. + 39°.
28.	...	...	...	...	...	Temp. in shade + 68°. Plovers seen ( <i>Charadrius plumbealis</i> .) <i>Eriophorum</i> flowering.
31.	+ 31.60	+ 36.50	+ 48.27	+ 24.73	+ 68	Snow nearly gone at Fort Enterprise, but on Point Lake half a degree farther north, and at the same elevation above the sea, scarcely begun to melt.
June 7.	...	...	...	...	...	On the 7th, in lat. 55°, about 32 miles directly north from Fort Enterprise, and about 150 feet of greater elevation, the snow had scarcely diminished, except on the sides and summits of the hills, which are all of small elevation. The first, or female band of reindeer passed lat. 65° at this time, their progress over the barren grounds being regulated by the uncovering of the lichens. When the thaw is further advanced, the lichens become too tender and pulpy, and the deer resort to the swamps to feed upon the hay or grass, which, frozen up in the end of Autumn, retains its sap and nutritive qualities, on the snow first melting from around it in the spring. In a few days, however, the culms become dry, and the seeds are shed, the deer by that time having reached the sea-coast, where the sprouting carices form their food, but are not so fattening as the lichens.
8.	...	...	...	...	...	Sudden thaw at Point Lake, lat. 65° 10'. <i>Eriophorum</i> just bursting forth there. It flowered ten days earlier at Fort Enterprise.
10.	...	+ 41.55	+ 52.80	+ 30.30	+ 73	<i>Note.</i> The temperatures up to the 10th, are from the register kept at Fort Enterprise; the following observations were made on Point Lake, lat. 65-66°, N. long. 113-114° W.

TABLE X.—Continued.

Date.	Mean Temperature.				Highest temperature within 10 Days.	PHENOMENA.
	Of preceding Month.	Of 10 preceding Days.	Of maximum for 10 Days.	Of minimum for 10 days.		
1821. June 12	...	.	...	...	..	Thermometer at Point Lake rose to 76 in the shade. Hard rain. Small lakes broken up. Point Lake still covered with ice five feet thick. Robins, ( <i>Turdus migratorius</i> ), Godwits, ( <i>Limosa fido</i> ), and ducks hatching. A species of marten arrived. It builds a nest on the rocky precipices of the barren grounds, similar to the nests of the house-marten in England.
14.	...	..	.	.	.	Temperature + 56°. Calm and fine weather. Snow melting fast. It lies at present only under the steep cliffs. The radiation of heat from the rocks that bound Point Lake is such, that the ice is perforated by large holes under every precipice. By these holes the water from the melted snow runs off. The diminution of ice on the lakes proceeds most rapidly on its under surface, from the contact of the warmer water. The <i>Salix drevetorum</i> burst its catkins to-day.
15.	...	.	..	.	..	Temperature 60°. The streams that issue from the melting snow under the precipices and sides of the hills, are now pretty large, some of them scarcely fordable; and all the valleys are flooded. The <i>Arbutus alpina</i> began to flower to-day. All the small birds are hatching.
17.	...	...	...	...	...	Snow and sleet. Temperature 31 to 35°.
19.	...	..	...	..	...	Temperature 54°. Ice on the lake honey-combed from the action of the sun. <i>Anemone cuneifolia</i> in flower.
20.	...	+ 43.35	+ 52.10	+ 34.60	+ 78	
21.	...	...	..	...	...	Midsummer-day. Dwarf-birch ( <i>Betula glandulosa</i> ) opened its buds to-day. The last or male bands of deer have passed to the north, a few stragglers only remaining. The ice on Point Lake much decayed and honey-combed.
30.	+ 42.05	+ 47.10	35.10	+ 11.2	+ 66	

TABLE X.—Continued.

Date.	Mean Temperatures.					Highest temperature within 10 Days.	PHENOMENA.
	Of preceding Month.	Of 10 preceding Days.	Of maximum for 10 Days.	Of minimum for 10 Days.			
1821. July 4.	...	...	...	...	...	...	The ice on the larger lakes in lat. 66°, long. 114°, completely broken up. About the 18th or 19th of this month, the sea-ice at the mouth of the Coppermine River, in lat. 67° 45', is supposed to have broken up. The <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> , <i>Stellaria Edwardsii</i> , and <i>Equisetum arvense</i> , flowered today. <i>Epilobium spicatum</i> sending up young shoots.
6.	...	...	...	...	...	...	In lat. 66° 30' N. <i>Salix reticulata</i> , <i>Alnus glutinosa</i> , <i>Hippophae Canadensis</i> , <i>Andromeda tetragona</i> , <i>Draba</i> —, <i>Draba aizoides</i> and <i>alpina</i> , <i>Pyrola rotundifolia</i> , <i>Saxifraga cernua</i> , <i>nivalis</i> , <i>hirculus</i> , and <i>oppositifolia</i> , <i>Tufoidea palustris</i> , <i>Phaca astragalina</i> , <i>Pedicularis Nelsonii</i> , <i>hirsuta</i> , and <i>Lapponica</i> , <i>Silene acaulis</i> , and various Willows and Carices were observed in flower today. The <i>Juniperus communis</i> grows in the hills here, but was not seen in flower.
Aug. 17.	...	...	...	...	...	...	In lat. 68° on the coast, we had a severe storm this day, which, with frosty weather and snow, continued for several days. The snow that fell at this time disappeared again, but on the 5th of September a storm set in, which clothed all the barren grounds from lat. 65° to 68° with snow for the winter.
Sept. 5.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Oct. 9.	...	...	...	...	...	...	On the 9th of October, the party walked over the small lakes between Point Lake and Fort Enterprise, which they had crossed on the ice in the middle of the preceding June, being an interval of 116 days. The ground was this year covered with snow a month before the lakes froze over, so that the snow lay for nine months, and there were occasional snow-showers in the three summer months.

By examination of Table III. we perceive that the summer temperature of Fort Enterprise is found at Churchill, in latitude  $59^{\circ}$ ; the neighbourhood of the ice which floats in Hudson's Bay until August, compensating, in this case, for a difference of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude. The *isothermal line*, carried across to the Old Continent, passes near to Enontekies.

In no part of the barren grounds did we discover the ground to be perpetually frozen. The subsoil, however, at York-Factory is always frozen, a circumstance which is also to be attributed to the constant presence of ice in the Bay during the summer. The thaw at York, (latitude  $57^{\circ}$ ) in September, was observed to penetrate three feet.

In latitude  $65^{\circ}$  the sap of the spruce-tree freezes early in October, and in a short time the wood becomes as hard as a stone, the chips produced by a highly tempered hatchet being similar to saw-dust. The hatchets are speedily broken in this employment, which renders the Indians anxious to find dead and dry trees for winter use; and to procure a constant supply of this kind of fuel, they occasionally set fire to a clump of trees, expecting to find their trunks fit for use in two or three years.

At Slave Lake, where our attention was directed to this subject, the sap of all the other trees, and of the juniper-bush and other shrubs, was observed to freeze equally with that of the white spruce. The power of the direct rays of the sun upon the trees, causes them to show signs of returning life before the earth acquires any warmth, and the ground about the roots of the larger trees is first cleared of snow, and thawed.

Having, in the preceding details of climate, mentioned the circumstances most likely to influence the distribution and growth of vegetables in the

districts travelled through, I may remark, that the agency of man, so powerful in modifying the appearance of the vegetable kingdom in other quarters of the globe, is scarcely to be detected in these remote lands. Cultivation of the ground is entirely confined to a few small gardens at the fur-posts, and the utmost effect that can be ascribed to it, is the introduction of a few herbs from Canada and Europe, along with the *Cereals* and culinary vegetables. The majority of the introduced plants is perhaps comprised in the following brief list of the species, which were found only in the direct trading route; but several, even of these, may nevertheless be indigenous:—*Blitum capitatum*, *Veronica peregrina*, *Lycopus Virginicus*, *Hordeum jubatum*, *Myosotis lappula*, *Rumex acutus*, *Cerastium viscosum*, *Spergula nodosa*, *Euphrasia officinalis*, *Lepidium ruderae*, *Atriplex*, *Urtica gracilis*.

The only mode in which the arts and customs of the natives affect the vegetable kingdom, is by their setting fire, either accidentally or intentionally, to the forests. These fires, when they occur during summer in the woody district, spread rapidly through the dry moss, consuming the soil down to the rocks, and are only extinguished by heavy showers of rain. Several years elapse before anything grows in the district thus laid waste. The blackened and branchless trunks of the trees are in a season or two stripped of their bark, and bleached, if not sooner thrown down by the wind. The surface of the ground next acquires a little verdure from the *Funaria hygrometrica*, *Bryum pyriforme*, *Didymodon purpureum*, *Marchantia polymorpha* and *conica*, and some other *Musci* and *Hepaticæ*. By and by other vegetables take root, and in process of time the site of a pine-forest is occupied by dense thickets of slender as-

\*pens (*Populus tremula*). The growth of this tree, instead of a renewal of the pine-forest, may be attributed either to a change in the nature of the soil, perhaps by the introduction of a greater quantity of alkaline matter,—to its winged seeds favouring its dispersion,—or to both causes conjoined. The ashes of the poplar yield much more alkali than those of any of the pines do.

Fires frequently spread amongst the

dry grass in the plains of Carlton House; but their principal effect there seems to be the production of finer pasture in the following season. They do not seem in general severe enough to destroy the roots of the grass, or to burn the soil. The migrations of the herds of the bison or buffalo, are much influenced by the extent and direction of these fires.

TABLE XI.—*Arrangement of Plants growing in the Hudson's Bay countries, and adjoining Lands, from Lat. 53° N., and to the eastward of Long. 116° W.*

CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of Species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.	CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of Species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.
CL. I. ACOTYLEDONES, -	302	96	138	68	LICHENES.				
ORD. I. FUNGI.					Alectoria,	1			1
Sphaeria, -	2	2			Ramalina,	2			2
Hysterium, -	1	1			Cornicularia,	6		6	
Agaricus, -	3		3		Uasca, -	3	1	1	1
Cantharellus,	1		1		Collema, -	2		2	
Lycoperdon,	2	1		1		130	31	61	38
Schizophyllum,	1	1			III. ALGÆ.				
Dædalia, -	1	1			Oscillatoria,	1			1
Polyporus, -	5	5			Conferva,	2	1	1	
Hydnum, -	1	1			Ulva,	2		2	
Thelephora,	2	2			Fucus,	7	1	6	
Tremella,	2		1	1		12	2	9	1
Peziza, -	2	2			IV. CHARACEÆ.				
Erineum, -	1	1			Chara, -	1	1		
	24	17	5	2	V. HEPATICÆ.				
II. LICHENES.					Riccia, -	1	1		
Lepraria, -	2		1	1	Jungermannia,	13	3	10	
Arthonia, -	1	1			Marchantia,	2	1		1
Spiloma, -	1	1				16	5	10	1
Solorina, -	1		1		VI. MUSCI.				
Gyalacta, -	1		1		Voitia, -	1		1	
Lecidea, -	24	10	12	2	Andræa, -	1		1	
Calicium, -	4	2		2	Sphagnum,	2			2
Gyrophora, -	7		4	3	Gymnostomum,	1		1	
Opegrapha, -	2	2			Anictangium,	1			1
Verrucaria, -	2	2			Tetraphis,	1	1		
Endocarpon,	2		2		Sphlachnum,	10	1	9	
Thelotrema,	1			1	Asplodon,	1		1	
Variolaria,	1		1		Encalypta,	2			2
Urceolaria,	1		1		Weissia, -	1	1		
Lecanora, -	22	3	14	5	Grimmia,	3		2	1
Parmelia, -	14	5	4	5	Synurichia,				
Borrera, -	3	1	1	1	Barbula, }	4	1	2	1
Cetraria, -	7		4	3	Tortula, }				
Peltidea, -	2	1		1	Trichostomum,	1			1
Nephroma, -	2	1		1	Dicranum,	12	2	9	1
Evernia, -	1	1			Fissidens, -	1			1
Dufourea, -	2		2		Didymodon,	1		1	
Cenomyce, -	10		2	8	Orthotrichum,	7	2	2	8
Cerania, -	1		1						
Stereocaulon,	1			1					
Sphaerophoron,	1		1						





CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total Species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.	CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total Species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.
<b>X. AROIDEÆ.</b> Calla, . . Lemna, . . Typha, . .	1 2 1	1 2 1			<b>VIII. CHENOPODEÆ.</b> Blitum, . . . Atriplex, . . .	1 1	1 1		
	4	4				2	2		
<b>XI. JUNCAGINÆÆ.</b> Triglochin, . .	2			2	<b>IX. PLANTAGINÆÆ.</b> Plantago, . .	3	2	1	
<b>XII. FLAVILES.</b> Potamogeton, . .	1	1		2	<b>X. PLUMBAGINÆÆ.</b> Statice, . . .	1			1
<b>CL. III. DICOTYLEDONES.</b>	425	278	85	62	<b>XI. PRIMULACEÆ.</b> Lysimachia, . . Primula, . . Androsace, . . Dodecatheon, . . Trientalis, . . Glaux, . . .	1 4 2 1 1 1	1 3 1 1 1	1 1 1	1
<b>ORD. I. CONIFERÆ.</b> Pinus, . . Juniperus, . . Thuya, . .	5 2 1	4 1 1		1 1		10	6	2	2
	8	6		2	<b>XII. LENTIBULARIÆ.</b> Utricularia, . . Pinguicula, . .	1 2	1 1		1
<b>II. CORYALACEÆ.</b> Corylus, . .	1		1			3	2		1
<b>III. SALICINÆ.</b> Salix, . . Populus, . . Alnus, . . Betula, . . Myrica, . .	30 2 1 3 1	20 2 1 2 1	8 1 1	2	<b>XIII. LABIATÆ.</b> Lycopus, . . Mentha, . . Stachys, . . Dracocephalum, Scutellaria, . .	3 1 1 1 1	3 1 1 1 1		
	37	25	8	4		7	7		
<b>IV. URTICÆÆ.</b> Urtica, . .	1	1			<b>XIV. SCROPHULARI- NÆ.</b> Euphrasia, . . Bartsia, . . Rhinanthus, . . Pedicularis, . . Veronica, . .	2 3 1 10 1	2 3 1 3 1	6	1
<b>V. ELEAGNI.</b> Eleagnus, Hippophaë,	1 1	1		1		17	10	6	1
	2	1		1	<b>XV. BORAGINÆÆ.</b> Myosotis, . . Lithospermum,	1 4	1 3		1
<b>VI. SANTALÆÆ.</b> Comandra, . .	2	2				5	4		1
<b>VII. POLYGONÆÆ.</b> Polygonum, . . Rumex, . . Oxalis, . .	2 3 1	1 2		1 1		6	3	1	2

CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.	CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of Species.	Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.
<b>XVI. HYDROPHYLLEÆ.</b>					<b>COMPOSITÆ.</b>				
Eutoca, . . . . .	1	1			Antennaria, . . . . .	3	2	1	
<b>XVII. POLEMONIACEÆ.</b>					Erigeron, . . . . .	4	5	1	
Phlox, . . . . .	1	1			Tussilago, . . . . .	4	2	1	1
<b>XVIII. GENTIANÆÆ.</b>					Senecio, . . . . .	6	5	1	
Swertia, . . . . .	1	1			Cineraria, . . . . .	6	2	3	1
Gentiana, . . . . .	4	4			Aster, . . . . .	9	8	1	
Menyanthes, . . . . .	1	1			Solidago, . . . . .	9	9		
	6	6			Arnica, . . . . .	2	1		1
					Grindelia, . . . . .	1	1		
<b>XIX. APOCYNÆÆ.</b>					Chrysanthemum, . . . . .	2		2	
Apocynum, . . . . .	1	1			Achillea, . . . . .	2			2
<b>XX. ERICINÆÆ.</b>						67	45	15	7
Kalmia, . . . . .	1			1	<b>XXV. VALERIANÆÆ.</b>				
Rhododendron, . . . . .	1		1		Valeriana, . . . . .	2	2		
Menziesia, . . . . .	1	1			<b>XXVI. RUBIACEÆ.</b>				
Azalea, . . . . .	1			1	Galium, . . . . .	2	2		
Andromeda, . . . . .	4	1		3	<b>XXVII. CAPRIFOLIACEÆ.</b>				
Arbutus, . . . . .	2			2	Lianca, . . . . .	1	1		
Ledum, . . . . .	2	1		1	Caprifolium, . . . . .	1	1		
Empetrum, . . . . .	1			1	Xylosteum, . . . . .	3	3		
	13	3	1	9	Symphoricarpon, . . . . .	1	1		
<b>XXI. VACCINÆÆ.</b>					Viburnum, . . . . .	2	2		
Vaccinium, . . . . .	5	3		2	Cornus, . . . . .	2	2		
Oxycoccus, . . . . .	1			1		10	10		
	6	3		3	<b>XXVIII. ARALIÆÆ.</b>				
<b>XXII. MONOTROPEÆÆ.</b>					Aralia, . . . . .	1	1		
Pyrola, . . . . .	5	3		2	<b>XXIX. UMBELLIFERÆÆ.</b>				
<b>XXIII. CAMPANULACEÆÆ.</b>					Cicuta, . . . . .	2	2		
Campanula, . . . . .	3	2	1		Smyrniolium, . . . . .	1	1		
<b>XXIV. COMPOSITÆÆ.</b>					Hieracium, . . . . .	1	1		
1. Cichoraceæ.						4	4		
Sonchus, . . . . .	1	1			<b>XXX. HALORAGÆÆ.</b>				
Leontodon, . . . . .	1			1	Hippuris, . . . . .	2	2		
Troximon, . . . . .	1	1			Myriophyllum, . . . . .	1	1		
Hieracium, . . . . .	3	2	1			3	3		
Crepis, . . . . .	1		1		<b>XXXI. ONAGRARIÆÆ.</b>				
2. Cnagorophala.					Oenothera, . . . . .	1	1		
Saussuria, . . . . .	1		1		Epilopium, . . . . .	4	2	1	1
3. Corymbifera.						5	3	1	1
Tanacetum, . . . . .	1	1							
Artemisia, . . . . .	8	5	2	1					

CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of Species.	Woody Regions.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.	CLASSES AND FAMILIES.	Total of Species.	Woody Regions.	Barren Grounds.	Common to both districts.
<b>XXXII. PAPILIONAC.</b>					<b>CARYOPHYLLÆ.</b>				
Thermopsis, . . .	1	1			Spergula, . . .	1	1		
Lupinus, . . .	1			1	Cerastium, . . .	4	2	1	1
Lathyrus, . . .	1	1			Arenaria, . . .	8	3	5	
Pisum, . . .	1			1	Stellaria, . . .	7	4	2	1
Vicia, . . .	1	1				24	11	11	2
Hedysarum, . . .	3	2		1	<b>XLI. CISTEÆ.</b>				
Phaca, . . .	2	1		1	Hudsonia, . . .	1	1		
Oxytropus, . . .	6	3	3		<b>XLII. VIOLACÆ.</b>				
Astragalus, . . .	6	5	1		Viola, . . .	7	7		
	22	14	4	4	<b>XLIII. POLYGALÆ.</b>				
<b>XXXIII. ROSACÆ.</b>					Polygala, . . .	2	1		1
Sorbus, . . .	1	1			<b>XLIV. CRUCIFERÆ.</b>				
Aronia, . . .	1	1			Nasturtium, . . .	1	1		
Rosa, . . .	1	1			Barbarea, . . .	1	1		
Rubus, . . .	5	4			Braya, . . .	1		1	
Geum, . . .	1	1		1	Platypetalum, . . .	2		2	
Sieversia, . . .	3	2	1		Eutrema, . . .	1		1	
Potentilla, . . .	13	9	3	1	Turritis, . . .	1	1		
Sibbaldia, . . .	1	1			Arabis, . . .	5	4	1	
Comarum, . . .	1	1		1	Parrya, . . .	1		1	
Dryas, . . .	2	1			Cardamine, . . .	4	1	2	1
Prunus, . . .	2	2			Vesicaria, . . .	2	1		
Spiræa, . . .	1	1			Draba, . . .	11	3	7	1
	32	25	4	3	Colinaria, . . .	1	1	1	
<b>XXXIV. GROSSULAR.</b>					Capsella, . . .	1			
Ribes, . . .	9	9			Sisymbrium, . . .	3	2		1
<b>XXXV. SAXIFRAGÆ.</b>					Erysimum, . . .	1	1		
Saxifraga, . . .	16	4	6	6	Lepidium, . . .	1	1		
Chrysosplenium, . . .	1			1		37	17	17	3
Parnassia, . . .	2		1	1	<b>XLV. FUMARIÆ.</b>				
Adoxa, . . .	1	1			Corydalis, . . .	2	2		
Mitella, . . .	1	1			<b>XLVI. PAPAVERACÆ.</b>				
Heuchera, . . .	1	1			Papaver, . . .	1		1	
	22	7	7	8	<b>XLVII. NYMPHÆAC.</b>				
<b>XXXVI. RHAMNÆ.</b>					Nuphar, . . .	1	1		
Rhamnus, . . .	1	1			Sarracenia, . . .	1	1		
<b>XXXVII. ACERACÆ.</b>						2	2		
Acer, . . .	1	1			<b>XLVIII. RANUNCUL.</b>				
<b>XXXVIII. GERANIAC.</b>					Thalictrum, . . .	1	1		
Geranium, . . .	1	1			Anemone, . . .	6	3	1	2
<b>XXXIX. LINÆ.</b>					Ranunculus, . . .	12	7	3	2
Linum, . . .	1	1			Caltha, . . .	3	2	1	
<b>XI. CARYOPHYLLÆ.</b>					Coptis, . . .	1	1		
Silene, . . .	1		1		Aquilegia, . . .	1	1		
Lychnis, . . .	3	1	2		Actæa, . . .	1	1		
						25	16	5	4

*Remarks upon Table XI.*

The materials of the preceding Table are principally derived from the *Botanical Appendix* to Captain Franklin's *Narrative*, which has furnished upwards of 700 of the species. To these, 65 phænogamous plants have been added from Pursh, that were collected at Hudson's Bay by Tilden and others, and are preserved in the Sheppardian and Banksian herbaria. The most northerly of Michaux's plants being collected to the southward of latitude 53°, do not enter into our list; and the plants collected by Nelson and Menzies on the North-west coast, being from countries to the westward of the Rocky Mountains, and for the most part too far to the south, are also excluded. Thirty-three species, however, of phænogamous plants, from Mr Brown's *Botanical Appendix* to Captain Parry's first voyage, have been added to the column headed "Barren Grounds," together with seven from the herbaria made in Captain Parry's second voyage, and a few from Mr Brown's *List of the Plants collect-*

ed by Captain Ross, making the entire list in the Table amount to 840 plants.

The collection of Captains Parry and Ross compensate for the loss of the summer collection of 1821, in Captain Franklin's journey.

The structure of the Table is too simple to require explanation. The Woody Districts extend from latitude 53½ or 54° to latitude 64° south, or nearly to Fort Enterprise. The Barren Grounds from latitude 64° to the most northerly parts visited, or to 74°. By adding the plants in the last column to those in either of the two preceding ones, the whole vegetation of that district, as far as detected, is found.

The phænogamous plants in the preceding Table stand thus:

Woody Region.	Barren Grounds.	Total.
427	190	538

there being 79 species common to the two districts.

Names of Families arranged in the order of the Numbers of their Species which inhabit the Woody District.	Woody District, Lat. 56°—64°.		Barren Grounds, Lat. 64°—70°.		Lancaster Strath, about Lat. 74°.	
	No. of Species.	Prop. borne by a Family to all the Phanogamous Plants of the District.	No. of Species.	Prop. borne by a Family to all the Phanogamous Plants of the District.	No. of Species.	Prop. borne by a Family to all the Phanogamous Plants of the District.
PHANEROGAMÆ.	427		190		70	
DICOTYLEDONES,	340	1 : 1.26	147	1 : 1.29	50	1 : 1.4
MONOCOTYLEDONES,	87	1 : 4.79	43	1 : 4.37	20	1 : 3.50
Compositæ,	52	1 : 8.21	22	1 : 8.64	5	1 : 14.00
Salicinæ,	29	1 : 14.72	12	1 : 15.83	1	1 : 70.00
Rosacæ,	28	1 : 15.26	7	1 : 27.14	4	1 : 17.50
Cyperacæ,	28	1 : 15.25	11	1 : 17.27	4	1 : 17.50
Gramineæ,	22	1 : 19.41	21	1 : 9.05	14	1 : 5.00
Cruciferae,	20	1 : 21.35	20	1 : 9.50	11	1 : 8.36
Ranunculacæ,	20	1 : 21.35	9	1 : 21.11	5	1 : 14.00
Papilionacæ,	18	1 : 23.72	8	1 : 28.75	2	1 : 35.00
Saxifragæ,	15	1 : 28.46	15	1 : 12.66	10	1 : 7.00
Caryophylleæ,	13	1 : 32.84	13	1 : 14.61	6	1 : 11.66
Ericinæ,	12	1 : 35.58	10	1 : 19.00	1	1 : 70.00
Scrophularinæ,	11	1 : 38.82	7	1 : 27.14	1	1 : 70.00
Orchidæ,	11	1 : 38.82	1	1 : 190.00	...	...
Caprifoliacæ,	10	1 : 42.70	...	...	...	...
Grossulariæ,	9	1 : 47.44	...	...	...	...
Junceæ,	8	1 : 53.38	6	1 : 31.66	2	1 : 35.00
Primulacæ,	8	1 : 53.38	4	1 : 47.50	...	...
Coniferæ,	8	1 : 53.38	2	1 : 95.00	...	...
Labiatæ,	7	1 : 61.00	...	...	...	...
Violacæ,	7	1 : 61.00	...	...	...	...
Vaccinæ,	6	1 : 71.16	3	1 : 63.33	...	...
Gentianæ,	6	1 : 71.36	...	...	...	...
Polygonæ,	5	1 : 85.40	3	1 : 63.33	2	1 : 35.00
Monotropæ,	5	1 : 185.40	2	1 : 95.00	...	...
Onagrarinæ,	4	1 : 106.75	2	1 : 95.00	...	...
Umbelliferæ,	4	1 : 106.75	...	...	...	...
Aroidæ,	4	1 : 106.75	...	...	...	...
Lentibulariæ,	3	1 : 143.33	1	1 : 190.00	...	...
Melanchthæ,	2	1 : 213.50	2	1 : 95.00	...	...
Juncaginæ,	2	1 : 213.50	2	2 : 95.00	...	...
Plantaginæ,	2	1 : 213.50	1	1 : 190.00	...	...
Campanulacæ,	2	1 : 213.50	1	1 : 190.00	1	1 : 70.00
Elaagni,	2	1 : 213.50	1	1 : 190.00	...	...
Polygalæ,	2	1 : 213.50	1	1 : 190.00	...	...
Plumbaginæ,	1	1 : 427.00	1	1 : 910.00	...	...
Papaveracæ,	—	—	1	1 : 190.00	1	1 : 70.00

The following families, as well as those distinguished in the preceding list by blank spaces, in the column headed "Barren Ground," were not observed to extend beyond the wooded district.

7 families of two species,

Asphodeleæ  
Valerianææ  
Nymphaeaceæ

Santalææ  
Rubiaceæ

Chenopodeæ  
Fumareæ

And 13 families of one species,

Iridææ  
Urticææ  
Apocineæ  
Aceraceæ  
Cisteæ

Fluviales  
Hydrophyllææ  
Araliææ  
Geraniaceæ

Corylaceæ  
Polemoniaceæ  
Rhamneæ  
Linææ

Table XII. is compiled from Table XI. The column headed "Lancaster Straits" is from *Mr Brown's Botanical Appendix to Captain Parry's First Voyage*, with the addition of two *Cruciferae* and one of the *Caryophylleæ* from his *List of Captain Ross's Plants*.

TABLE XIII.—*Principal Families of Plants in the Three Districts, arranged in the order of the Number of their Species.*

Woody District.	Barren Grounds.	Lancaster Straits.
Compositæ	Compositæ	Gramineæ
Salicinæ	Gramineæ	Cruciferae
Rosaceæ	Cruciferae	Saxifragæ
Cyperaceæ	Saxifragæ	Caryophylleæ
Gramineæ	Caryophylleæ	Compositæ
Cruciferae	Salicinæ	Cyperaceæ
Ranunculaceæ	Cyperaceæ	Ranunculaceæ
Papilionaceæ	Ericinæ	Rosaceæ
Saxifragæ	Ranunculaceæ	Papilionaceæ
Caryophylleæ	Papilionaceæ	Juncææ
Ericinæ	Rosaceæ	Polygoneæ
Scrophularinæ	Scrophularinæ	Salicinæ
Juncææ	Juncææ	Scrophularinæ
Polygoneæ	Polygoneæ	Ericinæ

CHATHAM,  
January 1, 1825.

## CHAPTER II.

## ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SALMON, AND ON THE SALMON-FISHERIES,

AS STATED IN THE "REPORT FROM THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE SALMON-FISHERIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO BE PRINTED, 17TH JUNE 1824;"—WITH REMARKS.

THE attention of the country has long been directed to the Salmon-fisheries, in consequence of the numerous discussions which have taken place in our courts of law, respecting the rights of different proprietors, and the legality of certain engines or modes of fishing. In the river Tay, and its estuary, litigations on this subject were, at one period, carried to a very great extent; and the heritors having fishings in the river, succeeded in establishing the coble-net as the only legal engine of fishing in the estuary, and suppressing all fixed apparatus, such as stake-nets. Two years ago, these victorious upper heritors brought in a bill to the House of Commons, for the ostensible purpose of promoting the interest of the fisheries in the river; but the under heritors succeeded in convincing the House, that the end could not be gained by a change of a *few days* in close time, nor by the police regulations proposed; and the bill was thrown out. Last year, the attempt renewed, to introduce a similar bill, and with no better success. The heritors, however, having the subject thus pressed upon their notice, and aware of its national importance, resolved to examine it in all its relations. A Committee was accordingly appointed,

and the evidence taken constitutes the Report to which we now propose to direct the attention of our readers. With the exception of one witness, "Henry Home Drummond, Esq. a Member," all those examined are individuals actually engaged as salmon-fishers, and practically acquainted with the subject. Among these, some seem acquainted only with coble-net fishing; others appear equally well skilled in stake-net as in coble-net. There is a paper added to the Report, which was delivered in to the Committee by Sir Humphry Davy, on the Salmon-Fisheries, in which the principal statements are at variance with the testimony of those witnesses who are the most extensive salmon-fishers in the United Kingdom.

In order to enable our readers to perceive the evils which exist in our salmon-fishing practices, and the principles by which the Legislature should be guided in framing new regulations to remove them, we shall consider the facts brought to light, or established in this Report, relating to the habits of the fish; then inquire into the nature of the alleged grievances by which the fisheries are injured, and proceed to the consideration of the remedies proposed. Without quoting in every

Instance the words of the witnesses, we shall refer to the number of the page of the Report. It would have been more convenient had the questions, with the answers, been numbered, as the references could have been made with greater distinctness.

#### HABITS OF THE FISH.

In the course of the examinations which are here recorded, the Committee seem to have been anxious to determine the different *species* of fish usually found in the salmon rivers, or captured in the nets. This is an object of considerable importance, with the view of regulating the size of the meshes of the nets.

I. SALMON.—All the witnesses are of the same opinion with regard to this species; but they differ greatly as to this question, "Whether the salmon of one river can be distinguished from those of another by any definite characters." Mr Halliday has "compared them in Ireland, England, and Scotland, many times," and says, "I cannot make out the distinction of one river's fish from that of another;" p. 87. Mr James Bell states, "I have a little guess; not altogether;" p. 22. J. Proudfoot considers the Tweed fish as smaller than those of the Tay, and those of the River Isla as smaller than those of the River Tay; but, when asked if upon meeting with an Isla fish and a Tay fish in the frith, he would know the one from the other, he replies, "No; I would not;" p. 25. On the other side of the question, Mr James Wilson, in reference to the North and South Ecks at Montrose, declares that "the species of salmon is quite different in these two rivers;" and adds, "One is a large coarse scaly fish, and the other is a smaller and a finer fish;" p. 14. Mr James Bell states, that the "Aberdeen fish is quite different from the Tay, different in the scale;" p. 28. Geo. Little, Esq. states, that the sal-

mon in the Shannon "grow to a large size," and adds, "We have three fishings that fall all into one bay in Ireland, the Bush, the Bann, and the Foyle, and we can easily distinguish the fish of all the different rivers when we take them. The salmon in the Bush is a long-bodied round salmon, nearly as thick at the head as he is at the middle: The salmon that we kill at the Bann, is what I call a very neat-made fish, very broad at the shoulders, and the back fin tapering away towards the tail, and quite a different shaped fish from the Bush fish. The Foyle is a river that we seldom get any large salmon in;" p. 112.

A considerable degree of importance seems to be attached to this branch of the inquiry, with the view of determining the question, Whether the fish bred in a particular river always return to their birth-place, and to no other river. Sir Humphry Davy assumes that "salmon, and salmon-trout, belong, in fact, to the river in which they were spawned," and that "each variety of salmon or salmon-trout affects a particular river, and always returns to it;" p. 145. The other witnesses seem generally to entertain the same opinion. Mr Little has been told of evidence on this subject, p. 112; but no facts are communicated. Indeed, Mr Halliday asserts, that "they do not all come to the same river in which they were bred;" and as a proof of this, he states, "I found the different rivers vary from one year to another; but when one is protected and another unprotected, the unprotected river keeps up its quantity as well as the protected one;" p. 87. Judging from analogy, we should consider it probable that, in the absence of deranging circumstances, the fish bred in a river would generally return to it; but not a few, under the influence of those feelings on which depend the peopling of the globe, would wander into other ri-



vers. And when we consider the *persecutions* from seals, grampuses, and sharks, to which salmon are exposed in the sea, in connexion with their social or *gregarious disposition*, it is impossible to avoid drawing the inference, that the *tribes* belonging to different rivers must be frequently *dispersed* and *mixed*, and have their future movements controlled by other circumstances than the localities of their birth. In point of fact, salmon, so far from belonging to the *rivers* in which they were *bred*, belong to the *sea*, the place of their *ordinary residence*, where they *grow* and *feed*. The ordinary laws of citizenship, therefore, are not applicable to salmon.

II. GRILSE.—Sir H. Davy and Mr John Wilson consider this fish as a young salmon; other witnesses, as Messrs Little, Johnstone, and Halliday, entertain a different opinion, viewing it as a *distinct species*. They found this opinion of its claim to rank as a species, on the circumstances of its being found full of milt or of roe, and of its spawning and return to the sea as a *kelt* or spawned fish. But fish spawn long before they attain maturity; consequently, this test is of little value. But other proofs are offered. Mr Johnstone says, "The grilse is a much less fish in general: it is much smaller at the tail in proportion, and it has a much more swallow tail, much more forked: it is smaller at the head, sharper at the point of the nose, and generally the grilse is more bright in the scales than the salmon;" p. 38. Mr Halliday states, that "a grilse's tail is very much forked, like that of a swallow; a salmon's tail is not forked like that of a grilse, and the dorsal fins (pectorals) of a grilse are much more blue in their colour than a salmon's; a grilse is much smaller at the head and immediately above the tail than a salmon is; it seems to be a different fish in shape every way; besides, it

goes up full of spawn in the end of the year, and does not come down till the spring, when it is a kelt grilse, while the young salmon are coming up the rivers in numbers of at least fifty young salmon for every kelt grilse that returns to the sea;" p. 63. Mr Little, who entertains a similar opinion to the two preceding witnesses, states, that grilse enter rivers in June, seldom in May, p. 112, (confirmed by Mr Halliday, p. 59,) and adds, "We do not find in some rivers the same proportion of grilse as salmon as we do in others; for instance, at our fishing at the Foyle, it consists almost entirely of grilse;" p. 110. When they first appear in the rivers, they are from 1½ to 3 lb. in weight, "and they increase gradually every week during the time we kill them." At the end of the season, they weigh "8, 9, or 10 lb." He likewise states, "Our water keepers tell me that they very seldom see a *salmon* and *grilse* breeding together, but they have seen it occasionally, but not generally—very seldom;" p. 113. There can be little doubt, that the term *Grilse* is used in general to denote a young salmon, though the same epithet is probably bestowed upon a distinct species of the genus *Salmo*, with which it seems to be confounded.

III. TROUT.—Sir H. Davy considers Salmon-peal, Sewen, and Bull-trout, as constituting one species, the *Salmo Eriox* of Linneus, the most correct appellation of which is *Sea-trout*. The *Salmo Trutta* of Linneus, however, has been *universally* regarded by British systematical writers as the common *Sea-trout*; and the *Salmo Eriox* is a very different species. The term *Eriox*, as first employed by Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth, and by Cuvier in the fifteenth century, was considered by Artedi as referring to the common salmon! Linneus afterwards employed the term as a trivial name to the "*S. maculis cinereis, cauda ex-*

tremo æquali" of Artedi, and the *Gray* of Willoughby and Ray. De Lasepele continues the term in its Linnæan sense; and, we may add, for the information of the learned chemist, that *S. Trutta* and *S. Eriox* are both well characterised species and natives of Great Britain. Let him count the rays of the gill-flap if he doubts. Mr Johnston says, "Although in some friths and rivers, where there are a great many salmon, there are also great numbers of trout; yet in others, where there are a great many salmon, there are very few trout;" p. 38. Mr Halliday states, "In the Annan I have known us get more sea-trouts in one day, than we shall get in the Tay in a whole year;" p. 64. Mr Little declares, "that the sea-trout are not found in all salmon rivers. We do not see anything like the Spey-trout, or like the trout that is caught in the Solway Frith, or like the trout that is caught in the Tweed, in any of our fishings in Ireland. They do not breed, nor are they to be seen there;" p. 111. Sir H. Davy states, that "the different habits of the salmon and sea-trout are well demonstrated in the Moy, near Ballena in Ireland," on which there is a large pile near the town, and which, below the fall, is joined by a considerable stream. "The salmon leap this fall; the sea-trout almost all spawn in the smaller streams, a few miles from the sea;" p. 144. There is some strange blunder here. Mr Little, the tenant of the fishings on the Moy, says, there are trout, "but not the trout called the Sea-trout;" and with regard to the *pills* or *fall* which obstructs the progress of the trout, and over which the salmon leap, he adds, "They can go over it at tide-time, without leaping: after the tide rises, they can go over it;" p. 134. He likewise observes, "A trout goes very far up the river to spawn." "The smaller the fish is, they go the higher

up into the little streams to deposit the spawn; but the trout in the Moy are quite a different kind of trout from what we call in Scotland the salmon or sea-trout;" p. 134.

IV. WHITLING.—Sir H. Davy considers this fish as a young salmon, and states, that they are "without *visible ova* or *spermatic secretion*"; are found in salmon rivers, a mile or two from the sea, and which return to the sea, without attempting a farther migration;" p. 145. Mr Little, who knows this fish by different names in different rivers, as hirlings, whiteings, or finnock, declares, "We never see such a fish in Ireland, in the rivers we are concerned with. In the rivers that run into the Solway Frith and in the Tweed, and in some other rivers, they are found; but in a great number of rivers they are not. They are only found in those rivers where they breed. There are a few in the river Tay, shaped, and headed, and tailed like a salmon. They are from 12 to 15 inches in length. Some of them will cut up red, but they are mostly white. We frequently do not find them in rivers where salmon are; there are many rivers where there are salmon, where no such fish are known; we see them going down *hell* in the same way as we see a large salmon going down after spawning;" p. 110. Mr Halliday states, "that in Carlisle they call them whittings; in Annan hirlings; and in the north finnock. I never saw any in the Tay; but I have taken 100 dozen in the Annan at one draught. It is about 12 inches long. The tail of the hirling is straighter than that of the salmon or grilse, and it is quite a short-headed fish; neither does the head of the hirling shoot like that of the salmon when he is going to spawn. The largest I ever saw was about five of a pound. My reasons for believing that they are not the young salmon, are, that when they go up the ri-

vers, they are as full of spawn for their size as the salmon is ; and when they come down in the spring of the year kelts, we are getting the young salmon ;" p. 63. Mr Johnstone agrees with the preceding witnesses, in asserting the ordinary presence of ova and spermatie secretion, and in considering this fish as a distinct species. "They are called hirlings on the Scotch side of the Solway ; whittings on the English side ; hirlings, whittings, or whittings, at Berwick ; white-lings in the Tay ; and finnock in the north of Scotland ;" p. 37.

V. PAR.—Mr Little is the only witness who is questioned in reference to this fish. "I have seen them ; but I consider them merely a fresh-water fish, or a species of fish by themselves, unconnected with our salmon-fisheries altogether ;" p. 113.

It is probable, that some species of migratory trouts have not been noticed at all. The river fishers are better acquainted with the trouts than the frith fishers. But we return to the HABITS OF THE SALMON, as furnishing materials for regulating the legislative enactments of this kingdom.

Before entering upon this branch of the subject, it may be proper to state, that the present legal time for beginning the salmon-fishing varies in different rivers, from the 10th December (in the Tay) to the 12th March (in the Solway ; ) and that the fishing-season legally ends, according to the rivers, from the 12th August (Ireland generally) to the 4th December (in the Teign.) How far these terms are suitable or improper, will presently appear.

In the more important actions of the salmon, viz. migration and spawning, there is a season during which these are executed by the greatest number of individuals, occupying, however, a range of some months. But there are individuals, executing these operations

irregularly, at other periods. Mr Little says, "There are some rivers in which you will get some good salmon all the year round ;" p. 114. In the *spring months*, few fish enter rivers ; they rapidly increase in numbers as the summer advances ; and in autumn, again, they begin to decrease, leaving the winter months, as to the ascending migration, to constitute a dead season.

The condition of rivers in the spring influences the movements of the salmon. J. Proudfoot states, that, "in the spring of the year, the fish always occupy the north side of the Tay (i. e. the sunny side of the river.) The north side fishing kills far more fish than the south side ;" p. 28. Mr Little states, that, in "the river Shannon, the salmon fishery is nearly over by the middle of May," p. 114 ; and that he does "not get many fish in the Foyle of any kind till the end of May ;" p. 112. When the great differences existing between different rivers, in the quantity, temperature, and contents of their waters, are duly considered, we need not wonder at the influence these circumstances may exert on the motions of salmon ; but if we make a difference in the *close season* between *one river and another*, we must, with equal propriety, establish a similar distinction between the *south side and the north side of every river*.

In rivers, during the early spring months, the fisheries are seldom productive : even Lord Gray's fishings on the sunny side of the Tay, according to J. Gillies, "taking the average from the 10th December till the end of January, will not, one season with another, pay the expenses, or little more. There are some very good fishings in the month of February ; perhaps in the month of February there will be ten days of those fishings, and scarcely take one fish." The same witness adds, in reference to the kind of fish taken

at those periods in the Tay: "You will get *ten foul fish till the middle of February for one clean one*;" p. 139. As the season advances, the salmon appear in the shores, in the estuaries, and enter rivers in greater numbers. The stake-nets, in such places, according to Mr Halliday, "are seldom productive but in May, June, and July;" p. 68. "The fishings fall materially off about the middle of August, and to the end of it;" p. 69 and 84. "In September they catch almost nothing;" p. 84. These conditions vary much with the season. The salmon are most abundant in dry seasons on the shore, and in estuaries. In rivers, they abound most in wet seasons. Mr Halliday, on this subject, offers some very pertinent remarks: "Because the stake-nets take the salmon at that season of the year when they would not go into the rivers; the rivers are not in a state to receive them, they become so heated: the rivers likewise become so very small, and the water gets so hot at that season of the year, when salmon is most plentiful on the coasts of Scotland, that they will not enter the rivers, the rivers being then not in a fit state to receive them; it is by the stake-nets that the fish at that season of the year can be taken in the greatest quantity; it is at that time, too, that they are in the greatest perfection; very few would be taken except by the stake-nets; and if they were not so taken, they would generally be lost altogether; a great part of these fish that the stake-nets do take, are taken going out to sea; even in the friths and estuaries, the fish do not go far up in the warm months. In the course of my practice in the Tay, I have carefully observed the upper stake-nets in comparison with the lower: when the seasons were dry, the upper stake-nets took very few fish in comparison at a particular time of the year: in one season, when the season

was very dry and warm, the fish in the neap-tides did not even approach the highest stake-net, namely, Seaside and Birkhill; when the spring-tides became high, the fish came up to these nets, and were taken; but when the tide fell off again, the nets on the lower parts of the frith, on Mr Dalgleish and Mr Maule's properties, caught a great deal more fish at that particular time of the tide, when the fish did not float up so high as the upper stake-nets;" p. 72. In conformity with this statement, J. Proudfoot declares, that, "in rainy seasons, in heavyscats, the upper fisheries (in the river) give more fish in proportion when the river is high than when it is little;" p. 26.

The fish which enter rivers in the spring and summer months, have roe, but in May, for example, it is very small. As the season advances, the roe and melt are found in a riper state, until the time of spawning; but in these respects there are individual differences. Now, since salmon enter rivers months before they be ready for spawning, Do they remain in the river until that period, or do they occasionally return to the sea? On this subject the Committee seem to have bestowed considerable attention. The opinions of the witnesses, however, are at variance. In reference to the fish on the shore and in estuaries, Mr Wilson declares, "I believe they all go up those rivers; they are upon the shore, and get up the river if they can;" p. 14. Several of the other witnesses give it as their opinion, that salmon, before the spawning season, enter the rivers, and return again to the sea, influenced by very different instincts from those of spawning. The following proofs are offered:

1. It is asserted that salmon remaining a short time in fresh-water, become weak, and return to the sea to be recruited. It is stated by some of

the witnesses, that salmon are fattest at a particular season. Mr Little says, "In the month of May, I consider they are as good and as perfect as at any season of the year. From the month of May, they are gradually growing worse till they begin to deposit their spawn in the month of November;" p. 114. Mr Wilson reckons "salmon is at its best at midsummer, and falls greatly off after about the middle of July;" p. 12. Mr Johnstone considers "May and June as the period of their greatest perfection;" but he adds, "there may be equal to three months' difference between the quality of fish;" p. 36. Mr Bell, on the other hand, declares, "that the fish is full as good on the 10th December in the Tay, as at any other time of the year;" and "the Tweed fish is good in August, that is their best season;" p. 21. Mr P. J. Proudfoot says, in reference to the Tay, "there is a great deal of good fish killed by the time we commence the season;" (on the 10th December,) p. 27. These opinions are of less value than those now to be stated respecting the relative qualities of sea and river fish. Mr Wilson decidedly declares, that there is no difference in the quality of salmon taken at different parts of the same river, or in the sea adjoining, during the proper season; p. 13. On the other hand, Mr Johnstone says, "the salmon caught in the sea, and nearest to the sea, are generally the richest." When they have been some days in the water, "they lose their bright colour,—their firm state; the fish gets longer in proportion to its thickness, and loses its weight." "If he is not many days in the water, if he is caught immediately out of the sea, I do not see he can be any worse;" p. 60. "A few weeks would make him a great deal worse;" p. 28. Mr Halliday states, that those that have long been in fresh water "are so much exhausted, quite

changed in the colour, as if they had hung in a smoky chimney for some time; others were very red in the skin, by having been in the fresh water for some time." "When they are in the fresh waters, they turn as slippery as an eel;" p. 61. "The salmon becomes unsound after it has been detained in fresh water at any season;" p. 79. Mr Little not only states, "if he remains any length of time in a fresh river, he becomes worse," but even limits the period to a week or ten days; p. 126. This supposed deterioration in fresh water, we consider to be *visionary*, and for this reason, if it took place, how could the fish suffer under its influence for months, while exerting themselves in ascending to the spawning-ground, while in the protracted act of spawning, during their residence in the neighbourhood after parturition, and in their subsequent descent to the sea?

2. *Salmon remaining in fresh water have their gills covered and eaten by worms, which fall off upon their return to the sea.* Mr Johnstone declares, "They get infested with worms or maggots in the gills if they remain long in the fresh water, which I think would kill them in the end, if they did not go back to the sea to get clear of these worms or maggots;" p. 35. Mr Halliday says, of fish in a bad condition, "Some of those we took had their gills almost eaten through with maggot worms, by being so long up the river;" p. 61. Mr Little declares, "I have seen their gills entirely eaten off them by the worms in fresh water; at least the thin and red parts entirely cut away," (i. e. all their organs of respiration!) "I do not believe they are ever found in that state except in fresh water, and it is necessary for them to leave the fresh water to get clear of the vermin which fasten upon them while there;" p. 206. The worm referred to, is the *Lernæ salmonæ* of Linnæus, the *Elomoda salmonæ* of Latr.

marc. We still ask the question, If the fresh water be so very exhausting, and the attacks of the maggot so very troublesome and destructive, how can the spawning fish survive during their residence for months in a river? It is to be regretted that the season of the year, and the condition of the fish as to spawning, had not been determined, as, trusting to the declarations of experienced river fishers, we consider that those worms only appear on the *kelt* fish, or such as have spawned, and which are consequently on their return to the sea.

3. *Salmon are caught in the rivers and estuaries on their way out to sea.* In proof of this, Mr Halliday states, "I fished the Annan for many years; and there is one pool in particular, namely, the Sand Pool; although we had fished this pool quite clean of fish before the rain came, yet, whenever the rain did come on, we then continued fishing constantly, until the water rose so high that we could not manage it, and we got the salmon and grilse coming down the river all the time into the pool. Some of those we took coming down the water of Annan were what we call *Moffatmen*, a term used for exhausted fish which had been at the head of the water;" p. 61. But the fish may have come up the water to this pool; or, if they came down with the flood, they may have been kelt; their gills were infested with maggots. This is the only proof in the Report, of the descent of salmon in rivers before spawning; and it refers to a length of course from the sea not exceeding a salmon day's journey. The point in question can only be determined as salmon *kelts*. Do fish ever regress these before they have become kelt? The proof in the estuary and sea is still more defective. Mr Johnston declares, "The fish seldom go against the tide;" p. 44. "They run backwards and forwards with the tide

in all directions;" p. 45. Mr Halliday admits that it is common "for salmon to ebb and flow with the reflux of the tide;" p. 91. With these admissions, the two last witnesses consider the salmon taken in stake-nets, with an ebb court for taking fish with the ebb tide, were such as had been in the river or estuary, and were leaving it for the sea. But if the salmon were *inactive*, the motions of the ebb-tide would carry them into the nets, in the same manner as the flood-tide carried them past. The fish do not enter rivers until the water is in a state to receive them, and they are in a condition to enter. Hence, on the shore and in estuaries, when not inclined to migrate, the motions of the tide will control them, and the ebb-nets will, from their very nature, be most likely to secure them. Even in the driest seasons, when the fish were not entering the river, Mr Halliday states that the ebb-nets were most successful; p. 72. Could they be other fish than such as passed by with the flood?

If fresh waters be so exhausting to salmon, and promote the growth of parasitical maggots so rapidly, how comes it to pass that they ever leave the sea, unless for the necessary purposes of spawning? The three witnesses, who consider that salmon run out of rivers to get rid of the worms which infest their gills, have a similar hypothesis for explaining their leaving the sea. Mr Johnston says, in reference to their visits to rivers, "One evident object is to get clear of the vermin termed the sea-loach, which infests them sometimes when in the sea, and which leaves them when they get into fresh water;" and he admits that when the salmon are subject to this insect in the sea, they are in the highest condition; p. 35. In reference to the length of time the sea-loach remains upon fish after leaving the sea, he observes, "I do not think

it remains many days, for when they are in the fresh water we soon observe them to go off; they do not go off all at once, they go off by degrees;" p. 35. Mr Halliday says, "They visit rivers to clean themselves of the sea-louse, an insect that fastens to them in the sea, and with which they are infested when they come out of the ocean, but which dies in fresh water;" p. 61. Mr Little says, "It is instinct which induces them to return to the rivers, and, as I consider, for the purpose of getting rid of a vermin which gets upon them, called sea-lice;" p. 108. The animal here referred to, is the *Monoculus piscinus* of Linnæus, and the *Caligus curtus* (mixed probably with *C. productus*) of Müller, but usually confounded with the *Lerneæ salmonæ* of Linnæus, by a blunder of Mr Pennant. This animal is common to the salmon, whiting, cod, and flounder. The three last do not enter rivers to escape from its attacks. The salmon, when most infested by it, is in the *fullest and healthiest condition*; but still, in order to have it removed, this fish, in the opinion of these witnesses, enters rivers, where it is certain of being exhausted in a week or ten days, and where it is in danger of having its organs of respiration entirely devoured by the entomoda or maggot. Another reason, assigned by the same witnesses, for salmon entering rivers, is, *searching for food*. Of this, however, no proof is offered. But, in reference to eelwounds, Mr Halliday has taken a great many salmon, "with worms passing through them; such worms were to be seen on the banks;" p. 67. "I have had thousands of them dissected, when I have seen small eels in their stomachs;" p. 90.

*At what season do salmon enter rivers for the purpose of spawning?*—We have already seen, that the milt and roe make their appearance in a

very obvious manner so early as the month of May; p. 35. Mr Johnstone states, "that some are getting full of spawn in July;" p. 56. In August, "the great proportion of them are getting full of roe and milt; they always get full as they get near spawning;" p. 40. Mr Wilson states, that "in August they get considerably advanced with spawn; and in the end of August and beginning of September they get very full of spawn;" p. 12. William Bell, in reference to the Tay, states, that eight or ten days before the fishing-season closes, they are "very full of roe;" p. 32. J. Proudfoot says, "I have seen the fish, particularly the female, beginning to get very large by the 25th August;" p. 27. In September and October they are so full of roe and milt as to be unmarketable. Mr Halliday says, "Last year, some of the fish sent from Montrose before the 10th October were seeded, and condemned in the London market as being unfit for use; and I have seen them frequently take them by the 1st October that I considered were very unwholesome and improper fish to be taken;" p. 83. Even in February and March last year (1824), in the North Esk, "I caught them upon the spawning-beds in the night-time;" p. 84. Mr Little declares, in August, September, and October, in general, they get large in the belly, and full of roe and milt; and he adds, that for the purpose of spawning, "they begin to ascend in the months of August and September, and continue to the end of the year;" p. 107. In January, February, and even March, some of the fish are unspawned. Mr Little states, that "last season my tenant commenced fishing at my fishery in the Nith on the 11th March. He then killed, as I am informed, upwards of 200 salmon, some of them positively not spawned;" p. 116.

Fish ready to spawn seem to enter the rivers directly, and in the friths to keep the depth of the stream; hence, neither shore stake-nets, nor estuary stake-nets, are successful in capturing *red fish*. Even Mr Bell, a witness obviously hostile to stake-nets, declares, in reference to the capture of red fish in the estuary, that "none" are caught; and qualifies his assertion by saying, "there may be one accidentally in a year or two;" p. 23. In ascending the river, Mr Halliday declares, "the fish run most in the morning and evening;" p. 86. The *general time* of spawning, according to all the witnesses, is during the months of November, December, and January, pp. 61–108; though stragglers may be found in March.

The *interruptions* which salmon at present experience in ascending rivers for the purpose of spawning, chiefly arise from *mill-dams*. The walls of these, in many cases, are built in so close a manner, that for months there will not be enough of water to permit any fish to ascend. It is only in very great floods that they can successfully overcome the barrier. *Noxious matter*, from tan-pits, the steeping of flax, and gas-washings, expel salmon from a river;—pp. 133–67. In reference to noxious matter, however, Mr Drummond makes an exception in favour of peat-moss floated into the Forth from Blair-Drummond:—"I believe it to be troublesome to the nets in fishing; but certainly there is nothing noxious in the nature of moss to the fish;"—p. 141.

Fish ready to spawn are sought after by poachers for the sake of the roe. Mr Little says, "It is potted. The gentlemen going to fish in the lakes of Cumberland, buy it for the purpose of using it as *bait* in fishing upon those lakes;" p. 119.

With regard to the *manner of spawning*, it is gratifying to peruse the tes-

timony of *eye witnesses*.\* Mr Halliday, after having stated that "they generally spawn in the running water, at the foots of fords and the tops of fords, where the gravel is fine, and low down in the foot of pools, where the water begins to run, so as to assist the salmon in removing the gravel," (p. 60,) thus describes the process: "When they proceed to the shallow waters, which is generally in the morning, or at twilight in the evening, they play round the ground, two of them together. When they begin to make the furrow, they work up the gravel rather against the stream, as a salmon cannot work with his head down the stream, for the water going into his gills the wrong way drowns him; and when they have made a furrow, they go a little distance, the one to one side and the other to the other side of the furrow, and throw themselves on their sides when they come together, and, rubbing against each other, they shed their spawn both into the furrow at once."—"I have seen three pair upon a spawning-bed at a time in the Annap; I have stood and looked at them, both while making the furrow and laying the spawn."—"I have often taken a number of these kelts with the skin rubbed off below the jaws, just between the *chomk* fins, (pectorals,) almost the size of a half crown, with rubbing up the gravel, and making the holes for the spawn."—"A male fish's head is always larger in proportion to his size than a female's, and it begins to shoot smaller at the point;" p. 62. "The spawning-bed is easily known by the thrown-up gravel; when I took my foot off the hard gravel, and put it on the spawning-bed, it was quite soft;" p. 65. In reference to grilms, he adds, "They spawn the same as the salmon."—"I have frequently seen them spawning in the autumn;" p. 64. Mr Little speaks in an equally decided manner. "I have frequently



looked at the salmon spawning.—“When they begin their bed first, it is like one furrow; they make a furrow in the shallow part or current of the water, where they begin their spawn; and they continue working against the stream, until they have formed a bed of perhaps twelve feet by eight or ten,” “for one pair of salmon.—“In the instance I was alluding to, when I saw these salmon first, the bed was very little; but it increased every day. I observed the salmon go very leisurely down the side of the bed, and go just round where they have thrown up the gravel, and come back to the same point next the stream: as soon as they came up to this place, they threw themselves on their sides, and worked one against the other, at the same time rubbing their noses against the gravel, till they came to the other corner of the bed, and then they fell leisurely round until they came to the same place again, at the top of the bed next the stream, where they went through the same process. They continued in this way for many days, working; and if it so happened that they were frightened, they would run away, and in a little time return to it again.”—“It takes them some considerable time before they get all their spawn deposited—several days; and I have known them, when they have been frightened away, go and leave their spawning-beds, and begin at other places.”—“The bed is covered as they go along.”—“Both assist in it; and while in the act of depositing their spawn.” Headly, that “the male gets a very long hard bill on his upper jaw, which decreases as the spawning season passes;” p. 108. Sir H. Halliday asserts (but whether from having seen the operation, is not stated, that “the female fish, in spawning, deposits her eggs slowly on gravel; the male sheds a white seminal liquid upon them, and both fish cover the eggs

with gravel. The male is most active in this operation, which hardens the extremity of the mouth, and *bends it into the form of a hook*,” p. 145. The opinion here expressed, that the female first deposits her roe, and then the male sheds the milt upon them, stands contradicted by the preceding eye-witness; and, we may add, that it is not the extremity of the *mouth* or nose, but the extremity of the *lower jaw*, which is bent up; and were this bending produced by the resistance of the gravel in the act of covering up the spawn, then the lower jaw in males, before they had spawned, should be much longer than the upper, which the witness will find not to be the case; and the gravel, we should think, would be rather apt to enter the mouth. This bending is in a great measure characteristic of the male; but the peculiarities of its form and position demonstrate that it could not be produced by mechanical means.

The quantity of eggs deposited by a single female, has been variously stated by different authors. Mr Johnstone says, “I have counted them (eggs in the roe) repeatedly; they are from 18,000 to 20,000 on an average;” p. 36. Mr Halliday says, “They are not all exactly of the same number; I have found them of different numbers, from 17,000 to 20,000;” p. 62.

It may be proper here to inquire, whether, according to the present fishing season, the salmon are ever disturbed on their spawning beds? Alas! but too frequently. James Gillies declares, that, in reference to the year 1819 in the Tay, “we took eighteen at one haul, in the month of December, of fish spawning on the spawning-beds;” p. 138.

Leaving for a little the spawning-beds, let us attend to the character and motions of the spawned fish, or *hells*, as they are termed. In this state, says Mr Wilson, “when the spawn is

just leaving the fish, it is merely just two pieces of skin, just like a cow in calf;" p. 13. Mr Johnstone adds, "By a kelt is meant a fish which has recently spawned; it is very thin; it gets very much discoloured; it is very long in comparison with its thickness; the head is very large; the fish is quite out of season; the fish then cuts white in general;" p. 37. Mr Wilson declares, from six or eight years' experience in the North Esk, in Forfarshire, the Dee and the Don, in Aberdeenshire, the Beaully and Lochy, in Inverness-shire—"in fact, fishing those fisheries before the 1st of February, you would catch nothing but black fish (kelts)," p. 13. When the process of spawning is finished, according to Mr Halliday, "they go into a pool to recruit themselves (*recruiting* in fresh water, so *exhausting* to fish!) and, in about a fortnight or three weeks thereafter, then the *male* fish begins to seek his way down the river. The female fish remains longer about the spawning ground; and I have very often found some of the mother fish going down a kelt as late as when the first of the fry began to come down the river."—"In the end of April and beginning of May, I have taken five at one haul in the river Annan;" p. 62. He says, in February and March, "*immense numbers* are caught;" and "in the upper parts of the Tay, there must be thousands taken annually," p. 83. James Gillies has formerly stated the number of foul fish (kelts) in February. He adds, "You could not commence before the month of March, without taking the foul fish, because the most part of the *she* fish come down in the month of March from the high lands. You will see them go down in shoals. The *he* fish always seeks his way down immediately after he spawns; but you will scarcely get a *she* kelt early in the season. You will get the *she* fish coming down in the months of

March and April, *great numbers* of them; and you will scarcely get one *he* fish so late as that month; all the *he's* are coming down chiefly in the month of February;" p. 139. Mr Johnstone declares, that the kelts "are found during the months of January, February, March, and April; and, I believe, some are found in May, but they get very scarce then," p. 36. Mr Little says, that, after spawning, "they remain a little time near the place, and then return again to the sea." With regard to the time they remain, he says, "that depends a good deal upon the season, whether it is a dry or a wet season: if it is dry weather, they remain longer; but if it is wet weather, they soon go down to the sea," p. 108.

In the course of their descent to the sea, they experience *interruptions* from cruives and dam-dikes; but, when arrived at the place where the tide meets the river, they seem to pursue the deepest part of the channel or stream, and escape all the coble-nets and stake-nets of the *estuaries* and *sea-shore*. In reference to the stake-nets capturing kelts, Mr Bell declares they do not, p. 29. Mr Johnstone says of the stake-nets, "very few were ever caught in them;" and gives as the reason, "the kelts in the river are in a much narrower compass, and so are more subject to capture: they are seeking their way down to the sea, and generally prefer deep water; the water on the banks on which the stake-nets stood was very shallow; and generally by the time the fish came down so far from the river, the banks were getting dry by the tide leaving them. When the fish meet the flowing tide, they generally stop, the current being strong; the surf or agitation of the water, in the shallow waters on the banks of the friths, must also keep a weak, unhealthy fish like a kelt, from venturing on the banks when it has not strength like a sound

fish, the deep water is more suitable. I have often found them driven on shore dead, when they ventured on the banks; they were thus very seldom caught in the stake-nets, because they were seldom within reach; whereas in the river they had no means of escape;"

p. 43. Mr Halliday, in reference to the stake-nets of the Tay, declares, "I have fished some seasons, and have not seen above two kelts the whole season in the stake-nets."—"I have not seen a single kelt in them all some seasons."—"Kelts do not generally resort to that particular part of the shore;" p. 69. Mr Shepherd declares, that, during his survey of the river fishing in 1809, during the stake-net process in the Tay, he has seen foul fish taken in April, in the river fishings, but in the stake-nets "never but one;" p. 102.

The station in the sea to which the kelts resort, yet remains to be discovered. Sir H. Davy says, "Salmon do not go far out to sea;" p. 145. How he has gained this information does not appear. Not surely from the proprietors of stake-nets on the sea-shore, for salmon seldom enter there, but from May to September;—not surely from cod and haddock fishers, for the bait which allures these fish tempts not the salmon. William Bell thinks that the fish that enter rivers from the sea "come from the north," (p. 33.); the very place, we may add, whence the older naturalists brought the herrings.

To return to the *spawning-bed*, we are compelled to record the injuries which it must sustain by the present practice of fishing. Mr. Halliday, in reference to the coble-net (for the spawning-beds are remote from the stake-net grounds) as used in the winter and spring, says, "We have very strong ropes made of old nets, and with round circles of heavy rope lashed to the ground-rope of the net to keep it down; sometimes we tie stones to it to keep it to the bottom, and sometimes

we put two cast-metal sinkers. It is generally in the spring that we require the heaviest weights at the bottom of the coble-nets, on account of the river being heavier or more full of water at that season. If thousands of fish should breed in the river, it would be impossible for spawn to come to perfection, where we are constantly fishing over them all the twenty-four hours with coble-nets."—"They usually fish the whole fords in the river from top to bottom at pleasure, with ground-ropes trailed along them;" p. 65. He has seen this process performed on the very places where "they use winches and capstans in the Tay; by which means they can add more weight to the bottom if they like." Though he never examined the river to determine whether the eggs were actually removed, yet he declares, "I have seen the under rope of the net level down the spawning-bed;" and he adds, with force, "You might just as soon have a bed of onions to come to perfection (as a spawning-bed,) if a coble-net and rope was dragged over it, tearing up the mould twenty times a-day; I would take my chance of the one as soon as the other;" p. 56.

The *period* when the spawn evolves the fry, is stated by Mr Little to be when the natural warmth comes into the water in the month of March; "and they continue going down from that time until the first of May: sometimes I have observed them going down till the month of June; I have seen some of them in the month of June, but they principally are out of the river early in May. The spawn does not come into life, I consider, till March;" p. 115. Even with regard to the time of the fish rising from the gravel, he says, "I have observed, when we have early warm weather, the fry come early; and when we have a late spring, it is later before the fry rise from the gravel; of course a great deal depends upon the season;

but generally they begin to rise about the beginning of March, and they end about the middle of April in rising from the bed;" p. 109. Mr Halliday says, "I think they generally come into life the end of March, or from about the middle of March to the end of it; but I do not think they come all into life exactly at one time, but nearly so. Some of the fry appear to be much larger than others, and I do not see the young fish so plentiful at the sides of the water at the first as after some time;" p. 52. Sir H. Davy says, "It is stated that the eggs produce young ones in about six weeks," p. 135;—an opinion rendered nugatory by viewing in connexion the general period of the spawning and the general period of the appearance of the fry.

There is very little satisfactory information respecting the appearance of the fry at the time of their evolution. Mr Little says, "I never saw them in that state, but I have often conversed with other water-keepers on the subject, who are placed upon the upper branch of the rivers, and they describe them very much in the same way that Mr Scott did when he was examined in the Tay case, that they rise from these gravel-beds like a crop of oats or thick braird of grain, rising up all round the stones in very great numbers. The tail comes up first, and they will come from these beds with a part of the pea about their heads;" p. 109. At such a period, the destruction occasioned by the heavy ground-rope of the coble-nets must be truly great.

The progress of the fry from their birth-place to the sea, is given in detail by several witnesses, all of whom agree in the particulars. The fry, freed from the spawn, and now termed *smouts* or *smolts*, betake themselves to pools, and afterwards proceed, according to circumstances, in myriads along the easy water at the margin of the river, with their heads against the stream, until

they reach the frith where the tide ebbs and flows, where, like the kelts, which frequently go down at the same time, they retire to the deepest part of the channel, and disappear in the sea. These facts were established upon oath by two competent witnesses in the Tay case, and their evidence is recorded in the Report, p. 92. The flooded state of the river is most favourable for their descent, by supplying depths of water on the shallows or fords. Mr Little says, "The Coleraine or Bann is a late fishery: and, in the year 1820, in the spring of that year, I considered we lost nearly all the fry; the dry spring did not allow them to come down the small rivers; they were collected into little pools, and the people in the country destroyed them; and in the end of that season of 1820, the fishing fell off to 42 tons;" p. 127.

The smouts descend during the months of March, April, May, and June. Mr Halliday states, "From the first time that I have observed them, about the end of March or beginning of April, they come down until the 10th or 12th of May. I have seen them in the middle of May, and as late as June, in a particularly dry season, when the river had not been flooded;" p. 63. Mr Wilson says, "I think they commence going down about the end of April, and finish going down about May;" p. 10. James Sime, in his deposition in the Tay case, "believes that the fry goes down the river in the month of April;" p. 93. Mr Little declares, that "they are principally out of the river early in May;" p. 115. Mr Johnstone says, "They have generally reached the sea in the month of May. Some reach it in June—a few," p. 36. While the fry are in the act of descending to the sea, they are exposed to many enemies, of which the following are the most destructive.

**A. Coble-nets.**—As these engines, according to the present practice, are in active operation during the period of the descent of the fry to the sea, we may expect such statements as the following. Mr Johnstone says, that smouts cannot pass through the coble-net, "if there be much dirt in it; and sometimes, particularly when there is a number of them, they get *broadside on*; in particular, when there is salmon in the net, they prevent the fry from going through so easily; and the net is loose and not extended, more especially when near the edge of the water;" p. 40. Mr Halliday says, "I have dragged a number of them on shore with the coble-nets." "I have dragged them ashore at the Howe's Pool, on the River Annan; in the Bridge Pool, at the Bridge of Annan, when the boys used to gather them up; and at the Old Mill Pool I have hauled out a good many;" p. 66.

**B. Angling.**—At first sight, one might suppose that the angler was an enemy of but feeble destructive powers. But it appears to be otherwise in fact. Mr Wilson says, "I have seen from my own window, upwards of seventy or eighty people angling within the distance of half a mile on the Tweed;" p. 15. Mr Halliday declares, "I have killed above twenty dozen with the rod in one day;" p. 62. Mr Little says, "I have killed twenty or thirty dozen of fry, when coming from the school at Annan to Newby, in half an hour, with a rod, in an afternoon," p. 121; and he adds, "I have known even boys and children go and kill, in the course of an afternoon, twenty, thirty, or forty dozen;" p. 132.

**C. Mill-races.**—Mr Johnstone says, "I have seen hundreds of them lying dead at the bottom of a mill-race, killed by the wheel."—"I have seen them in thousands and tens of thousands, in the water in the mill-leads, seeking to go down, but prevented by

the dike across the river, which they could not get over;" p. 40-41. Mr Halliday states, "I have seen the miller taking out his creel in the morning at Newby mill, and taking baskets-full out of it; and I have seen great quantities lying dead in the dam behind the mill-wheel in the morning. I have also known the miller to put in a heck in the small side-sluce, by which means great quantities are destroyed in the night time, when they set the water off the wheel, through the side sluices. There have been so many taken on some of the mills on the Annan, that sometimes they have fed their pigs with them;" p. 67. The dam-dikes conduct the fry, when coming down the water, into the mill-dam; and when night comes on, they do not see, and they seek their way down the dam, and so they go into the miller's heck or basket, and are all taken;" p. 67. Mr Little adds, "They are very destructive to the fry when they come down the river; they take amazing quantities as the fry go down. In dry seasons, when the waters are little, there is no other way for the fry to get down the little rivers than by going down the mill-lead; in fact, they can take all the fry that there are in the river at those mills. I have seen the water black in these mill-leads with fry, seeking down to the sea." "I know they take the fry in Ireland, and cure them like herrings;" p. 118.

**D. Eel-weirs.**—Mr Little says, "In Ireland, the eel-fishery is very hurtful to the salmon-fisheries. The eels are caught by weirs, set in the river for taking the eels going down to the sea. The eel-weirs are made of stake and wicker work, drawn together towards the centre, and the net, which is like a bag, is hung at the centre. The proper season of the eel-fishery is in months of September, October, and November, when the eels are going,

down to the sea to spawn; but those who have eel-weirs place their nets in the river at the time the salmon-fry are going down: they do this under the pretence of catching eels, but really to catch the salmon-fry, which they catch and salt in some places in great quantities;" p. 118.

It has been alleged that stake-nets in estuaries and on the sea-shore are destructive to the salmon-fry, and various questions are proposed by the committee, with the view of eliciting the truth. The answers and documents produced, however, demonstrate that there is not even a vestige of foundation for the charge. The meshes of the stake-nets are too large to detain a smout, as, according to Mr Halliday, they are "about three inches from knot to knot, or twelve inches in the square;" p. 70. It has, however, been supposed, that the meshes may be so closed up by floating weeds, as to enable them to interrupt the fry. But Mr Halliday, and other witnesses, declare, "If the sea-weed were to close the net, it would be broken down. I have had the stakes broken, and the nets thrown down by the sea-weed, when the meshes were not near fully closed by it." "I have seen where there was sea-weed left upon the net, that the tide would have taken away the very clay from the foot of the stakes two or three feet deep, and the salmon have frequently gone through below the net, and been lost when this has happened." "But we cleaned them every tide, or otherwise the sea would break them down; but it was very seldom they were closed; it was only at the bottom of the net, and at certain seasons of the year, when the summer's growth comes up out of the sea, about the month of July (not a smout month,) for a short period;" p. 70. On the supposition that the fry did frequent the stations of the stake-nets, these explanations

would have been satisfactory. But the fry do not frequent the places where stake-nets can be erected. In reference to the Tay, Mr Johnstone declares, that he "never" saw a smout in a stake-net; p. 43. Of the presence of such in stake-nets, Mr Halliday also says, "never; and they could not be there without being seen by me; it was impossible;" p. 70. Mr Little declares, "A stake-net neither injures the breeding fish, nor does it destroy the spawn of the salmon or the fry: I speak from having attended those nets, and never having seen any salmon-fry in them;" p. 122. Mr Sime and Shepherd, who surveyed the stake-nets on purpose, during the "Tay case," never found in any of them any salmon-fry; p. 92, 93. They are not even taken by the spirillin-nets, which have a small mesh. In fact, not only are the stake-nets innocent of the charge of catching the fry, but even the coble-net in the estuary can do them no harm, as they are beyond its reach in the deep water. Hence Mr Sime and Mr Shepherd, though fishing with a small meshed net on purpose, both in the eddy water and in the stream, found none after the fry had reached the tide, *ib.*

The period of the return of the fry from the sea, seems not well determined; and on this interesting subject the evidence is very imperfect. Mr Wilson seems to think that, as grilse, "they return again at the end of June and the commencement of July."—"Perhaps from the end of June they will average three pounds, and at the end of July about four or five pounds;" p. 10. Mr Halliday says, "I think we do not see them again from the time they leave the river as fry, until the next year, early in the spring, when they begin to return to the rivers young salmon;" p. 87. Mr Little says, "I consider that what we call

the fry that go down in the early part of the season, if they are allowed to go down to the sea, they return the same year; and that we kill them from three to nine or ten pounds weight;" p. 111.

The witnesses seem generally to agree with the prevailing opinion, "*That the salmon fisheries in the kingdom are rapidly decreasing in value, owing to the increasing scarcity of fish.*" But the importance which should be attached to this evidence, will be estimated differently according to the judgment of the reader. Mr Wilson communicates a statement of the number of boxes of fish shipped from the Tweed, or rather for the first thirteen miles from its mouth, from the year 1796 to 1823. In this table we perceive the very great fluctuations of the fisheries, *depending on the seasons*; the years 1796 and 1815 were as 9.338 to 9.382 boxes; yet 1776 was to 1797 as 9.338 to 12.665 boxes; and 1815 was to 1816 as 9.382 to 11.471. The year 1803 is less than 1819, and 1809 than 1819 or 1821, and but little higher than 1822 or 1823. The box of salmon previous to 1816, contained  $6\frac{1}{2}$  stones of fish, since that period it contains 8 and 12 stones. In this table the consumpt of the neighbourhood, or what is sent to a distance by carriers and coaches, is not noticed. Hence the table is useless as an index of the actual productiveness of the Tweed, though it may serve to illustrate the character of the exports of Berwick. Mr Bell says, that in all parts of the Tay, the fisheries have decreased, but no statement is produced, p. 20. J. Proudfoot says, "In 1815, 1816, 1817, and 1818, it was a tolerable fishery, and the year 1819 was rather inferior with me; perhaps it might not be less with some; and since 1820, we have had regular bad years successively." But in reference to the influence of the seasons in producing these chan-

ges, he says, "For the last two years they have not been so good," p. 26. In reference to the fishery in 1824, of May, compared with the corresponding period in 1823, he says, "I believe that this season there is more fish caught in the Tay, as yet, than last season," p. 33. There is a statement given by Mr Little, of the relative produce of his Irish fisheries, from the year 1808 to 1823: we shall give a few examples of intervals of ten years. The produce in tons of fish was at the Bann in 1808 and 1818, as 76 to 70; in 1809 to 1819, as 80 to 82; in 1812 to 1822, as 65 to 31; in 1813 to 1823, as 47 to 52. In the Bush fishery, 1808 is to 1818, as 16 to 12; 1809 to 1819, as 9 to 12; in 1812 to 1822, as 8 to 8; and in 1813 to 1823, as 7 to 14: in the Foyle, 1808 is to 1818 as 37 to 44; 1809 to 1819 as 36 to 58; 1812 to 1822, as 48 to 57; 1813 to 1823, as 35 to 50.—*Evidence*, p. 106. The statements, then, which have been adduced, as exhibiting the increasing scarcity of salmon, may be regarded as entire failures, nor shall we find, that the *causes assigned* constitute any better proof. These may be reduced to the following.

1. *Poaching*.—The quantity of fish caught by poachers cannot be ascertained in a satisfactory manner; but the following facts throw considerable light on the subject. Mr Wilson declares, that "the number of fish taken in close-time, is immense."—"I suppose many thousands have been taken out of the Tweed this last winter."—"The last winter the bailiffs took upwards of eighty nets out of the river in close-time. It has increased very much within the last three years."—"The winters have been very mild, and they can perform those operations much easier in mild weather than when there is frost and snow on the ground, and there are more men out of employment;" p. 11. James Gil-

lies declares, "In the year 1820, I saw 250 salmon lying in one cellar in Perth, in the month of September;" p. 135. "I have seen upwards of a hundred killed in one night;" p. 136. In reference to the Tweed, he says, "My brother killed, in one night, 400 of salmon and grilse and upwards, at one hauling-place;" p. 139. And he adds, in reference to the facility of sale, "I never found any difficulty for any that I got; I always found a very ready market for them;" p. 135. And as to the buyers, he says, "They had generally people that took them and kippered them, using saltpetre to make them red, and sent them from Perth to Edinburgh and Glasgow;" p. 136. The evidence indeed in this Report, indicates these poaching operations to be carried on both night and day, occasionally under the very windows of the houses of our nobility, the Castles of Duplin and Kilfauns, and the Palace of Scoon. Where this poaching has been prevented, as it seems to have been done in the Moy at Ballina, Mr Little declares, "I consider that they had no protection for some years previous to 1816; by that protection it has risen from six tons to an average of sixty tons in a season;" p. 106. The same witness adds, "The Dublin market is just as regularly supplied with salmon during the close-season, as it is at any season of the year;" p. 116. How far these facts bear out Sir H. Davy in his assertion, that "the great northern fisheries, and the Irish fisheries, are much less productive than formerly," (p. 145.) the reader must determine. But if we believe the opinion of Mr Little, in reference to the Solway, to be true, and extend it, as supported by the preceding evidence, to all the other great fisheries, "I believe I can prove, from the dealers in salmon in the neighbourhood of the Solway Frith, that there were more killed in these nets

by poachers, during the winter season of last year, than was killed during the proper season for killing salmon;" then must we conclude, that salmon are as abundant as ever, but poachers now enjoy a greater share than formerly, to the injury of the legal fisher.

2. *Stake-nets*.—This part of the evidence assumes three very different aspects. The river fisheries are said to have decreased, in consequence of the operation of the stake-nets in the estuaries and on the shore. The evidence on this subject exclusively refers to the Moray Frith, and the Frith of Tay. In reference to the Tweed, the decrease cannot be owing to stake-nets, for there they do not exist, (Mr Wilson says, "Never; there is not a stake-net within fifty miles of the Tweed;" p. 12.); but the other supposed causes of decrease which exist there, likewise prevail elsewhere. In reference to the Beaully, Mr Wilson declares, that "it has decreased considerably," owing "to the stake-nets and yairs in the Moray Frith;" p. 16. With these stake-nets he acknowledges himself very little acquainted, and ignorant of the breadth of the frith where they are placed, or of the quantity of fish which are caught in them. The evidence of the *decrease* is of a very doubtful character. "I have seen in the books 7000 salmon taken in the Beaully, and I have seen only 1500 or 1600 in a year." But, in reference to the quantity taken last year, he says, "I think between 2000 and 3000 salmon, and about 6000 grilse." Even the rent in 1814 was increased to £50 a-year. His uncle, the lessee, in regard to the concern, has "not a very material interest, for Lovat would take the fishery off his hand when he pleases."—"Lovat, last year, gave an abatement of 20 per cent, and the lessee is to pay a share of the expense of a law-suit against the owners of the stake-nets."—"Mr



Berry is the only tenant of the river ; he sends his own fishermen, that are employed in the summer, to protect the river in winter ;" p. 16—18.

Not more satisfactory is the evidence to prove the destructive tendency of the stake-nets on the river-fishing in the Tay. The general decrease of the Tay is distinctly avowed by Mr Bell ; and, while he admits the destruction occasioned by poaching, and killing fry, he seems inclined to refer the evil chiefly to the *erection of stake-nets*, formerly in the estuary, and now only on the sea-shore. When the stake-nets were erected in the frith, it is here asserted that the river fisheries fell off in quantity ; that when these were removed, the river fisheries increased. No evidence, unfortunately, is produced to confirm this statement. And it may be mentioned, as a singular circumstance, that, in the process before the Court of Session, the proof of the decrease of the river fisheries was considered by several of the Judges as too imperfect to warrant such an inference, and by none as amounting to demonstration. The evidence for the injury sustained at present by the sea-shore stake-nets, amounts to nothing. Thomas Prondfoot considers the stake-nets set up at Montrose as the cause of the decrease in the river Tay ; they " take a great many of the fish that would come into the Tay ;" p. 24. ; but he is ignorant of the distance of these nets from the Tay ; yet he believes they are destructive, because, in his opinion, the fish come from the north-east coast. Mr Bell considers that stake-nets on the shore of the Forth at Ely, would injure the Tay fishings ; p. 52. In the absence of all proof, from the returns of river fisheries, we are here presented with some notices of the rents, as illustrating the injury occasioned by the stake-nets. But it appears that Lord

Gray's fishing, before the erection of stake-nets, either in an estuary or upon the shore, was £3000, and that it is now between £3500 and £3700. In the interval, it has been as low as £1205 ; p. 26. Mr Halliday declares, " When I first came to the Tay, the rents of the upper fisheries were then about £4000 a-year for fifteen of the principal fisheries ; and during the time of the stake-nets in the Tay, twelve of these fishings rented for above £6000 sterling per annum." In reference to the cause of the reduction in Lord Gray's fishings, he states, " Because the upper fishers had joined together, and fished them jointly ; before that, there was a separation of companies at Perth, but Mr Bell and Mr Richardson's people fished their fishings together as one company ; after that, there was nobody there to oppose them ; before that time Mr Bell and Mr Richardson were two opposite companies ;" p. 71.

The evidence of a decrease in the Frith of Tay from the *abolition of stake-nets*, is of a more unequivocal kind. Mr Halliday states, that the total produce of the Tay, when the stake-nets were in operation, amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 salmon ; and he says, " I do not believe the Tay has produced, since the discontinuance of the stake-nets, more than from 26,000 to 28,000 or 29,000 ;" p. 71. Mr Johnstone says, " Some of the properties that produced 2000 or 3000 salmon, and even 4000 a-year, are now not fished at all ;" p. 42. Before the use of stake-nets, he says that the river fisheries produced annually about 30,000 salmon, and the frith fisheries about 4000 ; but that, by the use of stake-nets, the frith fishery rose to 30,000. It follows that, since 1812, 26,000 salmon, besides grilse, have annually been lost to the public.

The increase in the produce of the fisheries in those places where stake-

nets have been erected, is equally manifest. Mr Johnstone says, "I have caught above 500 salmon and grilises in *one stake-net*, and at *one time*, far from any river;" p. 47. "We have caught thousands going away from the nearest river, the Findhorn;" p. 48. In the Esk at Musselburgh, Mr Halliday declares, that had he no stake-nets, he would lose four or five hundred fish every year; p. 76. He says of one in the Forth, "I think the first tide after it was put up, we had about twenty-eight or twenty-nine salmon and grilises in it;" p. 77.

3. *Increase of natural foes.*—These are limited in the evidence to seals and grampuses. In regard to the *seals*, Mr Johnstone says, "I have often counted between fifty and sixty seals that lie a little from my house summer and winter." That they feed on the salmon is ascertained. "I have seen them chasing, catching, and eating them;" p. 47. Mr Halliday says, "I have observed from sixty to eighty seals in one flock, and I have seen three or four flocks within my view at Balmorino;" p. 74. "I have known one seal take six or eight fish in the course of two hours and a-half;" p. 75. The grampuses appear in April, and continue till October. They go up and down with the tide. "There are some hundreds;" p. 47. Mr Halliday says, "I have seen as much salmon in the stomach of a porpoise (grampuses are so called in the Tay) as a man could lift;" p. 76. In reference to the quantity of salmon consumed by these manumalia, he says, "I have often thought that they destroyed four or five times more than all the fishermen of the Tay;" p. 75. Since the removal of the stake-nets, these depredators have increased; p. 47. 75. Mr Little states, that there are few seals in the Solway (where there are stake-nets), but that they are numerous in Ireland. The grampuses are in all the sea-coasts

around Scotland and Ireland. It is indeed probable, that, in the United Kingdom Seas, grampuses devour many more salmon than the inhabitants.

4. *Cultivation of the Land.*—Mr Halliday says, "Since the lands have been so much drained, the rivers fall in so fast, that fish cannot get up to the *higher parts* of the river so freely as formerly;" p. 82; and Mr Little says, "I consider that the draining of the land in Scotland has been as injurious to the fishings as the lining of it. Formerly the small waters, in consequence of the rains remaining long in the land and in the marshes, were a length of time in rising and falling; now they get up very rapidly, and fall very rapidly. The salmon, when they go up these little rivers to breed, deposit the spawn; and, at a season of the year when the spawn ought to rise from the gravel, it is left dry;" p. 117. These remarks can only apply to the lower and smaller streams of our estuaries, which flow through the cultivated districts, insignificant as salmon breeders, but are inapplicable to the higher branches of our principal rivers, which are fed by the mountains. What drainage has taken place in the Grampians, the Lammermoors, or the Cheviots?

Having thus stated the facts in the natural history of the salmon detailed in this Report, and the evils prevailing in our fisheries, it is time to advert to the *changes* in our fishing system which seem to be requisite.

1. *Close-time.*—The evidence contained in this Report demonstrates the inexpediency of permitting the fishing-season in  *rivers* to commence before the 1st of May. In April, the *fry* are descending in "tens of thousands," and must be destroyed by the coble-net in great quantities, if used at all. The size of the mesh cannot prevent this destruction, since it becomes oblique while drawing on shore,

and the net passes into folds. But the fry are not the only sufferers. The *kelts* are likewise captured; and as the *females* usually descend at this period, their death must be unavoidable. Even in May, both fry and kelts may be destroyed, but the quantity would bear but a small proportion to those which had previously reached the sea. The fishing-season should terminate on the 1st of August. This is the month when the *red* fish, or those ready to spawn, begin to become numerous. The condition of the rivers, in reference to floods, varying in different seasons, the fishing-season should be rather *early* than late, to secure *always* an abundant supply of *breeding fish*. Were it not for the *habits* of the river proprietors, strengthened by their *vested rights*, the Legislature should prevent all *fishings* in rivers, as the breeding-ground of salmon, where the fish execute the duties of parturition, and where the young are hatched, but where at present the mother is surprised and taken in her weakness, and her progeny meet an untimely death.

In *estuaries*, and on the *sea-shore*, fishing may be practised at *all seasons*, as in such situations neither red fish, kelts, nor fry, are found. But there is one objection to this freedom, warranted by the habits of the fish.

The fishing-season should begin and end, in all parts of the kingdom, on the *same day*. It is true, that the condition of the fish varies with the seasons, in different rivers, and in different parts of the same river. But no law could accommodate itself to these variable circumstances. Experience here points out the remedy, having established the nature of the disease. Unless there be *one time*, poaching will prevail in the *close rivers*, and the produce will, in the market, compete with the fish from the open rivers. No statute could prevent this smuggling.

2. *Establishment of Stake-nets in Estuaries, and on the sea-shore.*—It has been demonstrated in this Report, that stake-nets do not injure the *fry*, and do not capture *red* fish or kelts.—They are the only efficient engine in estuaries and the sea-shore (but from their nature not more so than the *coble-net* in rivers), and greatly increase the value of the fisheries at those stations. They do not injure the river fishings, because they catch fish not inclined to enter rivers, and at a season when the rivers are in an unfit state to receive them. They capture the fish which would otherwise fall a prey to seals and grampuses, and they serve to reduce the number of the depredators. They are useful, in the estuaries, to the shipping as marks, (pp. 50. 79. 103. 126;) they employ many hands, (pp. 51. 80. 123;) they educate expert seamen, (pp. 51. 81. 104.)

Sir H. Davy assuming (though destroyed in evidence) that salmon belong in fact to the river in which they were spawned, affect a particular river, and always return to it, declares, "As the *old law* of the country was framed upon this principle, salmon-fisheries never having been considered as belonging to the *coast*, all stake-nets should be abolished, as they enable persons having no interest in the river to cut off almost entirely the supply of fish;" p. 145. Without entering into the rather singular dispute in political economy,—whether British subjects should be fed with salmon, or the preference given to seals and grampuses,—we shall rather advert to the *law* and the *reason*, as laid down by the latter, in reference to stake-nets. Had Sir Humphry Davy examined the *old law* on the subject, he never could have risked such a groundless assertion. In *Magna Charta*, he will find these words: "*Oranes kidelli* (wears, or stake-nets, Coke and Court of Session) *deponantur de cetero peni*

tus per Thamesiam et Medweyam, et per totam Angliam, nisi per coasteram maris." He will find in 9th Henry III. c. 32. "All weirs from henceforth shall be utterly put down by Thames and Medway, and through all England, but only by the sea-coasts." And in 12th Edward IV. c. 7. "that all kidels by Thames and Medway, and throughout the realm of England, should be taken away (sinoun per les coaster del near) saving by the sea-banks." In the statute of Robert I. of Scotland, 1318, c. 12, everything in reference to weirs or fixtures applies to these, "*in aquis ubi mare fluit et refluit;*" or, as it is expressed in the act 1424, c. 11 of King James I. "*in fresche watteris quhar the sea fillis and ebs.*" It hence appears, in opposition to Sir Humphry Davy's statement, that stake-nets, or engines similar to *stake-nets*, were permitted on the sea coast by the old law of the country, though prohibited elsewhere. The reason given, that, by stake-nets, persons having no interest in the salmon, cut off the supply from the river heritors, to whom in fact they belong, will be found equally untenable. Let us see to what conclusion it would naturally lead us. If stake-nets fishings, in estuaries and on the shore, should be abolished, because fish are taken in these which belong to the place "in which they were spawned," then no fishings should be allowed, *even in a river*, below the lowest spawning-ford, such as Lord Gray's, where there is no spawning-ground. Again, upon the same principle, no fishing should be allowed, even at the lowest spawning-ford, because the proprietor may capture fish there in which he has no interest, which were not spawned on his ground, but which in fact belong to a higher ford. Hence, the Town of Perth should not be permitted to fish their fords, lest they catch (as

they would do) salmon belonging to the spawning-fords of his Grace of Athole. The proprietor of the uppermost spawning-ford is alone safe from this objection, (though a straggler from a lower ford would occasionally find its way into his net,) and should be the only fisher in the river,—a conclusion which the deservedly celebrated individual did not probably anticipate. It seems necessary to speak freely, lest the influence of name should give currency to mistake.

The determination of the *stations* where stake-nets may with propriety be erected, near the mouths of rivers, seems not as yet to have occupied much of the attention of the Committee. Mr Little, indeed, is the only witness who delivers his opinion on the subject. He assumes, as had been proven in the Tay case by that acute engineer Mr Jardine, that the river ends at that point in the head of a frith where the sea is continually ebbing or flowing, or, to speak plainly, at *low-water mark*; and he says, "above that place, or within half a mile from it, down the estuary, or along the coast, no stake-nets should be allowed;" p. 123. This point, we may observe, must vary more or less in different rivers, from the mean level of the ocean, according to the size of the aperture or mouth of the estuary through which the tide enters and retires, and the quantity of water in the river opposed to it. A slight difference must likewise prevail between the low-water of spring-tides and of neap-tides, though Mr Jardine has proven, that the horizontal lines representing these gradually approximate in retiring from the mouth of an estuary to its head. But these differences do not perhaps deserve any very serious consideration. Indeed, we see no objection to the use of *stake-nets everywhere*

*below this point.* The fry and the kelts would not be taken by them; and as the channel or stream would be clear, no fish intent on ascending would be prevented. But it does not appear upon what principle Mr Little wishes to have half a mile, any more than ten miles, kept clear of stake-nets. No two rivers are alike. The *half mile* would have very different powers, in those rivers which have intervening estuaries, and in such as enter the sea directly. The Spey and the Tweed would be placed in different circumstances from the Tay and the Forth. Besides, by such a rule, the proprietor of a small stream joining the sea directly, would have it in his power to injure the property of his neighbours, through an extent of a mile of coast, by preventing the erection of stake-nets, and probably in the only bay or spot for twenty miles where they could conveniently be placed. We again repeat, that stake-nets could do no injury to fry and foul fish, if not erected in rivers or friths higher than low-water mark. Above this point, the net and coble is an efficient engine; below this point it possesses but feeble powers. Above this point, the stake-net would interfere with the channel or stream; below this point, it could only capture fish floating with the tide. Proprietors would thus be able to avail themselves of the natural advantages of their respective estates, without injury to others.

3. *Removal of Obstructions.*—Under this head, the condition of dam-dikes deserves the consideration of the Legislature. Openings should be made, through which the water may flow at stated periods, so as to allow of the ascent of red fish, and the descent of kelts and fry to the sea; p. 119. In reference to the destruction of fry at mills, the following recom-

mendation by Mr Halliday merits consideration:—"Placing a heck across the narrow part of the dam, and making a sluice through the dam-dike, at the upper side of the heck, would allow the fry to pass down the sluices into the bed of the river, and the heck would prevent the fry going down the mill-dam."—"If the heck was properly constructed, by placing it slanting, the under part of it inclining up the water, and the upper part of it down, it would raise all the dirt to the surface of the water;" p. 67. No wicker-work, or any similar obstruction, should be allowed to remain on stake-nets or cruives during the close season. The river should be free.

4. *Punishment of Poachers.*—Many laws occur in the statute-book on this subject, but they seem to be inapplicable. Hence, even the appointment of water-bailiffs is not successful in preserving the fisheries during the close season. Mr Wilson says, "at this very time we are expending about L.600 a-year for the protection of the Tweed, and to very little purpose;" p. 11. Premiums should be offered to encourage fishers to destroy seals, grampuses, and even porpoises, as the latter probably devour the fry.

Judging from the evidence contained in this Report, we have no hesitation in asserting, that were the *limits of close time determined by the habits of the fish*, stake-nets erected in suitable stations, obstructions removed, and poaching checked, our rivers and shores may be made to yield four times more salmon than they do at present, and the increase of the breed be promoted. We trust the Committee will resume its labours this session of Parliament; and, should the results be as interesting as the present Report, we may feel disposed to lay a digest of the evidence again before our readers.

Feb. 17, 1825.

## CHAPTER III.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

*Northern Expedition.—Melville Island.—Russian Expedition along the Northern Shores of Siberia.—Subsidence of the Baltic.—China.*

## NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

On the 12th October, about noon, the *Hecla* arrived off Peterhead, where Captain Parry and two of his officers landed, and soon after proceeded post for London. On the same evening they passed through Aberdeen, stopping only to change horses. From the meagre accounts that have yet transpired, little more is known than that the grand object of the expedition has not been attained, and that, in short, no important discoveries have been made. Captain Parry attributes his failure to the loss of the *Fury*, which was wrecked at a time when he was led to entertain sanguine hopes of success. Her crew returned in the *Hecla*. All accounts concur in describing the health of the crews as excellent. Some letters state that no deaths had occurred during the voyage—others that they lost two seamen. By a letter which Captain Knight received on Friday, from his nephew, a lieutenant on board the *Hecla*, and which he immediately communicated to the Lord Provost, it appears that the ship was off the mouth of the Firth, on her passage to the Thames, on the day Captain Parry landed. The sub-

joined extract of a letter, addressed by a principal officer in the expedition to an eminent scientific gentleman in this city, contains the most interesting details that have yet been published:—

“*H. M. S. Hecla, Oct. 12, 1825.*

“DEAR SIR,

“We sailed from the west coast of Greenland on the 4th July 1824. In passing Davis’ Straits we were beset 58 days in the ice. On the 9th September we cleared the ice, and on the 13th of the same month entered Barrow’s Strait. The winter was now setting in fast; we therefore endeavoured to reach Port Bowen in Prince Regent’s Inlet, which we effected with some difficulty on the 28th. By the 6th October we were completely surrounded with young ice. The winter passed more agreeably than could have been expected; we had a good library on board, and managed to raise a tolerable masquerade in one of the ships every fortnight. The winter was what might be called a mild one in that part of the world, the thermometer never exceeding 48½ degrees below Zero. During its continuance we had fine sport chasing white bears, 12 of which were

killed. White grouse were abundant in spring; we shot a great number of them. They were excellent, and proved a great luxury to the officers and men. The summer, which commenced on the 6th June, with a shower of rain, was very fine; the thaw went on rapidly. On the 19th July the ice broke up, and we bade farewell to Port Bowen, where we had passed nearly ten months. On the 23d we made North Somerset, and worked to the southward along its coast, until the morning of the 1st August, when unfortunately the *Fury* was driven on shore by the ice. Every effort was made to save her, but our exertions proving fruitless, she was abandoned on the 19th, and her crew taken on board the *Hecla*. Thus ended all our hopes of making the north-west passage, which seemed favourable till this accident. On the 1st September we left Regent's Inlet for England, and made the coast of Scotland on the 10th. We have been extremely fortunate during the voyage, not having lost a man either by disease or accident."

At a time when public attention is so earnestly directed to the progress of discovery, it may be interesting to notice some important facts regarding the Antarctic Seas, which have recently been brought to light by private enterprise. While the splendidly equipped expedition under Captain Parry was braving the dangers of the Northern Ocean, two small vessels, fitted out on mercantile speculation, were navigating a sea, hitherto unknown, at the other extremity of the globe. On the 17th September 1822, the brig *Jane* of Leith, 160 tons, and 22 men, commanded by Mr James Weddell, master in the Royal Navy, and the cutter *Beaufoy*, of London, 65 tons, and 13 men, commanded by Mr Matthew Brisbane, both provisioned for two years, sailed from the Downs on a sealing adventure in

the Southern Hemisphere. James Mitchell, Esq. of London, and John Strachan, Esq. of Edinburgh, were co-owners with Mr Weddell; and to these gentlemen no small share of praise is due, for their liberal and enlightened conduct in making private emolument subservient to public utility. On the 7th November the vessels crossed the equator; on the 7th January 1823, ice islands were seen; and on the 11th they made the South Orkneys, which, on his return from a voyage made the preceding year, Mr Weddell had reported to the Commissioners for the Navy. After ascertaining that no land existed between the South Orkneys and the points of coast termed Sandwich Land, Mr Weddell, early in February, proceeded farther south, determined to prosecute a search beyond the tracks of former navigators.—On the 6th and 7th, in lat. 64°. 15' long. 30°. 46' they passed many ice islands, some of which were of an enormous size. One was thickly incorporated with black earth, and had apparently been disengaged from land covered with soil to a considerable depth. On the 14th, in lat. 68°. 20' long. 29° 43'. 15'', ice islands were so numerous as almost to obstruct the passage of the vessels. On the 17th the water appeared discoloured. They were accompanied by all the birds common in these latitudes, particularly blue petrels, and by numbers of finned and hump-backed whales. On the 18th, latitude by observation, 72°. 38'. "not a particle of ice of any description was to be seen," and the weather was mild and serene. On the 20th the wind blew freshly from the south, and the atmosphere became very clear, but no land was in view—lat. 74. 15'. long. 34°. 16'. 45''. Here Mr Weddell, taking into consideration the lateness of the season, and the length of his homeward voyage, which included a thousand miles of sea strew-

ed with ice islands, resolved to take advantage of the favourable breeze and return. He named this hitherto unvisited part of the ocean King George the Fourth's Sea. The Jane and Beaufoy wintered at the Falkland Islands, and arrived at Falmouth, after an absence of nearly two years.

These particulars, gathered chiefly from Mr Weddell's account of his voyage, prove that open navigation exists beyond the ice islands which opposed a barrier to Captain Cook, and that, unless land intervenes beyond the 74th parallel, a navigable sea probably extends even to the South Pole. It is to be hoped, that Government will, without loss of time, follow up this interesting discovery by at least attempting to explore the new sea. The enterprise and talent which Mr Weddell has displayed, and the extensive information which he may be supposed to have acquired respecting the South Seas, in two protracted voyages, point him out as a person eminently qualified to accompany any expedition equipped for this purpose. Like Scoresby, in the Arctic zone, he has shown how much may be achieved by individual ability; and he has also given a guarantee, that, with the ordinary advantages which the Admiralty provides in such cases, he would not only meritoriously discharge the difficult duties of a commander, but greatly extend our knowledge of the Antarctic regions.

#### ARCTIC LAND EXPEDITION.

. A letter has been received in Edinburgh from Captain Franklin, dated the 2d of June, at which time the enterprising travellers were 700 miles in advance of Cumberland House. The party were all well, and in good spirits, which had been heightened by the intelligence that the stores had reached the depot at the first wintering station.

#### MELVILLE ISLAND.

This island, which Government has pitched upon as a fit situation for a new settlement dependant on New South Wales, is situated in the gulf of Carpentaria, a vast bay containing many islands, on the north east coast of New Holland. According to the Gazetteer, it is about five miles long, and between one and two in breadth—low, destitute of wood, and with a sandy shelving beach. The south end lies in long. 136°. 52'. E. lat. 12°. 8½'. S. It is said to be well situated for the encouraging of trade with the Malaya, and the islanders of the Indian archipelago; but the importance of its colonization to the settlements at Sidney and in Van Diemen's Land, will arise chiefly from the facilities it will afford for punishing refractory convicts. Many a ruffian at these places, who persists in a career of crime in defiance of all the minor punishments that have been invented, and holds in contempt even banishment to the Coal River, will tremble at the idea of transportation to Melville Island. The great gulf of Carpentaria stretches from Endeavour Strait to Cape Wilberforce. The shore is about 1200 miles in extent. It was formerly supposed that a great river intersected New Holland, nearly in this longitude, and some persons have even gone so far as to speculate on the probability of Macquarrie River, the famous stream discovered beyond the Blue Mountains in New South Wales, being that river. This gulf was accurately surveyed by Captain Flinders, in the beginning of the present century. According to his account, he found the soil on its borders poor, but the country in some places covered with an agreeable intermixture of grass and trees. From the small extent of Melville Island, and the few natural inducements it appears to hold out as a place



of settlement, we should imagine that it would have been more advisable to make the experiment on the continent itself—perhaps at Melville Bay, a harbour also at the west entrance of the gulf of Carpentaria, and described by Captain Flinders as the best on the coast. The entrance from the north-west is four miles wide, and free from danger, and the bay affords everywhere good holding ground. It is to be hoped that the settlers of Melville Island will have to encounter fewer hardships than fell to the lot of those unhappy men who were sent from similar motives to Norfolk Island, when the colony at Sidney was in its infancy, and required to be purged of the more profligate part of its inhabitants. At the same time, considering the advantage Norfolk Island possesses in point of fertility, we can scarcely augur a happier result.

#### RUSSIAN EXPEDITION ALONG THE NORTHERN SHORES OF SIBERIA.

The Russian Government had long formed the project of exploring the north coast of Siberia. M. de S. was sent out for this purpose; but his researches were extremely limited, and he only described a part of the coast, to a distance of about a hundred versts beyond the eastern part of the Kolyma. Toward the year 1822, it was resolved to send out a new expedition for exploring these countries. Three young officers, MM. Wrangel, Anjou, and Matuchkin, were charged with it; they were occupied four years in it, and justified the confidence of the government, by the courage, prudence, and zeal which they evinced in the discharge of this duty. They succeeded in making a description of the whole north coast of Siberia, in despite of numerous obstacles, the extreme rigour of

the climate, and the dangers to which they were exposed; for the Tchouktchis had already destroyed two detachments sent out for the same purpose. M. Anjou has described the coast from the Uralian Chain, or from the river Ob to the Kolyma, the other two gentlemen from the Kolyma to the promontory of the Tchouktchis. Not content with exploring the coast, these travellers made an excursion also toward the north, over an extent of continuous ice, to the place where the sea is open, which forms nearly five hundred versts, of the coast of Behring's Straits. It was in this place, which faces the eastern part of the north coast, and is inhabited by the rein-deer Tchouktchis, that they perceived mountains at a distance of about a hundred versts. M. Wrangel conceived the project of getting to them. He was already pretty near, when the piece of ice on which he was placed became detached from the mass, and he was tossed about by the waves for five days in succession, with seven other persons, his dogs and equipage, until at length, after they had been several times upon the point of being swallowed up, the piece of ice was again united to the mass. There is a tradition among the Tchouktchis, that the strait which separates them from the opposite shore, towards the north, was not covered with ice, and that the inhabitants formerly traversed it in *baydars*, a sort of boat. They relate that a period, not very remote, (for all the inhabitants remember it still,) some Tchouktchis, to the number of seven or eight, accompanied with a woman, crossed the ice to go towards these mountains to fish for morses, and that a long time after, the woman returned to the country by the way of the Kurile Isles, and brought the news that her companions had been all massacred. This woman was sold into another part of the country, and

after having passed from hand to hand, was carried to Prince of Wales' Land, from whence she found means of returning to her own country. From this account, it is to be supposed, that the country which Wrangel had in view to visit, is nothing else than an island. The people who inhabit the islands nearest Siberia, make use of rein-deer, which renders it probable that they are only a colony of Tchouktchis, more especially as their languages are much allied. The Tchouktchis are in general large and well made; they have regular features, their nose is not flat, but their cheeks are very prominent. Our travellers also saw other islands, which they named New Siberia. The route which they took to get to them may be seen upon the chart of the famous pedestrian traveller Cochrane, where it is traced with great fidelity. They made very extensive excursions in all directions, but saw no land. In their land journeys, they rode upon horses or rein-deer, but they preferred the former. With regard to sledge-travelling with rein-deer, it is very convenient upon ice. They made use of a sort of large sledge called *narta*, drawn by twelve or thirteen dogs; these animals were always of great use to them, in defending them from the white and black bears, and wolves, as well as by their astonishing sagacity. Their instinct always led them to find the best road, and when the travellers thought themselves strayed, the dogs brought them back to the way. The sagacity of these animals was such, that after having made a number of turns, they took the shortest way to return. The travellers passed several weeks upon the ice, sometimes upon enormous pieces covered with grey snow, sometimes upon thinner layers, which frequently separate from the mass, so as to be carried along by the current, and tossed about by the waves. In these critical moments, the dogs rendered

them innumerable services; in the places where the ice was thick, they ran with rapidity upon the snow, barked, bit one another, and appeared intractable; but as soon as the route became dangerous, they became gentle, circum-spect, and docile; they often walked upon pieces of ice, which were not more than half an inch thick, with the greatest precaution, and seemed to advance only according to the order of the person carried on the sledge. MM. Wrangel and Matuchkin remained once for seventy days upon the ice, at a distance of several hundred versts from the shore. They were attended by several *nartas* laden with provisions; they buried these provisions under the snow and ice, and continued their journey, carrying with them what was absolutely necessary; and when their provisions were exhausted, they returned for what they had left. They did not fail to make astronomical observations wherever they could, but the fogs often prevented them. These fogs were so thick, that our travellers, drawn in their sledges, sometimes could not see the dogs which drew them. Frequently snow-storms overwhelmed the tents which served for their abode, and it was with much difficulty, when the storm abated, that they got themselves extricated. During the months of November, December, and January, when the intensity of the cold became insupportable, our travellers took refuge in felt cabins or tents, where the water froze upon the floor, and the ice rose to the height of upwards of two feet. A mass of ice, about five inches thick, served them for a window. In this icy region, the earth produced only heath and a sort of plant peculiar to the country; in summer, the sun did not leave the horizon for two months, and in winter, it did not appear for the same period of time. The maximum heat, in the middle of summer, is above fifteen degrees of Reaumur's thermometer; it freezes

at night, or when the sun is upon the decline. The dazzling whiteness of the snow produced diseases of the eyes; the natives wear a sort of mask formed of the bark of trees, in which very narrow slits are made for the eyes. The Russian officers wore a piece of crape folded four times; at the beginning they neglected to avail themselves of this contrivance, and were rendered nearly blind: they learned, however, to cure this malady, by introducing tobacco oil into the eyes, a remedy which, although effectual, has the disadvantage of exciting acute pain. Their ordinary food consisted of fish, and rein-deer, and bear's flesh; this last had the property of strengthening them, but it also produced violent agitation in the blood, and prevented them from sleeping. The natives are poor, do not practise any trade, and have no other occupation than that of fishing and hunting; yet there are Russian merchants who go to these countries for trade.

#### SUBSIDENCE OF THE BALTIC.

A very singular and interesting fact has been ascertained respecting the level of the Baltic. It had been long suspected that the waters of this sea were gradually sinking; but a memoir, published in the Swedish Transactions for 1823, has put the change beyond a doubt. Mr Buncrona, assisted by officers of the Swedish piloting establishment, has examined the Swedish coast with great care from lat. 56 to 62, and Mr Halstrom has examined those of the Gulf of Bothnia. The results of both inquiries are given in the form of a table; and though, as might have been expected, they are not completely uniform, they correspond sufficiently to place the subsidence of the waters beyond dispute. The Baltic, it is to be observed, has no tides, and is therefore favour-

ably situated for making observations on its level; but with regard to the periods within which the changes observed have taken place, it was of course necessary to rely on records or on oral testimony. At the latitude of 55, where the Baltic unites with the German Ocean through the Categat, no change seems to be perceptible. But from latitude 56 to 63, the observations show a mean fall of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot in 40 years, or 4-10ths of an inch annually, or 3 feet 10 inches in a century. In the Gulf of Bothnia, the results are more uniform, and indicate a mean fall of 4 feet 4 inches in a century, or rather more than half an inch annually. These facts are very remarkable; and as we like to be honest, and give authorities, we think it right to mention, that they are taken from the last number of the *Annals of Philosophy*. But whence arises this singular change? Is there a similar depression of the level of the sea everywhere, in consequence of the gradual waste of the waters, occasioned by the rocks, sands, and other solid materials of the globe, imbibing a portion which they never return? This is very improbable; and though the alternations of the tide might render the detection of a small change difficult, one of several feet must assuredly have made itself known. If the phenomenon is entirely local, shall we conclude with Playfair, that an expansive force placed in the interior of the earth, is gradually heaving up the land, while the true level of the waters remains unaltered; and that this local change is part of the grand process by which the present continents rise above the sea? This is the simplest, but not perhaps the most probable solution. Is it not possible that there may be causes, analogous to magnetism—that there may be a positive shifting, for instance, of masses of fluid matter in the interior of the globe, which may change the equilibrium of

its parts ; and that the waters, which obey the law of gravitation, may thus get a determination from one point of its surface to another? Perhaps it may be found that these changes, instead of being constantly progressive, are parts of a great cycle, that they oscillate about a given point, and after a long series of years, regain the position in which they began. Philosophical observers who come 500 years after us, will have data for determining these and many other questions which baffle the powers of science at the present day. In the mean time, it must be confessed, that the Hyperborean sages, who trouble themselves about the future, have strange prospects before them. The Baltic is very shallow at present, and if its waters continue to sink as they have done, Revel, Abo, Narva, and a hundred other ports will by and by become inland towns ; the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, and ultimately the Baltic itself, will be changed into dry land ; and shepherds will tend their flocks, and ploughmen drive their steers, and cities and palaces rise up, where now the fishes glide, and the billows roar. The change will be exactly the reverse of that described by Ovid—

One climbs a cliff ; one in his boat is borne  
And ploughs above, where late he sow'd his  
corn.

Others o'er chimney tops and turrets row,  
And drop their anchor on the meads below.  
And where of late the kids had cropt the  
grass,

The monsters of the deep now take their  
place.

Insulting Nereids o'er the cities ride,  
And wondering dolphins through the palace  
glide.

#### CHINA.

*St Petersburg, Dec. 1.*—Mr Timkousky, who recently returned from China, has obtained information respecting the military force of that large

empire, which may be considered as very interesting. The army, in a numerical view, is very powerful ; but, in reality, its strength is not by any means formidable. It is generally stated, that the number of troops amount to 1,000,000 infantry, and 300,000 cavalry. This statement he considers as exaggerated. The regular troops are divided into four divisions, according to the different nations. The first division of 67,800 men, is composed of Mandjours ; it is the elite of the army, and those who serve in it enjoy great privileges. The second division of 21,000, is composed of Mongols. The third division consists of 27,000 Chinese ; the ancestors of these men co-operated with the Mandjours, in the conquest of China. The fourth division, and that which is held in the least estimation, is formed from the aborigines ; the number is 500,000 men ; they are disseminated in the garrisons in the interior of the empire. To these must be added 125,000 militia, forming a total of 740,000, of which 175,000 are cavalry. There is, besides, an Angolo cavalry, which may be assimilated to our irregular troops of the Don and Oural. The number cannot be exactly ascertained ; it is said to amount to 500,000. All the Chinese soldiers are married, and their children are inscribed, at their birth, on the army list, and serve to recruit the corps to which they belong. Every soldier of the 1st, 2d, and 3d divisions, is provided with arms, a horse, a house, and rice, and receives as monthly pay, three or four lanes (six or eight rubles) ; his clothes are supplied at his own expense. The consequence of this regulation is, that the men wear all the colours of the rainbow, and great confusion frequently arises. Government allows the 4th division to cultivate certain lands appropriated to that purpose, and no other provision is made for the soldiers ; they live on the

produce. The army is never in want of recruits; the poor are always glad to enlist, in order to avoid hunger and misery. The expenses incurred by government in keeping up their force are said to amount to 87,400,000 *taels* (600,000,000 of *roubles*) and yet it is impossible to conceive an army to be more in want of discipline than that of the Chinese. The late Emperor Dä-

zizin issued a proclamation, in 1800, in which he recalls to the memory of the Mandjours their ancient exploits, and reproaches them with their want of discipline and military talents, tells them that the Chinese are absolutely better troops—and yet, adds the Emperor, a few of your ancestors conquered the whole of this mighty empire.

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## **PART III.—CHRONICLE.**

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# I.—POLITICAL CHRONICLE; OR, RECORD OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

ACCOUNT of the Net Public Income of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND,  
in the Year ended 5th January, 1825.

Income.	Applicable to the consolidated fund.			Applicable to other public services.			INCOME paid into the Exchequer.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Customs . . . . .	8,580,882	13	2½	2,746,858	13	0	11,327,741	6	2½
Excise . . . . .	26,496,882	16	5½	271,157	3	6	26,768,039	19	11½
Stamps . . . . .	7,244,042	7	0	--	--	--	7,244,042	7	0½
Taxes under the management of the commissioners of taxes, in- cluding arrears of property-tax	4,919,248	9	8½	2,821	14	2	4,922,070	3	10½
Post-office . . . . .	1,520,615	7	8½	--	--	--	1,520,615	7	8½
One shilling and sixpence duty on pensions and salaries; and four shillings in the pound on pen- sions	61,374	12	10	--	--	--	61,374	12	10
Hackney coaches, and hawkers and pedlars . . . . .	57,134	10	0	--	--	--	57,134	10	0
Crown lands . . . . .	906	13	4	--	--	--	906	13	4
Small branches of the king's heredi- tary revenue . . . . .	5,189	16	3	--	--	--	5,189	16	3
Surplus produce of lottery, after payment of lottery prizes	--	--	--	245,206	9	3	245,206	9	3
Surplus fees, regulated public of- fices . . . . .	39,888	8	4	--	--	--	39,888	8	4
Poundage fees, poll's fees, casual- ties, treasury fees, and hospital fees . . . . .	9,748	11	0½	--	--	--	9,748	11	0½
Total ordinary revenue . . . . .	--	--	--	--	--	--	52,202,018	5	10
The amount of savings on third class of the civil list . . . . .	7,827	5	2	--	--	--	7,827	5	2
Ditto brought from civil list, on account of clerk of the Hanaper	1,100	0	0	--	--	--	1,100	0	0
Ditto received in repayment of the loan raised for the service of the emperor of Germany, per acts 35 and 37 Geo. III. . . . .	1,733,333	6	8	--	--	--	1,733,333	6	8
By the East India Company, on account of retired pay, pensions, &c. of his Majesty's forces ser- ving in the East Indies, per act 4 Geo. IV. c. 71 . . . . .	--	--	--	60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
By the trustees of military and naval pensions, &c. . . . .	--	--	--	4,660,000	0	0	4,660,000	0	0
By the commissioners for issuing Exchequer bills for public works	--	--	--	125,273	9	0	125,273	9	0
Money repaid in Ireland, on ac- count of advances from the con- solidated fund, under various acts for public improvements	160,901	9	5½	--	--	--	160,901	9	5½
Imprest and other moneys paid into the Exchequer . . . . .	385,147	15	9	26,802	4	1½	411,949	19	10½
	51,994,924	2	11½	2,132,119	13	0½	52,362,403	16	0½



ACCOUNT of the Net Public Expenditure of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1826, exclusive of the sums applied to the Redemption of Funded Debt, or for paying off Unfunded Debt

EXPENDITURE.	EXPENDITURE.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dividends, interest, and management of the public funded debt, four quarters to 10th October, 1824, exclusive of 1,5,150,050, 18s. 1d. issued to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt	27,979,008	7	11			
Interest on exchequer bills . . . . .	1,087,283	13	2			
Issued to the trustees of military and naval pensions per Act 3 Geo. IV. c. 51 . . . . .	2,211,260	0	0	29,066,352	1	1
Ditto—Bank of England—4 Geo. IV. c. 22 . . . . .	585,740	0	0			
Civil list, four quarters to 5th January, 1825 . . . . .	1,057,000	0	0	2,800,000	0	0
Pensions charged by act of parliament, on consolidated fund, four quarters to 10th October, 1824 . . . . .	371,644	1	10½			
Salaries and allowances . . . . .	70,212	10	6			
Officers of courts of justice . . . . .	96,265	4	11			
Expenses of the mint . . . . .	14,718	7	0			
Bounties . . . . .	2,956	13	8			
Miscellaneous . . . . .	808,982	15	2			
Ditto—Ireland . . . . .	300,102	10	8½	2,721,912	3	10½
Army . . . . .	7,573,026	2	7½			
Navy . . . . .	6,161,818	3	10½			
Ordnance . . . . .	1,107,308	2	10½			
Miscellaneous . . . . .	2,449,118	19	4½	17,391,301	8	8
Total . . . . .				52,179,565	13	8
Money paid to the Bank of England more than received from them on account of unclaimed dividends . . . . .	18,421	4	2			
By the commissioners for issuing exchequer bills, per act 57 Geo. III. c. 34 and 124, for the employment of the poor . . . . .	219,200	0	0			
Advances out of the consolidated fund in Ireland, for public works . . . . .	327,411	0	10½			
				505,035	5	0½
Total . . . . .				£52,774,600	18	8½
Surplus of income paid into the exchequer over expenditure thereout . . . . .				£6,587,802	17	3½
				£59,362,403	16	0½

AN ACCOUNT of the official value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, and of Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures, exported from *Ireland*, distinguishing the several Countries; together with the imports into *Ireland*, from the same Countries; for the Year ending 5th January 1825.

COUNTRIES.	Official Value of IMPORTS.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF EXPORTS.			
		British and Irish produce and manufactures.		Foreign and colonial merchandise.	Total Exports.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
EUROPE, exclusive of GREAT BRITAIN.	Russia . . . .	91,595 18 4	5,191 13 6	18 0 11	5,209 14 5
	Sweden . . . .	5,100 9 6	—	—	—
	Norway . . . .	12,644 7 6	15,041 4 5	2,925 0 7	17,966 5 0
	Denmark . . . .	... ..	1,879 0 9	... ..	1,879 0 9
	Prussia . . . .	40,116 6 6	11,654 8 6	... ..	11,654 8 6
	Germany . . . .	2,752 5 7	258 9 3	... ..	258 9 3
	Holland . . . .	55,167 15 7	73 3 7	... ..	73 3 7
	Flanders . . . .	—	—	—	—
	France . . . .	19,206 1 4	771 6 7	... ..	7771 6 7
	Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira . . . .	56,311 2 11	68,660 0 10	1,658 16 9	70,318 17 7
	Spain and the Canaries . . . .	124,974 8 1	4,027 0 8	... ..	4,027 0 8
	Gibraltar . . . .	9,987 7 11	19,467 8 5	873 9 4	20,340 17 9
	Italy . . . .	58,019 14 1	—	—	—
	Malta . . . .	—	—	—	—
	Ionian Islands . . . .	438 12 5	—	—	—
	Turkey and the Levant . . . .	20,750 16 10	... ..	11 15 5	11 15 5
	Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Man . . . .	8,673 3 9	10,094 0 2	1,215 9 0	11,309 9 2
		505,738 10 4	137,117 16 8	6,702 12 0	143,820 8 8
	ASIA: East Indies and China . . . .	—	—	—	—
	New Holland . . . .	—	—	—	—
	AFRICA: Cape of Good Hope . . . .	2,870 11 5	—	—	—
	Other parts of Africa . . . .	1,230 15 5	737 10 10	485 19 0	1,223 9 10
	AMERICA: British Colonies in North America . . . .	154,865 9 11	70,357 9 7	4,965 3 6	75,322 13 1
	Columbia River, & N. West Coast . . . .	—	—	—	—
	British West Indies . . . .	500,005 2 11	293,767 10 4	3,330 9 3	297,097 19 7
	United States . . . .	241,776 17 1	186,497 19 7	675 2 2	187,173 1 9
	Foreign W. Indies . . . .	... ..	66 9 3	... ..	66 9 3
	Brazil . . . .	... ..	16,969 14 10	29 11 3	16,999 6 1
	Mexico . . . .	—	—	—	—
	Columbia . . . .	—	—	—	—
	Peru . . . .	—	—	—	—
	Chili . . . .	—	—	—	—
	Buenos Ayres and Monte Video . . . .	—	—	—	—
	The whale fisheries . . . .	—	—	—	—
Total, exclusive of Great Britain . . . .		£ 1,406,487 7 1	705,514 11 1	16,188 17 2	721,703 5 4

Note.—The foregoing Account, which is founded upon the Irish records of commerce, and exhibits the value of the imports and exports, as computed at the Irish rates of valuation, is necessarily stated exclusively of the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence of the discontinuance of the register heretofore kept in Dublin, of the interchange of goods, duty free, between the two countries. The value of the imports and exports, constituting that branch of trade, is, however, subjoined, as it appears stated according to the British rates of valuation, in the books of the London department, viz.—

Imports into Ireland from Great Britain . . . . . £5,006,639 7 0  
Exports from Ireland to Great Britain . . . . . 5,589,140 9 6

AN ACCOUNT of the VALUE, as calculated at the official Rates, of all British and Irish Produce and Manufactures exported from Great Britain in each of the three years ended 10th October, 1824; distinguishing the leading Branches of the Manufactures, &c. exported.

Branches of Manufactures.	Years Ended 10th October.		
	1822.	1823.	1824.
	£	£	£
Brass and copper manufactures . . . . .	632,966	684,284	582,577
Cotton manufactures . . . . .	23,938,260	24,618,588	26,880,937
— twist and yarn . . . . .	2,418,813	2,626,632	3,138,347
Glass and earthenware of all sorts . . . . .	271,422	276,994	284,368
Hardwares and cutlery . . . . .	592,785	588,700	680,986
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought . . . . .	1,412,218	1,409,616	1,490,314
Linen manufactures . . . . .	2,504,009	2,667,916	3,174,834
Silk manufactures . . . . .	212,855	183,752	189,813
Sugar, British refined . . . . .	1,262,769	1,285,024	1,121,940
Woollen goods . . . . .	6,593,177	5,977,424	6,880,200
All other articles . . . . .	5,948,115	5,942,581	6,334,492
Total . . £	45,787,389	46,261,511	50,758,898

AN ACCOUNT of the VALUE, as calculated at the Official Rates, of all Foreign and Colonial Merchandize exported from Great Britain in each of the three Years ended 10th October, 1825; distinguishing the principal Articles exported.

Principal Articles.	Years Ended 10th October.		
	1822.	1823.	1824.
	£	£	£
Barilla, alkali, and ashes . . . . .	81,219	57,532	85,857
Coffee and cocoa . . . . .	2,510,422	1,901,425	2,413,384
Copper, unwrought . . . . .	86,752	103,896	211,901
Corn, grain, meal, and flour . . . . .	251,477	293,490	141,403
Dyewoods; viz. fustic and logwood . . . . .	78,266	151,086	80,538
Hides, raw and tanned . . . . .	50,494	89,809	144,336
Indigo . . . . .	498,716	564,101	533,847
Piece goods of India . . . . .	1,111,596	1,036,604	1,033,733
Spices . . . . .	87,374	200,234	399,150
Spices, including pepper . . . . .	447,696	577,981	561,725
Spices . . . . .	836,351	751,885	875,585
Sugar, raw . . . . .	1,020,003	962,824	1,042,886
Tobacco . . . . .	238,015	261,469	233,191
Wines . . . . .	174,470	172,682	230,571
Wool, cotton . . . . .	1,361,782	897,819	784,861
All other articles . . . . .	2,127,726	1,768,993	2,206,026
Total . . £	10,962,359	9,791,830	10,978,314

# CHRONICLE.

7

## GRAIN AND FLOUR.

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Price of each sort of GRAIN, in Great Britain, in each Quarter, from January 5, 1815, to January 5, 1825.

Year.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
Quarters ending	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1815 { February . . .	59 6	29 7	21 5	37 5	36 6	41 2
1815 { May . . .	69 8	29 10	23 11	37 10	35 9	39 1
1815 { August . . .	67 11	30 11	25 3	38 1	36 0	38 8
1815 { November . . .	57 2	27 11	21 8	35 3	33 2	35 1
1816 { February . . .	53 9	24 2	17 8	32 3	29 7	31 10
1816 { May . . .	64 11	25 2	18 4	35 7	29 6	31 3
1816 { August . . .	76 5	30 1	22 3	42 1	34 7	34 8
1816 { November . . .	92 9	44 5	27 6	53 7	46 4	47 3
1817 { February . . .	100 10	50 9	29 8	64 0	58 0	60 9
1817 { May . . .	102 8	50 10	33 9	60 10	47 6	53 2
1817 { August . . .	96 11	49 3	36 4	59 10	49 10	50 8
1817 { November . . .	79 7	42 0	25 5	44 4	45 9	45 0
1818 { February . . .	86 0	45 6	27 2	49 10	49 7	51 10
1818 { May . . .	89 6	51 4	30 11	53 9	54 6	56 4
1818 { August . . .	83 7	49 9	33 1	51 2	62 11	57 8
1818 { November . . .	80 2	59 7	33 5	58 1	74 7	71 5
1819 { February . . .	77 7	60 6	32 8	57 6	67 10	68 6
1819 { May . . .	73 7	45 7	27 10	48 10	50 2	53 3
1819 { August . . .	74 11	39 3	26 4	46 8	47 8	48 7
1819 { November . . .	65 11	36 7	24 1	41 7	46 0	50 1
1820 { February . . .	63 4	32 5	22 4	40 0	42 4	46 10
1820 { May . . .	69 10	35 1	24 5	43 1	42 7	46 5
1820 { August . . .	71 11	36 5	27 1	45 2	44 5	45 11
1820 { November . . .	58 3	28 7	21 1	36 11	39 4	39 8
1821 { February . . .	54 5	25 0	18 6	34 8	32 6	36 0
1821 { May . . .	52 9	23 8	17 10	33 9	29 9	31 0
1821 { August . . .	52 7	24 8	19 3	32 6	30 9	31 6
1821 { November . . .	58 8	29 10	21 0	27 5	31 2	32 1
1822 { February . . .	49 0	19 11	16 4	21 11	22 6	24 8
1822 { May . . .	45 2	18 2	16 5	19 11	21 6	21 1
1822 { August . . .	42 11	19 0	18 9	18 10	26 0	26 9
1822 { November . . .	38 10	28 10	19 1	20 7	26 1	26 8
1823 { February . . .	40 7	28 3	17 9	22 10	26 7	30 7
1823 { May . . .	52 9	32 8	23 3	29 7	30 4	34 2
1823 { August . . .	59 9	32 9	24 6	36 8	33 5	36 1
1823 { November . . .	48 8	26 10	20 8	29 3	34 1	32 5
1824 { February . . .	61 11	33 6	23 7	42 3	38 11	38 4
1824 { May . . .	64 7	35 3	24 4	43 5	38 2	38 8
1824 { August . . .	59 6	33 11	27 2	40 3	37 4	36 8
1824 { November . . .	60 10	36 5	30 10	34 4	41 6	41 8



# CHRONICLE.

9

A RETURN by the Lord Chief Baron and Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, of the Average Prices of all sorts of Grain in Scotland, from 15th March, 1823, to 15th March, 1824; and also a similar Return from 15th March, 1824, to 15th March, 1825.

Species of grain and victual.	Averages struck between 15th March 1823, and 15th March 1824, being for crop 1823.	Averages struck between 15th March 1824, and 15th March 1825, being for crop 1824.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Wheat per English quarter	2 9 3	2 16 10	<i>Note.</i> —The prices of beans and peas are not taken separately in any of the counties in Scotland, except in Kingairdine, Roxburgh, and Wigton, and in these counties the prices seldom differ. When any difference takes place in the two years mentioned in the return, it is so very trifling as not to affect the general average.
Oats . . ditto	1 1 5	1 1 4½	
Barley or Bear ditto	1 9 5½	1 13 10	
Beans and Peas ditto	1 17 9½	1 15 0½	
Rye . . ditto	1 16 6¼	1 17 7½	
Oatmeal . ditto	1 5 3¼	1 3 4½	

A RETURN of the Average Price of all sorts of Grain in the United Kingdom, from 15th March, 1823, to 15th March, 1824, and also from 15th March, 1824, to 15th March, 1825; taken from the foregoing Returns of the Prices of Grain in each Country.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Average from 15th March, 1823, to 15th March, 1824	50 0	29 5½	20 10½	33 3½	41 1½	36 8
Average from 15th March, 1824, to 15th March, 1825	55 10½	32 11½	21 3½	42 7	43 1½	37 5½

AN ACCOUNT of the Average Price of all sorts of Grain in the United Kingdom, by which Importation has been governed, from 15th March, 1823, to 15th March, 1825.

Quarters ended.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
15th May, 1823 . .	52 9	32 8	23 3	29 7	30 4	34 2
15th August . .	59 9	32 9	24 6	36 8	33 5	36 1
15th November . .	48 8	26 10	20 8	29 3	34 1	32 4
15th February, 1824	61 11	33 6	23 7	42 3	38 11	38 4
15th May . .	64 7	35 3	24 4	43 5	38 2	36 8
15th August . .	59 6	33 11	27 2	40 3	37 4	38 4
15th November . .	60 10	38 5	20 10	34 4	41 6	41 2
15th February, 1825	66 4	38 3	23 2	39 11	39 1	44 1

A RETURN of Wheat and Flour brought Coastwise to the Port of London, from 15th September, 1823, to 7th March, 1824, and from the same Periods for the Years 1824 and 1825.

	Wheat.	Wheat flour.
	<i>Quarters.</i>	<i>Cwts.</i>
From 15th September, 1823, to 7th March, 1824 .	182,904	594,590
— 15th September, 1824, to 7th March, 1825 .	241,115	792,898

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Foreign Buck Wheat imported in each Year, from 1814 to the latest period to which the same can be made up (viz. to the Year 1824, inclusive).

Years.	Imported into the United Kingdom.
	<i>Bushels.</i>
1814 . . .	—
1815 . . .	—
1816 . . .	—
1817 . . .	6,005
1818 . . .	155,991
1819 . . .	21,591½
1820 . . .	34,770½
1821 . . .	112,684½
1822 . . .	61,117½
1823 . . .	67,239½
1824 . . .	195,400½
Total .	654,800½

## EDUCATION.

SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF EDUCATION  
IN IRELAND, FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 25, 1825.

AFTER detailing the steps which they have taken with respect to the schools of royal foundation, especially Enniskillen, Banagher, Carysfort, and Dungannon, the Commissioners advert to the state of the diocesan and district schools,—express their regret that many of the grand juries of counties have declined to present money for the building and outfit, or repairs, of such schools,—and observe, that until the clause of the existing act, imposing upon grand juries the duty of providing for the support and establishment of these schools, shall have been amended by the legislature, so as to render it imperative on them to present for such purposes, they entertain no sanguine expectation of aid from the grand juries for those most useful classical seminaries. From this remark, however, they except the grand juries of Antrim and Down, who have each presented L.1000 for the building of district schools in their respective counties; and the grand jury of Monaghan, who have presented L.500 for a similar purpose. The Commissioners state, that no endeavours have been wanting on their part to place the diocesan and district schools on a proper foundation; but that they have not authority to enforce a compliance with their suggestions.

*Substance of the First Report of the  
Commissioners of Irish Education.  
Inquiry.*

This Report is confined to the investigation of the general state of education of the lower classes in Ireland. After detailing, at considerable length, the particulars of an elaborate examination of the various existing institutions for the education of the children of the poor in that country, the Commissioners thus state the opinion which that examination has induced them to form.

Having explained, as fully as the limits of a report of this nature will permit, the distinguishing characters of the different institutions which are now in operation in Ireland, for the purpose of promoting the education of the lower orders there, it becomes our duty to show the grounds of the opinion which we have formed, that none of them provide a system of general education suited to the peculiar situation and circumstances of Ireland.

• In a country in which such marked divisions exist between different classes of the people, as are to be found in Ireland, it appears to us that schools should be established for the purpose of giving to children, of all religious persuasions, such useful instruction as they may severally be capable and desirous of receiving,



without having any grounds to apprehend an interference with their respective religious principles. In expressing this opinion, we have the satisfaction of finding that we entirely concur with the views of the Commissioners of Education who preceded us, as stated in their 14th report.

It is apparent, that this important object has not been fully attained in any schools hitherto established. The present system is the result of an accidental combination of various institutions, some of which were formed for other purposes, and with different views, than can now be entertained. Some, indeed, are more nearly adapted to the wants and the circumstances of the times than others, but none of them have ever been placed on such a footing as to obtain the cordial and general support of all classes.

In the view which we have already taken of the different institutions, the merits and imperfections of each must have become in some degree apparent. It is necessary for us, however, again briefly to advert to them, in order to show, that neither separately nor collectively can they be held to have effected the object which appears to us so desirable to accomplish.

The parish schools, though, in their original institution, they were clogged with no regulations which would have prevented them from being of general utility, became, by the events of the Reformation, strictly Protestant; and, when the act of William the Third prohibited Roman Catholics from teaching in schools, these, being wholly under the direction of the clergy of the Established Church, could never be likely to afford a system of education, to which children of all persuasions could resort without distrust or jealousy.

The charter schools, which came

next in succession, were long looked upon as instruments by which the children of the Roman Catholic peasantry were to be educated in the Protestant faith. As such they have, from the first institution of the society, been the objects of suspicion and aversion to the Roman Catholics; and though the original object has been in some degree abandoned, they still possess a character decidedly exclusive, and are never likely to undergo such modifications as could render them generally and extensively beneficial.

The respectable class of schools which are under the care of the Association for discountenancing vice, though far more extensive in their operation, and more liberal in their character, can hardly be expected to inspire the Roman Catholics or the Presbyterians with confidence, being under the immediate superintendence of the clergy of the Established Church, the doctrines of which they have always consistently and avowedly taught to all who would consent to learn them. The education of the children of any other persuasion is so entirely an accidental and secondary object, that Presbyterians and Protestant dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics, view this class of schools with some degree of distrust.

The Society for the Education of the Poor, more commonly known by the name of the Kildare Street Society, which was selected and assisted by Parliament, in the hope that it might provide instruction for all, without interfering with the religious opinions of any, has not fully succeeded in effecting that desirable object. We have already noticed the objections made to it by the Roman Catholic clergy. From our communications with them, upon our respective tours, we can state, that the opinions entertained by them are ge-

nerally the same as those of the Roman Catholic prelates whom we examined, and whose evidence is inserted in the appendix. We found that an opinion prevailed generally amongst all orders of the Roman Catholic clergy, that a combined and systematic attempt was making, on the part of several Societies, to effect the conversion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestant faith. They believe, that not only the Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, and the Society for promoting the principles of the Reformation, are decidedly aiming at this end, but that the London Hibernian, the Baptist, and even the Kildare Place Society, have also the same object in view. We found that they made little or no distinction between these several Societies, although some of them, in their character and their intentions, widely differ from others. This confusion has, in some degree, arisen from the circumstance, that the same persons, in several instances, take a prominent and active part in the management of more than one of these Societies, and the Roman Catholics have hence concluded, that their objects are alike in all.

It forms no part of our duty to notice any of these Societies but such as are connected with the establishment of schools; and of that class we found that the London Hibernian, and Baptist Societies were so conducted as to excite a greater degree of distrust on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy than any of the others. It is true, indeed, that general directions are given by these Societies, that no attempt shall be made in their schools to instil Protestant doctrines into the minds of the Roman Catholic children. The chief object is to give them scriptural instruction. They are required not only to read the Scriptures in the schools, but to commit considerable parts of them to me-

mory, for which purpose it becomes necessary that they should take the book to their respective homes. Scripture reading, by the children of all ages, is the predominant and almost the sole object of instruction; and it is the avowed wish of the Directors, that the children should thus obtain for themselves an acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity, without reference to any particular form, or creed, or worship.

The opinion which is formed by the Roman Catholics, of the character and intentions of the London Hibernian, and Baptist Societies, must naturally be the result of a consideration of the whole, and not of a part of their proceedings; and in this view it is important to observe, with respect to the London Hibernian Society, that the circulation of the Holy Scriptures generally in Ireland is one of the declared objects of the Society, and that it also employs a class of readers, who are constantly engaged in travelling through those parts of the country which are inhabited by Roman Catholics, and in reading and expounding to them the Scriptures. So likewise with respect to the Baptist Society, its declared object is not only to establish schools, but "to promote the Gospel in Ireland," by the employment of itinerant preachers, and by the distribution of Bibles and Tracts, either gratuitously, or at reduced prices.

The anxiety and apprehension which we found to prevail amongst the Roman Catholic clergy with respect to proselytism, induced us carefully to inquire, whether many children had in fact been converted from the Roman Catholic faith, through the immediate instrumentality either of the schools of the Kildare Place Society, or of the other Societies with which it is connected; and we have no reason whatever to believe, that the con-

version of any children has taken place in any case in which it cannot be sufficiently accounted for by the religion of one or other of the parents. The Roman Catholic clergy, however, do not rest their opposition to these Societies on the ground that proselytism has actually been effected by them, but on an allegation that such is their object,—that such is the tendency of their schools,—and that such might be the effect of their system if it were allowed to prevail. Whatever may have been the nature of the opposition which the Roman Catholic clergy have given, we had abundant opportunities of seeing that it had been very generally exercised, and its effects were apparent at the time of our inspection, in the altered state of by much the greater part of the schools. That their exertions to remove the children are not made with equal success, or with equal resolution in all cases, is naturally to be expected; but that they have been to a great degree successful, and will to the utmost be persisted in, we are led seriously to apprehend.

Having come to the conclusion, that none of the existing establishments, whilst they continue to act on their present rules, can provide such a system of education as shall be cordially adopted and generally supported, it was our duty to consider in what way that important object could be best attained.

The complaints of the Roman Catholic clergy, that the bounty of Government was not intended to be exclusive, but that it was rendered so by rules which individuals had the power of applying to its distribution, attracted our serious attention; and, referring to the petition of the Roman Catholic prelates, we, in the first instance, considered, whether it was desirable to recommend a grant of

money in aid of schools, to be founded and directed by some Roman Catholic body, to be selected for that purpose.

We had, in the course of our inspection, paid particular attention to three classes of Roman Catholic schools; we mean the schools of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, the schools of the Nuns, for the instruction of females, and the Roman Catholic free Lancasterian schools, generally attached to chapels. These three classes appeared to be severally capable of extension, and to admit of the possibility of forming the basis of a system of education which might readily be made to comprehend a great majority of the Roman Catholic children.

We entered into the consideration of this subject, however, with our minds deeply impressed by the inexpediency of establishing a system of separate education. We had observed, in our examination of these schools, that they possessed a character so peculiar and distinct, that though Protestant children were not systematically excluded, very few of them had ever been known to attend. In the practice of these schools, religious and general instruction are so blended together, that unless the course of teaching should be wholly changed, they could never afford any other than a strictly Roman Catholic education, inculcated through the medium of a series of catechisms; and in not more than one or two of these schools did we find that the Scriptures had ever been used. In many instances, the schools of the latter class appeared to be inadequately furnished with books and other requisites: and an anxious wish was very generally expressed by their conductors, that these deficiencies might be supplied by the aid of Government. On examining

the books, however, we generally found them to be such as would be used only by Roman Catholics.

Were we to recommend a grant of money in aid of such schools, the result would be, that they would be eagerly supported by the Roman Catholic body,—their numbers would increase,—and the masters would be better paid, the schools better supplied, and the instruction rendered more effective; but its character would still remain the same. The Roman Catholic children would also, no doubt, universally withdraw from every other description of schools, and from every opportunity of being associated with Protestants; and, after a short time, two systems would be established in the country, in which the children of the two persuasions would be so educated as to be more than ever estranged from each other.

The evils with which separate education is evidently pregnant, necessarily fixed our attention on the benefits which would result from a contrary course. A system of united education, from which suspicion should, if possible, be banished, and the causes of distrust and jealousy be effectually removed,—under which the children might imbibe similar ideas, and form congenial habits, would tend rapidly to diminish, instead of increase, the distinctness of feeling which is now but too prevalent. We were led, therefore, anxiously to seek for the means of establishing a system of united and general education.

We had learnt, in the course of our inquiries, that no system could obtain a general and cordial support in Ireland, which should not, in addition to elementary knowledge of a literary character, afford the opportunity of religious instruction to persons of all persuasions. We so fully concur in this view of the subject, that our objection to most of the systems at present in

operation is, that they both attempt and effect too little upon this important point. The principle hitherto acted upon by the Kildare Street Society, in particular, is to omit altogether the points of religious doctrine and belief upon which a difference of opinion exists. For this purpose it has been found necessary to exclude all catechisms, and to forbid all comment or explanation of the Scriptures: the children of the most advanced classes are taught to read the New Testament, and are left, without guide or assistance, to discover its meaning. It is not to be denied, that some children may frequently obtain much knowledge in this imperfect manner; but it was evident to us, in the opportunities which we had of examining the children in these schools, that they too generally comprehended but little of the meaning of the portions of Scripture which they had successively read. The system appeared to us to be one in which very much of what was useful was sacrificed to the hope of excluding everything on which disagreement could exist.

In the schools of the Association for discountenancing vice, this compromise is not carried to the same extent as in the schools of the Kildare Place Society; for in them the catechism is regularly taught to the children belonging to the Established Church, though none others are compelled to learn it. We were led also to observe, that the principle of withdrawing the attention of the pupils from all points on which religious difference existed, had been thought very objectionable by some of the Protestant as well as the Roman Catholic clergy; and it is, we believe, the opinion of most persons of the Established Church and other Protestant communions, as well as of the Roman Catholic clergy, that explanation and comment upon the Scripture,

and a certain degree of catechetical instruction, are necessary to religious education.

We had, in the course of our inspection, been much struck with the state of many schools, in which the pupils paid for the instruction they received, and in which there appeared to be perfect harmony amongst children of all persuasions. These schools were carried on as objects of private speculation, and not supported either by public funds, or by the aid of Societies. Each child was taught the religion which its parents wished it to learn; and the master, who depended for his livelihood on giving satisfaction to his employers, was content to impart as he could the instruction necessary for each. In this manner, we frequently found the same master teaching the catechism of the Church of England to one child, the Roman Catholic to another, and the Presbyterian to a third; according to a mode which is well described to us by Mr Cooke, the moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster. Although we do not mean to approve of the same master teaching different and conflicting religious doctrines, the state of these schools led us to the conclusion, that it was at least possible that both religious and general instruction might be communicated in establishments in which children of all persuasions should be taught together.

The modern practice of mutual instruction, wherever it has been introduced, has created the necessity of adopting a more precise uniformity of reading, than existed in the unimproved schools to which we have alluded, and in which the study of one child has little or no connexion with that of another. According to the course now so general, the children, who are divided into classes, read successive passages out of similar books,

and the difficulty of avoiding the conflict of religious differences is thereby considerably increased.

On the fullest consideration which we have been able to give to the subject, we are of opinion, that it is desirable to unite children of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, for the purpose of instructing them in the general objects of literary knowledge, and to provide facilities for their instruction separately, where the difference of religious belief renders it impossible for them any longer to learn together.

We proceed to examine in what manner religious instruction can most effectually be given to children of the Protestant faith in Ireland. It appears, from the returns made by the Protestant clergy, that of 137,570 Protestant children, stated to be now in the course of education, 91,026 are of the Established Church, 43,236 are Presbyterians, and 3308 are dissenters of various denominations.

It has been satisfactory to us to learn, that though differences of opinion exist among persons of these respective classes of Protestants, there is nothing which would prevent them from receiving religious instruction from persons of their respective communions in the same schools, if such an arrangement should be found convenient, nor would there be any difficulty in their reading the Scriptures together. The authorized version of the Bible is used by all classes of Protestants, and the exercise of private judgement in the interpretation of Scripture is recognised by all. There is no objection, therefore, to their reading together in classes, neither is there any objection to the children of the different denominations of Protestants being taught their respective catechisms, when they are assembled for the purpose of receiving religious instruction.

Various opinions are entertained with respect to the time which it is necessary to devote to religious instruction, and in the different schools now in existence the practice is also various; we collect, however, that portions of two days in each week would be fully sufficient.

It becomes our next duty to inquire, in what degree the clergy of the Established Church can, or ought, practically to take charge of the superintendence of the religious education of their flocks.

Upon this subject we proposed the following questions to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin:

“(Q. Laying for the present out of consideration any obligations which the statute law may impose upon the clergy, would your Grace be so good as to state, what you conceive to be the extent of the duty of the parochial clergy of Ireland, with respect to the instruction of Protestant children of the Established Church within their respective cures of souls?”

His Grace's answer was as follows:

“I conceive it to be their duty to find out, in all the families within their respective spiritual charges, what children will receive from them religious instruction, and contrive the best means of giving it. I conceive it is the bounden duty of every clergyman, in every parish, to go from door to door to know the young persons of the families, and to learn if they can procure their attendance at any proper time and place, so as to give them religious instruction. It is their bounden duty to seek after them, and give them what you are now prescribing modes and facilities to effect.”

The following question was then submitted to his Grace:

“Of course, if any considerable portion of the Protestant peasantry of their respective parishes were collect-

ed in parochial schools, at specific times set apart for that purpose, there could be no doubt it would form a part of the duty of the clergy, in your Grace's view of it, to discharge that duty, even laying out of consideration any obligation under the statute?”

To which his Grace answered, “Yes, most certainly.”

We then inquired his Grace's view with respect to the obligations imposed by statute law upon the clergy with respect to parochial schools.

His Grace's answer was as follows:

“My view of the duty of the clergy, as growing out of the act of 28th Henry VIII. is, that there is no obligation imposed on the incumbent of a parish to keep a free school. The law, as it appears to me, has become obsolete, or rather, is virtually repealed, respecting certain duties enjoined to the clergyman, such as telling the beads in English, &c. because these duties themselves have passed away. But the duty of keeping, or causing to be kept, an English school, I conceive to be still in force under the statute. The mistake that has prevailed on this head seems to be, that the clergy are bound by this act, and the oath prescribed by it, to keep a free school; whereas, the act expressly describes the school to be kept, not as a free school, but, on the contrary, as one in which a stipend is to be paid by the scholars resorting to it; conditioning only, that the stipend shall be such as is usually paid by scholars in English schools in that district of the country; at the same time I conceive, that the clergy are, to the utmost of their power, bound to keep, or see that there be kept, an English school for the instruction of the poor, although they are not bound to see that it shall be a free school. The true intention of the law I consider to be conveyed and enforced in the act of the 7th of William III. en-

titled, 'An act to restrain Foreign Education.' In this act it is declared, that the clergy shall, in their respective parishes or districts, keep English schools, or cause them to be kept, according to the true intent and spirit of the act of Henry the Eighth; and this, I conceive, sets aside all those minor considerations growing out of the change of times, and brings the matter to the fair, honest equity of the case, that the clergy were intended to be the guardians of the education of the country, and to promote it in every fair and practicable way. I have always felt it as such; and considered, that the oath imposed on the clergy, at institution, bore broadly upon this, without entering into the minutiae of the legal consideration, which admit of, and have led to, a great deal of special pleading; but which, when gone into, even with a liberal interpretation, seem decidedly to preclude the idea that the clergy are bound to keep free schools."

It is obvious to us, that the intention of the statute of Henry Eighth was not pecuniary contribution, but superintendence, and that it did impose the latter duty. This act, after reciting, amongst other things, "the importance of a good instruction in the most blessed laws of Almighty God;" and further reciting His Majesty's disposition and zeal, that "a certain direction and order be had, that all we his subjects should the better know God, and do that thing that might in time be and redound to our wealth, quiet, and commodity,"—proceeds, after a variety of enactments tending to the suppression of the Irish, and the introduction of the English language and customs, to require an oath to be administered to every clergyman at ordination, and another at institution, that amongst other things, "he should keep, or cause to be kept, within the place,

territory, or parish, where he shall have pre-eminence, rule, benefice, or promotion, a school to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the said land is accustomed to be given."

We cannot see in these provisions, that the obligation is limited to the mere teaching of the English language. It appears that the better knowledge of God and the civil and moral duties of the people, were equally the objects of the legislature. Although the Reformation subsequently rendered obsolete the direction, that the clergy should "bid the beads in English," we see nothing to annul the obligations imposed by the other provisions of the act. But whatever doubt might be entertained, if the question rested upon the construction of the act of Henry Eighth alone, we agree with his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in thinking, that any such doubt is removed altogether by the act of William the Third, which enjoins the strict execution of the act of Henry Eighth, with respect to schools.

Every clergyman accordingly is still required by law to take an oath at institution to that effect, which is in the following terms:

"I do solemnly swear, That I will teach or cause to be taught an English school within the vicarage or rectory of \_\_\_\_\_ as the law in that case requires."

Under these circumstances, a responsibility is imposed on the clergy, which is the more inconvenient, as its limits and nature are but imperfectly defined, though it certainly exposes them to the liability of being deprived of their benefices, if convicted a third time of not complying with the provisions of the act. We there-

fore recommend, that this uncertain duty should hereafter be limited to their personal superintendence of the religious instruction to be given to the Protestant children of the Established Church in the public parochial schools which we shall hereafter recommend to be established.

The careful instruction of the children in the Bible, not merely by making them read it, but by fixing their attention to its doctrines and precepts, and by exercising their minds in the perception of their true force and meaning, is the first and most important object of Protestant religious education. In addition to this, the teaching one catechism to the children of the Church of England, and one also to the Presbyterians, is the course which appears to be approved by persons qualified to form an opinion on the subject. The mode of giving religious instruction, by teaching in succession a variety of catechisms, has been condemned to us by high authority, and has, we believe, deservedly fallen into disrepute.

It is stated by Mr Daly, as the result of his practice in the schools superintended by him in his parish of Powerscourt, that he finds the children who attend to the comment and explanation of a limited portion of the Scriptures, which are given by him at certain periods of the week, make more progress in religious knowledge than others who range through a greater extent, without the advantage of exposition. The nature and extent of the religious instruction to be administered to the children of the Established Church will, however, be more properly arranged by the clergy, under the direction of their respective diocesans.

In many parts of Ireland it would occur, that a very large proportion of the Protestant children in attendance on the schools would be of the Pres-

byterian church: the care of the Protestant children would, in these cases, respectively devolve on the clergymen of the Established Church, and the Presbyterian ministers, whose inclination we are assured it would continue to be, as it now is their practice, to attend particularly to the instruction of the children of their flock, in their catechisms and other religious exercises. To afford facilities for this purpose, we recommend, that in those parts of Ireland where the Presbyterians are found in considerable number, provision should be made in each of the public parochial schools of united general instruction, for the appointment of a teacher of that communion, who, besides his services in the common instruction of the school, may assist in the separate religious instruction of the Presbyterian children, under the superintendence of the minister.

Having thus far explained our views as to the religious education of the different classes of Protestant children in Ireland, we now come to the consideration of the religious instruction of the Roman Catholics. We had learnt that they not only wished that their children should receive instruction in the doctrines of their faith, but were also anxious that such instruction should not be left in the hands of persons professing a different belief. In the reasonableness of this desire we could not but acquiesce.

We therefore felt it necessary to have an interview with the four archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, for the purpose of ascertaining their opinions in what manner religious instruction ought to be provided for the children of Roman Catholics. The substance of our conference will best be understood from the minute made upon the occasion, which we shall here insert.



"Minutes of a conversation between his Majesty's Commissioners of Education Inquiry, and the most reverend Dr Murray, one of the archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland."

"Board of Education Inquiry,  
"Dublin, Thursday, 16th December 1824."

"The Commissioners being desirous of ascertaining the views of Dr Murray, and of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, on some important points connected with a general plan of education, stated to Dr Murray that they were anxious to establish such a system as should unite children of all religious denominations in the same schools, except when it should become unavoidably necessary to separate them for the purpose of religious instruction."

"They observed, that they considered this a point of great importance to the interests of the state, as it was only by training up the youth of all persuasions in habits of early intercourse and attachment, that they could hope to establish among them those reciprocal charities upon which the peace and harmony of society must depend."

"The Commissioners then stated, that they could not consider any system of education as deserving that name, which should not seek to lay the foundations of all moral obligation in religious instruction; and that with respect to the religious instruction of Roman Catholic children, they were anxious to ascertain the sentiments of Dr Murray and of the Roman Catholic clergy."

"They therefore inquired whether there would be any objection to common literary instruction being received by Roman Catholics, as well from a Protestant as a Roman Catholic master, and whether religious instruction

could be given to Roman Catholics by a Roman Catholic layman approved of by the proper Roman Catholic pastor."

"Dr Murray stated that there could be no possible objection to Roman Catholics receiving literary instruction from a Protestant, nor to their receiving religious instruction from a Roman Catholic layman approved of by the proper Roman Catholic pastor; and he added, that the providing of proper persons for such purpose would be a great relief to the Roman Catholic clergy."

"The Commissioners then suggested, that schools might be established, in each of which there should be both a Protestant and Roman Catholic lay teacher, by whom education in common might be administered; so that the children, united in the same classes, should learn from the same masters, and use the same books; that for the remuneration of such teachers, adequate means might be provided; that the Roman Catholic teacher might assist in the general literary instruction, and might give separate religious instruction to the Roman Catholic children, subject to the direction of their pastors, and that the school-room, for a reasonable portion of time, on one or two days in the week, might be appropriated exclusively to that object."

"In these suggestions for uniting Protestant and Roman Catholic children in literary, and separating them only for religious instruction, Dr Murray expressed his concurrence."

"The Commissioners then observed, that separate religious instruction should not commence until the difference of religious belief should make it impossible for instruction any longer to be received in common; and they inquired whether it would be objected to, on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, that the more

advanced of the Protestant and Roman Catholic children should, at certain times during school hours, read portions of the Holy Scriptures together, and in the same classes, but out of their respective versions, subject to proper regulations, and in the presence of their respective Protestant and Roman Catholic teachers; suggesting, at the same time, that opportunities might be afforded to the teachers of each persuasion to explain to the children separately the portions so read.

“Dr Murray answered, that serious difficulties would exist in the way of such an arrangement; and in lieu of it he proposed, that the Holy Scriptures should be used only when the Roman Catholic children should be taken apart for the purpose of receiving religious instruction, and he said, that there could be no possible objection to the Roman Catholic children then reading out of the sacred volume itself, the gospels and epistles of the week: he added, that no objection would be made to a harmony of the gospels being used in the general education which the children should receive in common, nor to a volume containing extracts from the Psalms, Proverbs, and book of Ecclesiasticus, nor to a volume containing the history of the creation—of the deluge—of the patriarchs—of Joseph—and of the deliverance of the Israelites, extracted from the Old Testament; and that he was satisfied no difficulties in arranging the details of such works would arise on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy.

“The Commissioners then stated, that they considered it of the utmost moment that no books or catechisms should be admitted, either in the course of the literary or religious instruction, containing matter calculated to excite contempt, hatred, or any uncharitable feeling in any class towards per-

sons of a different religious persuasion.

“To this Dr Murray cordially assented.

(Signed) “D. MURRAY, Abp.

(Signed) “T. FRANKLAND LEWIS.

“J. LESLIE FOSTER.

“W. GRANT.

“JAMES GLASSFORD.

“A. R. BLAKE.”

“7th January 1825.

“The Commissioners having had an interview this day with the most reverend Drs Curtis, Murray, Kelly, and Laffan, the four archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the minute of the 16th of December last was read; and it was explained, that the passage which related to the separate religious instruction of Roman Catholics meant, that the proper Roman Catholic pastors should have the right of being present on these occasions, and giving such religious instruction as they should think proper, and that what was said of masters applied also to mistresses. The archbishops who were not present on the 16th, expressed a wish to consider the matter until to-morrow.”

“January 8th.

“The Roman Catholic archbishops mentioned above, having met the Commissioners this day, expressed their concurrence in the views already expressed by Dr Murray.

(Signed) “PATRICK CURTIS, D.D.

“OLIVER KELLY, D.D.

“ROBERT LAFFAN, D.D.”

After a careful review of the whole of this subject, the delicacy and embarrassments of which are exceeded only by its importance, our minds have been led to the conclusion, that no better system for providing a general and united education can now

be adopted than that which we proceed to recommend. It is not possible for us, in the present Report, to define every part of its details; it will, we trust, be sufficient to point out the leading principles on which the system should rest.

We propose that public schools of general instruction shall be established, one at least in each benefice, in which literary instruction shall be communicated to children of all religious persuasions; that two teachers, to be appointed by the general superintending authority, (the establishment of which we shall subsequently recommend,) shall be employed in each school, where the extent of attendance shall be sufficient to justify the expense; that they shall each of them be laymen, and that one of them shall be a Roman Catholic, where any considerable number of Roman Catholics are in attendance on the school; and that a Presbyterian teacher shall be provided in those schools, where the number of children belonging to that communion shall render such appointment necessary or expedient; that on two days in the week the school shall break up at an early hour, and the remainder of the day be devoted to the separate religious instruction of the Protestants; the clergyman of the Established Church attending for the purposes at once of superintendence and assistance, and the Presbyterian minister likewise, if he shall so think fit, for the children of his communion. That on two other days of the week the school-rooms of general instruction shall in like manner be set apart for the Roman Catholic children; on such occasions, under the care of a Roman Catholic lay teacher, approved of as mentioned in the minute book, we have given, they shall read the scriptures and gospels of the week, therein mentioned, and receive

such other religious instruction as their pastors (who may attend, if they think fit) shall direct. It may be right to notice, that in the Roman Catholic church there are epistles and gospels appointed, not for Sundays only, but for almost every day in the year, and they comprise altogether a large portion of the Old and New Testament.

If the attendance on a school should be so limited as to render both a master and usher unnecessary, the master might be permitted to take charge of the school of general instruction, and be also the religious teacher to the children of the same persuasion as himself. In such a case, however, a person of a different religion, duly qualified and properly remunerated, might attend at those periods in the week when the school is set apart for the religious instruction of children of a different persuasion from the master, and perform, under proper superintendence, the duty of religious teacher to those of his own communion; and it might be possible for the individual appointed to this duty to take charge of the religious instruction in more schools than one in a parish or district. We suggest this arrangement, however, as one which is possible rather than desirable; and express our opinion, that the establishment of parochial schools, sufficiently large to occupy a master and usher, is much the most eligible course.

We think it further necessary, that means should be provided for supplying Testaments, according to the authorized version, for the Protestant children. With respect to the Roman Catholic children, an edition of the New Testament for their use has been submitted to us by the Roman Catholic prelates. The text of this edition is the Douay version; almost all the notes, however, originally annex-

ed to that version have been omitted. We find, in fact, that there are only sixty-three notes altogether to the four gospels; and these, with the exception of an inconsiderable number, have no peculiar reference to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, as distinguished from those of the Protestant churches; and such as have this peculiar reference are expressed in a manner which ought not, we think, to be offensive to any description of persons. The summaries prefixed to the different chapters are in like manner, as it appears to us, unobjectionable. To this edition is also annexed a table of the epistles and gospels throughout the year, specifying the portions of the Scriptures appointed to be read for those purposes by the Roman Catholic church.

Deeply impressed with the importance and necessity of introducing the Scriptures into all institutions for the education of the people, as a fundamental part of the instruction, we recommend that copies of this edition of the Testament, omitting the address thereto prefixed, but retaining the notes, should be furnished for the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children, in every school established upon the system proposed. It will be for the Roman Catholic clergy to supply such other books for the purpose of religious instruction as they may desire. We would suggest, however, that many forms of catechisms are now in use

amongst the Roman Catholics in the different districts of Ireland, and that it would be expedient that some one or two should be selected or compiled for general use.

It will be necessary also to provide\* a volume compiled from the four gospels, in the manner adverted to in our conference with the Roman Catholic archbishops. Such a book, together with the Book of Proverbs, and the work containing the history of the creation, the deluge, and other important events, extracted from the Pentateuch, may be profitably used in the schools during the period of united and general instruction. We by no means intend such works as substitutes for the Holy Scriptures, although we propose that the reading of the Scriptures themselves should be reserved for the time of separate religious instruction.

The means by which a system of general instruction can be properly enforced and administered are hardly of less importance than the system itself. That object has not hitherto been accomplished by any one of the institutions which have been supported by the public funds in Ireland.

The members of the Incorporated Society, the Association for discountenancing Vice, and the Society for the Education of the Poor, all distribute the money granted to them under rules laid down by themselves, the execution of which, it does not appear to us, they have adequate

\* A work of this description, entitled, "An Evangelical Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, forming an Harmony of the Four Gospels," sanctioned by the Roman Catholic prelates, has been examined by us. It consists of the text of the four gospels, according to the Douay version, interwoven into one consecutive narration. The order pursued is chronological. Where any particular occurs in one gospel that is not to be found in the others, it is inserted. Where the same particulars are stated in two or more, the statement is inserted from that gospel in which it is the most full.

The notes, originally annexed in an Appendix to this work, have been omitted in an edition which we have examined.

means of enforcing. The latter society, by the employment of inspectors, have done more towards the accomplishment of this object than the others. Their schools, however, as we have already observed, are often in connexion with other societies, which establish rules incompatible with a strict compliance with their own; and practical evasions of their rules are daily occurring. Of the talents, industry, and integrity of the gentlemen who compose the acting committee of the Kildare-street Society, we entertain the highest opinion; but we think they have not the power to effect all the objects which they are desirous of accomplishing. We are of opinion, that any society consisting of a large and fluctuating body of subscribers, who are bound by no other rules than those which they impose upon themselves, cannot permanently be the most proper instrument for directing and controlling a system of general education, maintained principally by the public money, in a country which unfortunately abounds in distrust and jealousy on account of religious opinions.

For the foundation and management of such schools of general instruction as we recommend, we think that a distinct Board should be appointed by Government, of persons responsible for the execution of the duty committed to their charge; and who should be invested with sufficient authority to control the application and expenditure of the public money appropriated to the purposes of general education. The Board should, we think, appoint inspectors, who should be enabled to examine upon oath. The schoolmasters, also, we think, should be sworn to conform to the rules laid down by the Board for their guidance. It will be necessary for this Board to have the entire

control of all money to be applied to the maintenance of the schools under their care, from whatever sources it may be derived;—to have a legal right to the school-house, either by a permanent grant, in the case of a parochial school, or by possession being transferred to them, for a period not less than a year, in the case of a school belonging to a private patron receiving aid from the Board. They should have the sole power also of appointing and dismissing all masters and assistants, and of admitting or rejecting all books or papers which may be read in their schools.

The establishment of such an authority, for the purposes we have mentioned, renders it necessary to consider what course should be adopted with respect to the societies now supported or assisted by public grant.

The first which presents itself to our notice is the Incorporated Society. It has been our duty to give so detailed an account of the schools under its direction, that little more can be now necessary than to state our conviction, that no care or anxiety, however great, on the part of the many benevolent and distinguished persons concerned in its management, can ever successfully counteract the defects inherent both in its plans and constitution; and we are therefore obliged to suggest the expediency of gradually withdrawing the public aid from that Society, and of leaving it to the management of its own funds, which we conceive considerably exceed £7000 per annum.

We think that these schools are now to be judged of, not as institutions for conversion, but rather as places of education; and as such we are clearly of opinion that, under all the circumstances which it has been our duty to detail, they ought no longer to derive aid from the public

revenue. The course which we think should be pursued, with respect to the reduction of these schools, is, first, that all children who are fit to be apprenticed should be disposed of with as little delay as may be; and, secondly, that there should be no new admissions of children until the total number be so far reduced that the establishment can be maintained by its own private funds. It will then be for the Society to judge in what manner they can most usefully apply the large revenues which have been intrusted to them by the donations or bequests of charitable individuals, and to decide whether it be still expedient to maintain boarding-schools at so large an expense, and, as we think, to so little purpose. They have already acted upon the principle of establishing day-schools; and if hereafter they should determine to extend their application of that principle, the superintendence and management of the schools maintained by them might readily be brought under the powers of the Board which we have recommended to be established. A more desirable course, and, perhaps, still more conducive to the interests of the Established Church, would, in our judgement, be an application of their funds to the assistance of the Association for discountenancing Vice, in the distribution of religious books, and the promotion of catechetical instruction.

We have next to consider of the course which it is desirable to pursue, with respect to the Association for discountenancing Vice. Of this society, the objects are threefold: to promote catechetical instruction; to distribute Bibles, Prayer-books, and other books of religious instruction; and to give assistance to schools established by the clergy. We have already stated our opinion, that the obligation of providing schools should

be removed from the clergy, and that they should be charged only with the duty of personally superintending the religious education of children of the Established Church, in their respective schools of general parochial instruction. With that duty, the distribution of Bibles and Prayer-books, and the promotion of catechetical instruction, strictly conform; and we think the Association would constitute a most useful auxiliary to the clergy of the Established Church in those objects. With respect to their present schools, we think it desirable that they should be transferred as much as possible to the general control and inspection of the new Board, and that every facility should be given for that purpose.

The Kildare Place Society directs its attention to the publication and sale of cheap and useful books, a model-school for the training of masters and mistresses, and to the maintenance of schools for instruction. The selection and arrangement of the books have been extremely well conducted, and we have no doubt, that the various works which they have prepared are as well calculated as any can be for schools of general instruction, from which everything is to be excluded which can offend the religious tenets of any persuasion of Christians. We think, therefore, that the arrangement and circulation of such books for the use of schools, and the sale and distribution and grants of school perquisites, may still remain with the Society, subject to the approbation or rejection of the board of Superintendence, as to all schools under its management. With respect to the model-schools also, and the establishment for training masters and mistresses, we find them to have been extremely well managed; and as the maintenance of such an establishment must, for a considerable time at least,

continue to be highly desirable in Ireland, we think that the superintendence and direction of that Institution may, with great advantage, be left to the care of the Society. The schools under their management, we think, form a separate and highly important subject for consideration. It appears to us, in the first instance, to be expedient for the Society to withhold all grants to schools in connexion with, or deriving aid or assistance from, any other society; and that for this purpose, all schools that derive aid from other societies, should be called upon to decide to which they will continue to belong, and the aid from this Society continued to such only as reject that of others.

We recommend also, that after the appointment of the new Board, the establishment of which we have suggested, the Society should not make any new grant of money in aid of building any school-room, or undertake to pay the master or mistress of any school which is not at this time in connexion with them, or to which they are not already engaged, but refer all applications for the building of new schools to such Board.

Every facility and power should, we think, be granted both to the Society and to private patrons, to transfer their schools to the care and superintendence of the same authority.

We cannot entertain the plan of destroying any existing class of schools, which are useful to a considerable extent, though not so much so as, we hope, they may be rendered. We are, however, of opinion, that if, after the lapse of a certain time, the schools of general instruction which we recommend should be found to answer their purpose, any schools continuing to belong to other societies, and refusing to transfer themselves to the management of the new Board, should gradually cease to receive any public aid.

In seeking for the means of establishing in Ireland an adequate number of such schools as we have described, it is hardly necessary to state, that a most zealous wish to promote education exists on the part of a great number of private individuals, who are ready to sacrifice to this object a portion both of their time and property.

In addition, therefore, to the parochial schools of general instruction which we have proposed, we have no doubt that individuals will continue to contribute their assistance, by founding schools under their own immediate care. A part, therefore, of the necessary means for the establishment and maintenance of such schools, may be confidently expected from private contributions; and such schools, we propose, should be liberally assisted by the new Board, upon condition of submitting themselves to its jurisdiction. As to the funds for the maintenance of the new Parochial Schools, we recommend that they shall be derived partly from the State, partly from parochial assessments, and partly from payment by the pupils. Looking to the results of our own personal examination into schools of all descriptions, to the practical effects of the system so long and so beneficially in operation in Scotland, we are satisfied that the schools should be founded on the principle of *pay-schools*, and that the payment should go to the master and the usher. At what sum the rate of payment should be fixed, must depend upon local circumstances. By appointing, in certain situations, a higher rate of contribution, a most eligible class of schools may readily be provided with instruction suitable to a better description of persons. Although, in all cases, payment by each scholar should be the rule, we recommend that there should be lodged, in certain individuals, a pow

of dispensing with the payment, and of admitting, as an exception, certain free scholars. Payment, however, should be the rule, and gratuitous instruction the exception.

By the gradual reduction of the charter schools, and by the transfer of a part of those which are now maintained by the Association and the Kildare Place Society, a large amount of the public funds at present granted for education will become available for the new schools of public and general instruction. The plan which we have recommended cannot be put into full operation without the aid of powers which can only be obtained from Parliament. We think it, however, desirable to attempt, with as little delay as possible, to establish schools upon the system we have recommended; and we think the grant to the Lord Lieutenant for the general purpose of aiding schools should at once be made applicable to this object. We have already shown, that, according to the present management of that fund, it may be so applied as to assist schools of any description whatever. We recommend that the Commissioners should be enabled, out of the grant made in this session, to fulfil such engagements only as they have actually entered into, and that the remainder of the fund, with such addition as may be thought sufficient, should be applied, under such directions as any new authority to be erected for the purpose may think fit, to the establishment of schools of the description which we have proposed.

In the early part of this report, it has been stated, that we addressed a form of return to the parochial clergy of the Established Church, to the Roman Catholic clergy, and also to the several Presbyterian ministers. The form of this return will be found in the Appendix. The information

thereby obtained from these several authorities is extremely important. It is, however, so voluminous, that it will require a separate report for its elucidation, and we propose to devote to it our earliest attention. At present, we shall merely state the general result. According to the returns made by the ministers of the Established Church, the total number of schools in Ireland (Sunday-schools excepted) is 10,387, and they contain 498,641 pupils. According to the Roman Catholic returns, the number of schools is 10,453, and the number of pupils 522,016.

In the enumeration we have excluded Sunday-schools on both sides, as the children in attendance upon them are almost universally to be found in the day-schools also. The total numbers in education are, according to the Protestant returns, thus distributed:—

Of the Established Church	91,026
Presbyterians . . .	43,236
Protestants of other denominations . . .	3,308
Roman Catholics . . .	357,249
Children in education, whose religion is not stated in the returns . . . . .	3,822

Total in education, according to the Protestant returns 498,641

The numbers, according to the Roman Catholic returns, are as follow:

Of the Established Church	88,180
Presbyterians . . .	33,709
Protestants of other denominations . . .	3,794
Roman Catholics . . .	397,212
Children in education, whose religion is not stated in the returns . . . . .	4,121

Total in education, according to the Roman Catholic returns . . . . . 522,016



In the year 1812, it appears by the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education, to which we have so often had occasion to refer, that at that time the number of schools in Ireland might be estimated at 4,600, containing about 200,000 pupils. It follows, that during the last twelve years, the number both of schools and pupils has considerably more than doubled.

It must not be forgotten, however, that education is still in a great degree administered in the pay-schools of the country unconnected with societies, and, generally speaking, not subjected to any particular control or superintendence.

We cannot more fully express the conclusion which we come to upon this part of the subject, than in the words of the Report above quoted:—"Were it, therefore, even admitted that the benefits of education are not to the lower classes of the people so great as we conceive them to be, yet the necessity of assisting in obtaining it for them in this country would not be diminished, but increased; for such education as has been objected to, under the idea of its leading to evil rather than to good, they are actually obtaining for themselves; and though we conceive it practicable to correct it, to check its progress appears impossible—it may be improved, but it cannot be impeded.

"T. FRANKLAND LEWIS. (L. S.)

J. LESLIE FOSTER. (L. S.)

W. GRANT. (L. S.)

J. GLASSFORD. (L. S.)

A. R. BLAKE. (L. S.)

"London, 30th May 1825."

To this Report there is an Appendix, containing the examination of witnesses, and numerous documents.

## FISHERIES.

*Sixth Report of the Commissioners of the Irish Fisheries (commencing the 6th April, 1824, and ending the 5th April, 1825.)*

IN their Report of last season, the Commissioners gave a short sketch of the different projects which seemed to them best calculated to give effect to that section of the 59th of the late King, c. 109, which places at their disposal the annual sum of £5000, for the promotion of the coast fisheries of Ireland. Amongst the measures most likely to advance this object, were the construction of small piers, quays, and safety-harbours; the building of hookers, smacks, and small boats, suitable to the fisheries of the different districts; the repairs of poor fishermen's boats; and the promotion of small fishing companies, so as to give an impulse to more important establishments of this nature. On the first head, (the erection of small piers, &c.) the Commissioners beg to observe, that some of those works have been since completed, and others in progress; but the difficulty of procuring the necessary contributions from those whose private interests must be promoted by their erection, has tended in some measure to retard the progress of similar works, which, if executed, must prove of equal utility to the coast fisheries of Ireland. On the next head, (the building of hookers, smacks, &c.) proceedings for carrying this measure into effect have been taken, and the project seems to promise very satisfactory results. As there is, however, a material difference in the principles laid down for the application of the funds allocated to the hooker and smack building, the Commissioners beg leave to enter somewhat into the

detail of the arrangements decided on for their construction and ultimate application. The arrangement laid down for the building of hookers, (a species of boat peculiarly adapted to the southern fisheries,) was a grant of one-fourth their estimated cost to such adventurers as were disposed to build the same, conformable to an approved plan, and to supply the remaining three-fourths from their own private means. The arrangement for the smack and small-boat building was formed exclusively on the principle of loan, repayable by instalments at stated times, so as that the whole may be liquidated at the expiration of a certain period, when the boat will become the property of the fisherman. In the mean time, the proceeds of each instalment are to be applied to similar uses, thereby adding annually to the number of boats, and consequently multiplying the means of employment and food. On the third head, (the repairs of poor fishermen's boats,) the Commissioners beg to observe, that loan funds for this desirable object have been established in many of the maritime counties, and essential benefits experienced from them in those quarters where local difficulties have not tended to impede their prompt operation. Those difficulties are, however, every day diminishing; and as the principle on which this species of aid is given, renders repayment by easy instalments absolutely necessary, the benefits arising from such loan-funds become thereby perpetuated. With respect to the fourth head, (the encouragement of small fishing companies,) the Commissioners entertain sanguine hopes that the speculative spirit of the times will tend to the establishment of fishing companies on a more extended scale than was originally contemplated by them. By such associations the productive fishing banks which surround the coasts of Ireland may be fairly tried; but

which, from want of capital and suitable craft, have hitherto been but imperfectly ascertained, and only casually visited. The Commissioners have to state, with much regret, the diminution which has taken place in the white fishery of the last year, (particularly on the southern coast,) and without any apparent cause, save the uncertainty which must ever attend the return of such fish as periodically visit the coasts of this country. The success, however, of the preceding years, justifies the hope of a more abundant fishery next season; and the Commissioners expect that the measures they have adopted for the encouragement of the hooker and smack building will tend materially to render the hake fishery (the chief fishery of the south) a more productive source of industry than heretofore. It is, however, with unfeigned satisfaction the Commissioners have to state the gradual increase in the herring fishery of this season: the excess over last season amounts to 13,776 barrels. With respect to the coast survey, adverted to in former Reports, much additional progress has been made, and a good deal of interesting information obtained as to the fishing banks along the western coast. The Board have, however, directed a suspension of its further prosecution for the present, until they shall have given a due portion of attention to the information it contains, and the suggestions held out in it. Although the regulations adopted by the Board for the peaceable and legal prosecution of the fisheries have tended much to the attainment of that object, yet a spirit of outrage will at times break out, and call for the interference of the powers vested in the Commissioners under the act of the 59th of the late King, c. 109. Were it not for the occasional exercise of those powers, that vast and productive fishery, which periodically occurs on the western coast

of Ireland, would be rendered of little moment, by the turbulent spirit which, prior to the formation of this establishment, had nearly destroyed the once flourishing fisheries of the Bay of Galway. A similar spirit had lately evinced itself in the south, at Dungarvan, and would have probably produced the most serious consequences, were it not for the timely interference of the Board, aided by the local magistracy of the place, and the very judicious conduct of Mr Barry, the inspector-general of fisheries for the southern province, whom the Board found it necessary to send there for that especial purpose. In order to enforce their regulations for the protection of the southern fisheries, the Commissioners were compelled to hire the services of a small-decked boat for the better portion of the summer, and found the measure of great benefit in maintaining order, and preventing illegal and destructive modes of fishing. The Commissioners have much satisfaction in perceiving the improvement which has taken place in the fisheries of some parts of the coast, where the districts (originally too extensive) have been divided, and the duties of the officer confined to a more reasonable extent of shore, more immediately within the scope of his powers to manage. The following extract of a letter from the Lord Bishop of Killala will prove satisfactory on this head: "When in Dublin, you were pleased to furnish me with all the papers necessary to explain to the people here (Killala) the encouragements given to the fisheries, and the regulations to be observed. On my return to Killala, I made the undertaking a subject of conversa-

tion with the gentlemen of my neighbourhood, had the papers sent from house to house, that all might read them, and then to the merchants of this town. The people also, who go out in the boats, had full information. The efficient officer of the Board has duly attended, and the consequence has been such as must prove satisfactory to them—to me it is very gratifying. I am also assured by many, that more herrings have been taken this year than in the twenty years preceding; that, besides the local supply, abundance was sent into the interior of the country, many miles distant; and by the return of your officer, it will be seen that a large quantity of well-saved fish is in casks ready for exportation. Such a thought never occurred to the people here before, and this is their first attempt. I contemplate with pleasure the probability of its leading to a far more extended fishery, when the proper vessels for the deep sea, and tackle, shall be acquired. Certainly a multitude of people has been greatly benefited by what has been done," &c. &c. The Commissioners observe with much pleasure a further increase in the number of men engaged in the Irish fisheries, as taken from the local officers' customary returns to the 5th April last. The gross number stated in the report of their last year's proceedings (season 1823,) was 49,448. The number given in the present report is 52,482, being an increase of 3034 men.

The following is the substance of the more important returns annexed to the Report.

An ACCOUNT of the total number of VESSELS cleared out for the White Fishery of 1824, on Tonnage Bounty; distinguishing the number of Tons, the number of Men, and the number of Bushels of Salt.

Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Bushels of Salt.
61	1,836	437	9,140

An ACCOUNT of the total number of VESSELS entered inwards from the White Fishery of 1824, distinguishing the number of Tons, the number of Men, and the number of Cwt. of dried Cod, Ling, Hake, Haddock, Glansen, and Conger Eel, landed from each Vessel, and marked for Bounty, with the amount of Bounty allowed thereon.

Vessels	Tons	No. Men.	Cwt Cod	Cwt Ling	Cwt Hake	Cwt Haddock	Cwt Glansen.	Cwt Eel.	Amount of Bounty
61	1,836	437	748½	2,586	1,099	2½	7½	3,090	£ 637 4 11

An ACCOUNT of the total number of VESSELS cleared out for the Open Sea Herring Fishery of 1824, distinguishing the number of Tons, the number of Men, the number of Square Yards of Netting, the number of Bushels of Salt, and the number of Barrels.

Vessels.	Tons	Men.	Square Yards of Netting.	Bushels of Salt.	Number of Barrels.
161	5,246	982	1,833,631	25,400	7,400

An ACCOUNT of the total number of VESSELS entered inwards from the Open Sea Herring Fishery of 1824, distinguishing the number of Tons, the number of Men, the number of Barrels of Herrings landed; also those gutted with a knife from those otherwise gutted, and the amount of Bounty allowed.

Vessels	Tons.	Men.	Barrels of Herrings.		Amount of Bounty.
			Gutted with a knife	Otherwise gutted.	
161	5,246	982	7,368½	.	£ 17,390 7 2

An ACCOUNT of the total number of Cwt. of dried Cod, Ling, Hake, Haddock, Glansen, and Conger Eel, which have been marked for the production Bounty of 4s. per Cwt. in the year 1824; and the amount of Bounty allowed.

Cwt. Cod.	Cwt. Ling.	Cwt. Hake.	Cwt. Haddock.	Cwt. Glansen.	Cwt. Eel.	Amount of Bounty.
2,934½	2,645½	9,500½	322½	1,339½	610	£ 3,825 3 3

An ACCOUNT of the total number of Barrels of HERRINGS, which have been marked for the Bounty of 4s. and 3s. 6d. per Barrel, in the year 1824, granted by the Act of the 1st Geo. IV. c. 82; distinguishing those gutted with a knife from those otherwise gutted, together with the amount of Bounty allowed.

BARRELS		Amount of Bounty.		
Gutted with a knife	Otherwise gutted.	£	s.	d.
34,204½	63	6,726	6	6½

An ACCOUNT of the number of Barrels of Pilchards and Mackerel, which have been branded for the Bounty of 3s. per Barrel, under the 59th Geo. III. c. 109, and the Amount of Bounty allowed.

BARRELS		Amount of Bounty.		
Pilchards	Mackerel.	£	s.	d.
. . .	14	2	5	6

An ACCOUNT of the number of Barrels of Cod, Ling, Hake, Haddock, Glassen, and Conger Eel, cured with Pickle, which have been branded for the Bounty of 2s 6d per Barrel, under the 1st Geo. IV. c. 82. sec. 18, and the Amount of Bounty allowed.

BARRELS						Amount of Bounty.		
Cod.	Ling	Hake.	Haddock	Glassen	Conger Eel	£	s.	d.
178	48	116	. .	11	. .	46	8	11½

An ACCOUNT of the total number of Tuns and Gallons of Oil, extracted from Whale and other Fish, that have been produced, for the Bounty of £3 per ton, and Bounty allowed.

QUANTITY		Amount of Bounty.		
Tuns.	Gallons	£	s.	d.
1	140	14	15	5

GROSS NUMBER of Barrels of HERRING, cured for Bounty, both by Vessels engaged in the Tonnage Bounty Fishery, and not so engaged; distinguishing each.

Barrels of Herrings cured by Vessels and Boats engaged in Production Bounty	Barrels of Herrings cured by Vessels engaged in the Tonnage Bounty Fishery.	Total Barrels.
34,204½	7,368½	41,033

An ACCOUNT of the Total Number of Barrels of Herrings, Pilchards, Mackarel, and Pickled Fish, with the total number of Cwt. of Dried Fish, that have been exported for the Year ending the 5th of April 1825; distinguishing the Stations from which Exported, the Quantity exported to Great Britain, to other places in Europe, and to other places out of Europe.

STATIONS.	Barrels. Herrings.	Barrels. Pilchards.	Barrels. Mackarel.	Barrels. Pickled Fish.	Cwt. Dried Fish.	To where Exported.
Carlingford	11	.	.	.	.	Scotland, Do. West Indies and America. Liverpool.
Ardglass	1,357	.	.	.	.	
Belfast	325	.	.	.	.	
Westport	.	.	.	.	269	
Totals	1,693	.	.	.	269	

An ACCOUNT of the Total Number of Decked and Half-Decked VESSELS, together with Undecked or Open Boats of every description, registered and employed in the FISHERIES; also their Tonnage and Number of Men employed therein, in the Year ended 5th April, 1825.

Aggregate Number of Decked Vessels.	Aggregate Quantity Tonnage on Do.	Aggregate Number of Men employed in Do.	Aggregate Number of Half-decked Vessels of 15 Tons and upwards.	Aggregate Quantity of Tonnage on Do.	Aggregate Number of Men employed in Do.	Aggregate Number of Open Sail-Boats, under 15 Tons.	Aggregate Number of Men employed in Do.	Aggregate Number of Row Boats.	Aggregate Number of Men employed in Do.	Total Number of Men employed.
377	13,035	2,416	446	7,182	2,371	2,562	13,071	7,497	34,296	52,482

### LINEN TRADE.

#### *Third Report from the Select Committee on the Linen Trade of Ireland.*

AMONG the many parliamentary inquiries which have lately been made into the internal condition of Ireland, your Committee feel that the subject referred to them for investigation is amongst the most important; inasmuch as the linen manufacture (tracing it through all its various stages, from the culture of the flax to the weaving of the linen) affords employment and support to a far greater portion of the people of that country, than any other branch of public industry,

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and is intimately connected with the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

Your Committee accordingly entered on the subject submitted to their consideration, with an anxiety proportionate to its importance, and called before them several witnesses well informed in the business of the linen trade, as it is carried on in Ireland, and some persons also who are extensively engaged in it in England and Scotland. Your Committee have thereby been enabled to compare the different habits of pursuing the same manufacture in different parts of the same empire.

The evidence of these witnesses is annexed to this Report, together with an Appendix, containing a document

illustrative of the origin of the manufacture in Ireland, and its continued claim to parliamentary support; also returns, showing the present extent of the trade, the expense of the establishment under the direction of the Linen Board, and the appropriation of their funds. Your Committee have likewise subjoined several Resolutions, containing their opinions upon some of the principal divisions of their inquiry, which have been already reported to the House; but in presenting them again as a part of their final Report, they deem it necessary to accompany them with a few observations.

In considering the laws relating to the linen trade of Ireland, your Committee found that many of them, which were deemed wise and necessary at the time of their enactment, have become inapplicable to the present usages of the trade, and if now enforced would produce great inconvenience, and ought therefore to be repealed; and as others of them required much revision and amendment, your Committee have therefore thought it expedient to propose the consolidation, into one Act, of all such provisions as are found to be necessary for the future regulation of the trade.

A bill for this purpose has been accordingly prepared, which does not, however, notice the duty on the importation of foreign dressed flax; a reduction of which duty, already recommended by your Committee in their first Report, has been adopted and provided for in the Customs bill.

The inspection of foreign flax-seed by a public officer on importation, for the purpose of ascertaining its soundness and fitness for sowing, had hitherto been carefully provided for by law. The necessity of such inspection has, however, been lately questioned; and, pursuant to a recommendation of your Committee, the bill provides for the repeal of such inspection from and af-

ter the first of July 1826; by which time the policy of continuing that inspection, in respect to which there exists so much diversity of opinion, may be further considered and investigated.

It has appeared to your Committee, that the preparation and management of Irish-grown flax are extremely defective, and very injuriously so to the cultivators and manufacturers, and ought to be brought to public market in a state perfectly free from any fraudulent mode of making it up that could impose upon a purchaser; and it has been made clear to your Committee, from the evidence of intelligent persons, that Irish-grown flax, if properly managed and judiciously made up for sale in a clean and uniform state, would eventually supply the British manufacturer of linen, and thus become a branch of very profitable export.

With respect to foreign and British yarns, your Committee recommend that they should be henceforth exempted from all examination by a public officer; but that the existing regulations, in regard to the sale of Irish yarns and brown linens, should be continued under certain modifications and diminutions of penalties; but with this provision, affecting each of these three different branches of the trade, that none of these regulations shall affect any Irish flax, or Irish yarn, or Irish brown linen, except such as shall be exposed to sale in public and open market; leaving, at the same time, all persons free to sell at other times and places, when and where they may think most convenient.

But while, from an unwillingness to force any hasty changes upon the settled habits of a people long engaged in an established manufacture, your Committee thus recommend to the Legislature the policy of continuing to give a legal sanction to some parts

of the system of regulation by which it has been governed, they still hold it to be their duty to this House, as well as to those who are engaged in the linen trade of Ireland, to state unreservedly their own opinions upon this most important subject.

The system of conducting the linen manufacture in England and Scotland, as described to your Committee by the witnesses from those countries, appears to be in many instances preferable to that which is pursued in Ireland. The different branches of the trade in Great Britain are divided among different persons, each of those branches becoming a separate business in itself; and this division of labour necessarily leads to a better economy of time, and the production of more and even better fabrics, all which advantages might be gradually introduced into Ireland; and it is only by gradual measures these improvements can be obtained.

Your Committee abstain from offering any opinion on the policy of collecting the peasantry into towns or villages, or disturbing their present habits of mixing agricultural with manufacturing occupation.

With a view to the introduction of this improved division of business, your Committee would chiefly direct the attention of the Linen Board to forward, by every means in their power, all possible improvement in the cultivation and the dressing of the flax. The efforts which the Board have already made towards encouraging the erection of flax-mills, should therefore be followed up with increased anxiety, so as to have the flax brought to market in the cleanest condition and at the cheapest rate.

Your Committee are disposed to dwell upon this subject, as it is of considerable importance, not merely to the interests of Ireland, but to those of the empire at large; for so long as

we are obliged to import from foreign countries this elementary part of the linen manufacture, so long must those countries who engage in that manufacture themselves possess an advantage over our own; and there is every reason to believe that Ireland, by an extended cultivation and improved treatment of her flax, might, without at all encroaching upon the quantity necessary for her home consumption, supply the demands of the British market.

Next in importance to the dressing of the flax, is the spinning and sale of the yarn, which, from the evidence before your Committee, are carried on in Ireland in a way very capable of improvement. It has been stated to your Committee, that the Irish spinner too often endeavours to get the greatest possible length of thread out of a given quantity of flax, without any regard to what may be the quality of that thread when produced. Thus, four to five hanks of yarn are often spun out of that quantity of flax, which, to make good cloth, ought not to have been spun into more than two. A poor raw thread, incapable of producing a good stout fabric, is thereby sent among the weavers, to the great injury of the manufacture. But the evils of this branch of the trade do not end here. Almost the whole of the spinning is carried on by poor people, who naturally look with anxiety to the time the market-day comes round, for which they seek to provide themselves with as much yarn as they are able, gathering it up from every member of their own families, sometimes from those of their neighbours, and always more anxious about the bulk of their bunches, than desirous of sorting them according to the different grists of the different yarns that compose them. Thus the two things essentially necessary to enable a weaver to make good linen are too often denied to him;



namely, good and even yarns well assorted. Towards accomplishing these important objects, your Committee look forward to the introduction of the spinning by machinery, and the establishment of yarn greens, to be kept by persons who would buy up the yarn from the hand spinners, and bleach and assort it, and prepare it for the weavers, so that each man who came to buy from them might be able at once to provide himself with as much as he wanted of that particular kind of yarn, unmixed with any other, that was suitable to the particular quality of linen he was preparing to weave. It appears from the evidence before your Committee, that considerable improvements have been made in the last 20 years in Great Britain in the machinery for spinning yarn. Mill-spun yarn, about twenty years ago, could not be made finer than fifteen cuts to the pound; but within that time it has been raised to near fifty, and very considerable advance in the fineness of mill-spun yarn is still further expected.

In recommending the establishing of the spinning mill, your Committee do not apprehend any injury to the hand spinners. Everything that tends to improve and cheapen the manufacture, will increase the demand for it; and therefore, instead of fearing any want of employment for them, an increased consumption of their yarn is rather to be looked for; and the more so, if greens for the bleaching of yarn shall be established.

With respect to the business of weaving, your Committee are of opinion, that it is now carried on more beneficially in England and Scotland for the weaver than in Ireland, who is generally the owner of the cloth he makes, mostly performing all those previous processes in his own imperfect way, each of which would be better executed if made a separate business in itself, and carried on with better means

and more intelligence than the weaver is found to possess. It will, however, be the duty of the Linen Board, so long as the present system lasts, to assist the weaver, by procuring information for him upon every improvement adopted in Great Britain: such as models of the newest fly shuttles and most approved looms, with which he ought to be made familiar.

Your Committee do not, however, recommend the weaving business in Ireland to be assimilated to the better system of Great Britain by any interference of the Legislature, which never should concern itself, except when it is absolutely necessary, with the internal management of any manufacture. This system has already begun in the North, and it is chiefly through that intelligent portion of the country that we can hope to establish any great improvement of this kind. A very well-informed witness, who carried on the linen trade in Scotland, says, "The best sheeting that I have ever seen made in Ireland, is made by a manufacturer who employs a number of weavers, and which cloth never came to the brown market, but was sold directly to the bleachers." This is by no means a single case, as there are extensive manufacturers who buy and give out the yarn to weavers to be woven into cloth, and have become a numerous class of persons in the North; and the more they increase, the more it will be for the benefit of Ireland. The weaver, who works for another, must save all that time which he now consumes in going to and returning from market; and all those fluctuations in the price of linen, which now fall upon himself, would in that case fall upon the person who employed him. Thus the situation of the working weavers would be improved without necessitating any change in their numbers, or in their dispersed residences throughout the country.

parts of Ireland, or any alteration in their local comforts in any way whatsoever.

Your Committee have endeavoured thus shortly to offer their views of the present state of the linen manufacture, which is of such essential importance to Ireland, together with their suggestions for its improvement; and beg leave to state, that the continuation of a superintending autho-

rity to regulate its concerns, so long as they shall be affected by legal provisions, is, in the opinion of your Committee, necessary, as well as to make judicious appropriation of the annual grant of Parliament, still usefully voted for the encouragement and advancement of the state of the manufacture of Ireland.

*22d Junc, 1825.*

## SUMMARY OF THE NUMBER OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS IN THE

Together with a Comparative View of the Enumeration of the Population, as taken in the Years 1813

COUNTIES.	Contents in Irish Plantation Acres. (a)	Contents in Square Miles.	Number of Houses in 1813. (b)	Number of Houses in 1821.	Increase of Houses between the Years 1813 and 1821.	Average Number of Acres to each House.	Average Number of Inhabited Houses of a Square Mile.
<b>I. LEINSTER.</b>							
1. Carlow . . . . .	137,050	214	12,090	13,025	938	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	61
2. Drogheda Town (c)	...	...	3,086	3,164	78	...	...
3. Dublin County . . .	142,050	221	16,633	20,791	...	4	161 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. Dublin City . . . (c)	...	...	15,104	14,949	...	...	...
5. Kildare . . . . .	236,750	369	14,564	16,478	1,914	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Kilkenny County . . .	300,350	469	23,114	25,949	2,835	10	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. Kilkenny City . . (c)	...	...	no return	3,840	...	...	...
8. King's County . . .	282,200	440	19,705	22,561	2,856	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$
9. Longford . . . . .	134,150	209	16,348	18,987	2,639	7	90 $\frac{1}{2}$
10. Louth . . . . .	110,750	173	no return	18,138	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	123
11. Meath . . . . .	327,900	512	25,921	27,942	2,021	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
12. Queen's County . . .	235,300	367	19,932	23,105	3,173	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	63
13. Westmeath . . . . .	231,550	361	no return	23,015	...	10	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
14. Wexford . . . . .	342,990	535	no return	29,159	...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
15. Wicklow . . . . .	311,600	486	13,445	17,289	3,844	18	35 $\frac{1}{2}$
	2,792,550	4356	—	278,398	—	10	4
<b>II. MUNSTER.</b>							
1. Clare . . . . .	476,200	744	29,301	35,373	6,072	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. Cork County . . . . .	1,048,800	1638	91,447	103,279	11,832	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	70
3. Cork City . . . (c)	...	...	7,652	11,180	...	...	...
4. Kerry . . . . .	647,630	1012	31,749	35,597	3,848	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	35
5. Limerick County . . .	396,750	604	17,897	35,201	...	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Limerick City . . (c)	...	...	no return	7,208	...	...	...
7. Tipperary . . . . .	554,950	867	50,224	55,297	5,073	10	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. Waterford County . .	262,800	410	19,342	20,189	847	11	58
9. Waterford City . (c)	...	...	3,581	3,671	90	...	...
	3,377,150	5275	—	306,995	—	11	58 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>III. ULSTER.</b>							
1. Antrim . . . . .	387,200	650	42,258	46,661	4,403	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	78 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. Armagh . . . . .	181,450	283	21,944	36,260	...	5	128
3. Carrickfergus Town (c)	...	...	1,166	1,367	201	...	...
4. Cavan . . . . .	301,000	470	no return	34,148	...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$
5. Donegal . . . . .	679,550	1061	no return	44,800	...	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Down . . . . .	348,550	544	53,310	59,747	6,437	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	109 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. Fermanagh . . . . .	283,450	448	19,291	22,585	3,294	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. Londonderry . . . . .	318,500	479	31,287	34,691	3,404	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$
9. Monaghan . . . . .	179,600	280	27,066	32,378	5,312	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	115 $\frac{1}{2}$
10. Tyrone . . . . .	463,700	724	46,213	47,164	951	10	63 $\frac{1}{2}$
	3,143,000	4894	—	359,801	—	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>IV. CONNAUGHT.</b>							
1. Galway County . . . .	989,950	1546	21,122	54,180	...	17	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. Galway Town . . (c)	...	...	3,353	3,957	604	...	...
3. Leitrim . . . . .	255,950	400	17,899	21,782	3,883	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. Mayo . . . . .	790,600	1235	43,702	53,051	9,349	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	43
5. Roscommon . . . . .	346,650	541	30,254	37,399	7,145	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	69
6. Sligo . . . . .	247,150	386	no return	27,059	...	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	70
	2,630,300	4108	—	197,408	—	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	48
<b>I. LEINSTER</b> . . . . .	2,792,550	4356	...	278,398	...	10	64
<b>II. MUNSTER</b> . . . . .	3,377,150	5275	...	306,995	...	11	58 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>III. ULSTER</b> . . . . .	3,143,000	4894	...	359,801	...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	73 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>IV. CONNAUGHT</b> . . . .	2,630,300	4108	...	197,408	...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	48
	11,943,000	18,633	—	1,142,291	—	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	61

SEVERAL COUNTIES OF IRELAND, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1821 ;  
and 1821 ; and of the Proportions of Houses and Inhabitants to the Acre and the Square Mile in each County.

Number of Inhabitants in 1813. (b)	Number of Inhabitants in 1821.	Increase of Inhabitants between the years 1813 and 1821.	Average Number of Acres to an Inhabitant.	Average Number of Inhabitants to a Square Mile.	Observations.
69,566	78,952	9,386	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.75	369	
16,123	18,118	1,995	...	...	
110,437 <sup>a</sup>	150,011	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.33	1,520	
176,610	185,881	9,271	...	...	
85,133	99,065	13,932	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.40	268	
134,664	158,716	24,052	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.66	388	
no return	23,230	...	...	...	
113,226	131,088	17,862	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.16	298	
95,917	107,570	11,653	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.20	514	
no return	101,011	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.07	688	
142,179	159,183	16,704	2 or 2.00	311	
113,857	134,275	20,418	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.71	366	
no return	128,819	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.83	357	
no return	170,806	...	2 or 2.00	319	
83,109	110,767	27,658	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.81	228	
—	1,757,492	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.85	403	(a) The contents of each county in acres and square miles, have been taken from Beaufort's Memoir of a Map of Ireland, as being (though not perfectly accurate) the latest and best account that pervades the whole island.
160,603	208,080	47,486	2 $\frac{3}{10}$ or 2.30	280	
523,936	629,786	105,850	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.42	446	
64,394 <sup>d</sup>	100,638	...	...	...	
178,622	216,185	37,563	3 or 3.00	213	
103,865 <sup>d</sup>	218,432	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.33	459	
no return	59,045	...	...	...	
290,531	346,896	56,365	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.55	400	
119,457	127,842	8,385	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.66	381	
25,467	28,679	3,212	...	...	
—	1,935,612	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.70	367	(c) The contents and relative proportions of houses, &c. of Drogheda town, are included in Louth county; those of Carrickfergus town in Antrim county; and those of the other counties of cities and counties of towns, in the counties at large of the same name with themselves.
231,548	262,860	31,312	1 $\frac{5}{8}$ or 1.38	447	
121,449 <sup>d</sup>	197,427	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 0.90	697	
6,136	8,023	1,887	...	...	
no return	195,076	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.50	415	
no return	248,270	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.75	234	
287,290	325,410	38,120	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.06	598	
111,250	130,997	19,747	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.15	292	
186,181	193,869	7,688	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.60	405	
140,433	174,697	34,264	1 or 1.00	624	
250,746	261,865	11,119	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.77	362	
—	1,998,494	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.60	408	(d) This total is exclusive of Lough Neagh, the contents of which could not be included in the above table, as not being entirely within the limits of any one county; it is computed by Beaufort to contain 58,200 acres, which, being added to the preceding total, will make the superficies of Ireland to contain 12,001,200 Irish acres.
140,995	309,599	...	3 or 3.00	218	
24,684	27,775	3,091	...	...	
94,095	124,785	30,690	2 or 2.00	312	
237,371	293,112	55,741	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2.66	237	
158,110	208,729	50,619	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.60	385	
no return	146,229	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.66	378	
—	1,110,229	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.36	270	
...	1,757,492	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.88	403	
...	1,935,612	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.70	367	
...	1,998,494	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.60	408	
...	1,110,229	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.36	270	
—	6,801,827	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1.75	365	

Table, exhibiting the Amounts and Proportions of the Population professing different Religious Creeds in each Province in Ireland, with the Amounts and Proportions thereof in a Course of Education, calculated from the Returns made by the Roman Catholic Clergy.

Province.	I.	II.	III.			IV.	V.	VI.			VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.
	Total Population, taken from the Census of 1821.	Total in Education taken from the Returns made to the Commissioners of Education in-quiry in 1824.	Of the Established Church.	Presbyterians.	Of other Denominations.	Roman Catholics in Education, taken from the said Returns.	Children in Education, the Religion of whom has not been stated by the Returns.	Of the Established Church.	Presbyterians.	Of other Denominations.	Total Protestant Population.	Roman Catholic Population, obtained by a Process similar to that of Col. 6, taking Col. 4 as the Third Proportional.	Population, the Religion of whom cannot be ascertained from the Returns.	Proportion of the Protestant Catholic.	Proportion of Males in Education to the Total Male Population.	Proportion of Females in Education to the Total Female Population.	Proportion of the Population (Male and Female taken together,) in Education to the Total Population.
Ulster	1,998,494	123,093	31,649	32,945	2,481	55,056	953	510,231	566,443	41,979	1,118,656	862,433	17,403	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ —1	1—13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—21 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—16
Leinster	1,757,492	149,687	27,035	328	719	118,953	2,652	322,252	4,294	8,202	334,738	1,393,231	27,523	1—4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—14 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Munster	1,935,612	179,714	16,057	154	519	162,654	330	176,405	1,732	5,638	183,795	1,748,306	3,511	1—9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Connaught	1,110,229	69,484	8,438	208	75	60,505	186	126,824	4,699	1,190	132,713	974,239	3,277	1—7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—23 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—16
Total	6,861,897	591,978	93,179	33,707	3,794	397,177	4,121	1,135,715	577,158	57,029	1,769,902	4,980,209	51,716	1—2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—18 $\frac{1}{2}$	1—13

\* The Returns from Connaught are less perfect than those from the other provinces, and the calculation founded on them may be proportionably inaccurate.

## CALEDONIAN CANAL.

Substance of the Twenty-second Report of the Commissioners appointed for carrying into Execution the purposes of an Act, passed in the 43d year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act for granting to his Majesty the sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds, towards defraying the Expense of making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, by Inverness and Fort William, and for taking the necessary steps towards executing the same;"—and also for the purposes of an Act, passed in the 44th year of his said late Majesty, intituled, "An Act for making further Provision for making and maintaining an Inland Navigation, commonly called the Caledonian Canal, from the Eastern to the Western Sea, by Inverness and Fort-William, in Scotland."

THE attainment of the full depth of the Caledonian Canal is an operation which it is in vain to attempt to expedite, without incurring the expense of additional dredging machines;—an expense which would be incompatible with prudence, inasmuch as canals in general do not come into full use till the course of trade has accommodated itself to the new channel prepared for it; and this kind of delay is the more to be anticipated in a canal of an unusual kind, and unexampled in its dimensions. Shipmasters are prudently unwilling to rely on a passage unexplored by vessels not quite so large as their own; and this sort of caution has really prevented disappointment in the case of the Caledonian Canal, the navigable depth of which, from sea to sea, is not very much increased since the late of the Commissioners' last re-

port. At four places in the summit level it is not yet fifteen feet deep, and the same deficiency exists across the Dunainchroy Moor, near Inverness, as also in the short space connecting the foot of Loch Lochie with the regulating loch near Mucomer.

The unusual hardness of the clay at Bona, (foot of Loch Ness,) and the necessity of employing a dredging machine at Dunainchroy, have produced unexpected delay; but all obstacles have been nearly overcome by slow degrees, and the Commissioners are assured, that the shallows are so far diminished in extent, that the labour of the next three months will produce a clear passage throughout the canal and lakes, nowhere less than fifteen feet deep.

The passages of vessels from sea to sea have been 476 in number, showing an increase as ten to six upon the amount of the preceding twelve-month; of these, 218 have been from the west to the east, 258 from east to west, and 517 vessels have entered the canal without passing through it. Steam-boat passages, to the amount of 149, are not included in these numbers; but in future they will form part of the account, as the indulgence hitherto shown towards them in the non-payment of tonnage rates will henceforth be discontinued. The tonnage rates on other vessels, at one farthing per mile per ton, with five shillings on every steam-boat passage, have produced L. 2,160, from 1st May 1824 to 1st May 1825; and directions will be given to the collectors, to charge one halfpenny per ton per mile, from and after the end of June 1825, not only because the rates are unreasonably low, as compared with the accommodation afforded, but also with regard to the interest of the Forth and Clyde Canal Company, who might reasonably complain of injustice, if a very low tonnage-rate continued to be charged on a rival mode

of conveyance, created and maintained, not at the expense of individuals, but of the public.

The Commissioners proceed to describe in detail the present state of the works along the whole line of the canal. They further state, that the number of persons employed in the canal operations has been on an average 287,—an increase of 122 upon the number stated in their last report; the lining of the canal near Fort Augustus, and afterwards in the Clachnacharry district, and the rock cutting at Mucomer, having required many labourers, of whom a larger proportion than usual were of necessity employed in day work.

The expenditure of the last twelve-month has not varied perceptibly from the amount stated in their last report, as the expenditure of the preceding twelve-month; considering that, for the reasons therein specified, that payment arose from fourteen pay-days. Thirteen only, the usual number, are now included; and the expenditure in fifty-two weeks has been nearly L.22,000.

## HIGHLAND CHURCHES.

Substance of the First Report of the Commissioners appointed by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in the 4th year of George IV., intitled, "An Act for building additional Places of Worship in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."

THE Report, which is dated June 27, 1825, describes the original act, (by which L.50,000 was granted by Parliament,) and the acts which were found necessary for its amendment; and states, that at their meetings of the 17th February and 25th June, the Commissioners were enabled to appropriate, in a satisfactory manner, thirty-one churches, which were to be served by thirty ministers; and to offer manse and ministers in ten other cases. The following list shows the places at which churches have been directed to be built;—most of them absolutely, a few provisionally:—

County.	Parish or Island.	Place.	Population.	Remarks.
Argyll	Appin . .	Duror . .	600	In the vicinity, and the minister will be a useful auxiliary at the parish church of Appin.
	Ardnamurc	Strontian . .	1,350	
	Do. . .	Aucharacle . .	700	Roman Catholics not included.
	Glassry . .	Lo cilphend . .	2,000	
	Islay (Island)	Portnahaven . .	800	
	Do. . .	Oe or Oth . .	2,000	This church will be on a small scale, and will be served by the minister of the North Ballachulish church.
	Kilmallie . .	Ardgour . .	467	
	Mull (Island) . .	Tobermory . .	2,000	
	Do. . .	Kinloch Spelvie . .	700	
	Do. . .	Ulva Island . .	900	And 300 who reside on the nearest part of Mull, separated from Iona by a sound one mile wide.
	Do. . .	Iona Island . .	460	
Barff	Kirkmichael . .	Tomantoul . .	300	In the village, and as many more within reasonable distance.
Caithness	Lathorn . .	Berriedale . .	1,750	
	Wick . .	Keis . .	1,414	

County.	Parish or Island.	Place.	Population.	Remarks.
Inverness	Duthill and Rothiemurchus.	Rothiemurchus	1,026	And as many more in the adjacent Isles of Pabbay and Killigray. Besides those who may cross the Ferry.
	Harris . . .	Berneray Isle .	500	
	Kilmallie . .	N. Ballachulish	656	
	Skye (Island) .	Strensholl in Trotternish }	1,800	
	Do. . . . .	Haln in Waternish }	1,312	
	North Uist (Island)	Trumisgarry .	1,470	
Ross and Cromarty }	Applecross . .	Shieldag . .	1,200	And the minister will also take charge of the Burray Isles, where is a small secondary church and 620 inhabitants.
	Contn . . .	Kinloch Luichart	700	
	Do. . . . .	Carnoch . .	1,200	
	Kincardine . .	Brae . . .	900	
	Lewis (Isle) .	Cross or Ness .	1,180	
	Do. . . . .	Eye . . .	1,150	
Shetland	Lochalsh . .	Plockton . .	850	
	Quarff . . .	Quarff . . .	220	
Sutherland.	Assynt . . .	Rhuistore . .	1,100	
	Farr . . . .	Strathy . . .	1,078	
	Edrachilles .	Kinloch Bervie	550	

The following list displays, in like manner, the places where manses and ministers have been offered, on condition of the existing place of worship being thoroughly repaired, and so upheld in future:—

County.	Parish or Island.	Place.	Population.	Remarks.
Aberdeen	Crathie and Braemar	Braemar . .	900	
Argyle	Mull (Island) Torosay	Salen . .	800	
	Bowmore and Kilmenny (Islay,	Kilmenny . .	1,600	
Elgin	Kinguissie . .	Inch . .	800	
Orkney	St Andrew's and Deerness . .	Deerness . .	700	
	Cross and Burness	North Ronaldsay	467	
Perth	Fortingal . .	Rannoch . .	1,269	
Ross and Cromarty }	Loch Broom . .	Ullapool . .	800	
Shetland	Dunrossness . .	Sandwick . .	649	
	Nesting . .	Whalsay (Island)	655	

## HIGHLAND ROADS AND BRIDGES.

Substance of the Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed for the purposes of an Act passed in the 59th Year of the Reign of his late Majesty, intituled, "An Act to repeal Two Acts, made in the Fifty-

fourth and Fifty-fifth Years of his present Majesty, for maintaining and keeping in Repair certain Roads and Bridges in Scotland; to provide more effectually for that Purpose, and for Regulation of Ferries in Scotland."

THE Commissioners were enabled in their report of March last to take a



satisfactory review of their transactions during ten years, therein proving that the public and the heritors of ten counties collectively, had paid equally, or about £.34,000 each, during that period, towards the repair of Highland roads and bridges; the share of expense borne by the public appearing to have preponderated in the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland; in all the other counties the road repair assessment had produced more than had been expended on the part of the public.

In the Report of last year, an explanation was given in what manner it became necessary to give further opportunity to the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Caithness, to revise their proceedings under the act of 1823; and this was done by means of a short supplementary act passed in May 1824, wherein occasion was taken to gratify the heritors of Inverness-shire by certain amendments of the act of 1819, and also to specify distinctly the portion of public aid annually assignable to each of the four northern counties, towards the repair of military and parliamentary roads and bridges; viz. to Inverness-shire, the sum of £.1066; to Ross-shire, £.438; to the county of Sutherland, £.222; and to the county of Caithness, £.115; in all £.1841 per annum; the expense of management being calculated at the like sum, and the residue of the annual £.5000 (given by the act of 1819) being reserved for road repair, and management thereof, in the other six counties, which are not affected by the acts of 1823 and 1824.

No toll-gates have hitherto been erected on any of the roads, nor have tonnage or other rates been imposed for upholding ferry piers and shipping quays, as authorized by the act of 1823; but in pursuance of the resolutions of the county meetings of

Ross-shire and Caithness respectively, toll-gates will now be erected, not exceeding three in each of these counties; and tonnage and boatage rates will be established at such of the ferry piers and quays as require to be repaired or rendered more accessible at low-water.

The stormy climate of the Highlands rendering the construction of caravans for the workmen desirable, eight were constructed, each at an expense of about £.15, and capable of lodging fifteen men. They were found so useful, that it was in contemplation to build six more. From this and other contingent expenses the Commissioners were induced to calculate the expense of management at £.2500 per annum.

The Commissioners proceed to describe in detail the improvements making in the various roads and bridges of the Highlands. They express great regret at the death of Mr John Mitchell, the principal road inspector, of whose indefatigable labours, in the course of eighteen years' service, they speak in terms of the highest praise. His place was filled by his son, Mr Joseph Mitchell, who was discharging his duties to the entire satisfaction of every one.

Of the two Lowland roads placed by Parliament in charge of the Commissioners, the Glasgow and Carlisle road was opened to the public in the year 1822, and the large bridges mentioned in the Report of March last are all completed. One of these bridges is an arch of 80 feet span, near the town of Hamilton; one is near the village of Abington, over the Glengonnar burn; and the third, an arch of 90 feet span, is at Crawford, and supersedes the Elvanfoot bridge, which was badly situated, and in danger of being destroyed by a change in the river current immediately above it.

## MAIL COACHES.

An Account of the number of Mail Coaches established in Scotland, distinguishing those which are subject to the payment of full Tolls, payable in respect of such Carriages, from those for which a composition is paid in lieu of such Tolls, with the rate at which such composition has been made.

Coaches subject to the payment of full Tolls.	Coaches for which a composition is paid in lieu of such Tolls, with the rate at which such composition has been made.
Carlisle and Glasgow.	
Carlisle and Edinburgh.	
Berwick and Edinburgh.	
Carlisle and Portpatrick.	
Edinburgh and Dumfries, by Biggar and Moffat alternately.	Glasgow and Perth. Half toll.
Edinburgh and Glasgow, by Falkirk.	
Edinburgh and Glasgow, by Whitburn.	Aberdeen and Inverness, by Banff. Ditto.
Glasgow and Greenock.	
Edinburgh and Stirling.	
Edinburgh and Aberdeen.	
Aberdeen and Fochabers, by Huntly.	
Aberdeen and Peterhead.	
Fraserburgh and Mintlaw.	

N. B.—Inverness and Thurso. No tolls demanded for this coach; the roads, the greater part of the route, are not turnpike.

## NORTHERN LIGHTHOUSES.

Abstract of the Account of the Commissioners of the Northern Lighthouses, for the year ending 30th June 1824.

To balance in bankers' hands at 30th June 1823,	£ 8105 19 8
To nett amount of the duties for the support of the lights for the year, to 30th June 1824,	27,595 8 7
To rent of the Isle of May,	21 0 0
To interest allowed by bankers,	263 10 9
	<u>£35,985 19 0</u>
By interest on loan of £25,000 from Government,	£ 1250 0 0
By do. on do. of £30,000,	1500 0 0
By do. on £10,000, from the Duke of Portland,	400 0 0
By do. on £1000, from the West India Association of Liverpool,	61 11 2
By do. on £500, from the Shipping Association of Liverpool,	41 2 2
By do. on £1000, from Adam Johnston,	40 0 0
By do. on £1000, from Grace M'Nab's trustee,	40 0 0
By expenditure on the Isle of Man lighthouses,	668 11 1
By do. on Sumburgh Head do.	57 2 11
By do. on Rhinns of Islay do.	855 1 1
By do. on repairs at Kinnaird's Head do.	1322 16 2
By do. on do. at Island Glass do.	320 1 8
By do. for oil, for the lights, stores, ordinary repairs on the lighthouses, shipping, salaries to the engineer, keepers, clerk, and cashier, &c.	15,998 16 10
Balance,	13,430 16 0
	<u>£35,985 19 0</u>

Note.—A great part of this balance will be exhausted by the accounts now due, and the expenditure on the works in progress.

## ISLE OF MAN.

AN ACCOUNT of all Goods or Raw Produce of Great Britain, not chargeable with Excise or other Duty, imported into the *Isle of Man*, from 5th January 1820, to 5th January 1825; with the Amount of Duty paid on Importation.

YEARS Ending 5th January.	AMOUNT OF DUTY		
	Paid upon the Importation into the Isle of Man, of goods the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, not chargeable with excise duty in Great Britain.		
	£	s.	d.
— 1821 —	1,251	14	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
— 1822 —	1,362	16	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
— 1823 —	970	5	4
— 1824 —	1,023	8	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
— 1825 —	1,208	11	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total . . . £	5,816	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

*Note.*—All goods, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, not chargeable with excise duty in Great Britain, (except coals, the only *rated* article free from excise duty, importable to the island from *Great Britain*, and the under-mentioned articles, which are admitted duty free,) are subject, on importation into this island, to a duty of 2l. 10s. per cent. *ad valorem*.

ARTICLES, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, importable duty free :—White or brown linen cloth, hemp or hemp seed, horses, black cattle, all utensils and instruments fit and necessary to be employed in manufactures, fisheries, or agriculture, tiles, young trees, sea shells, lime, soapers' waste, packthread and small cordage for nets, salt, boards, timber, and hoops.

## SIERRA LEONE.

*Substance of Accounts relating to the Duties, Exports, Imports, Population, &c. of Sierra Leone.*

No duties were levied or received in this colony prior to the month of August 1811, and for the latter half of that year the amount collected did not exceed L.101, 5s. 1d. In the following year, however, they amounted to L.2175, 19s. 4d., but in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, they do not appear to have exceeded an average of L.1500. In 1816 they amounted to L.2447, 16s. 6d.; and in the ensuing years, until 1821, they arose to 3, 4, 5, and L.6000. In the year 1823 they are returned at L.8730, 8s. from the collector's books.

The exports, which are from the years 1817 to 1823 inclusive, are in bulk, but not in value, and consist of the produce of Africa in its various states of preparation. Hides, mats, tiger skins, gold dust, monkey skins, stuffed birds, honey, nuts, oils, and wax, wood of various kinds, indigo, coffee, rice, lime-juice, and African curiosities, principally compose the list.

The imports are also given, but they are in value (not in quality) during the same period, and are chiefly conveyed in ships from London, Liverpool, and Bristol; and the invoice value during the year 1817 was L.72,516, 7s. 2<sup>3</sup>d.; in 1818, L.94,799, 14s. 5<sup>1</sup>d.; but in the following year, 1819, it fell to L.80,863, 6s. 11<sup>3</sup>d.; and in the year 1820, it was only L.66,725, 9s. 5<sup>3</sup>d. In 1821, however, the invoice value is quoted at L.105,060, 15s. 10<sup>3</sup>d.; in 1822, at L.85,350, 14s. 8d.; in 1823, at L.121,442, 18s. 11<sup>3</sup>d.; and in 1824, at L.80,917, 12s. 8d.

A census of the population of the colony is also given for the years 1818, 1820, and 1822. No census of the colony appears to have been taken at the time of its transfer to the crown, neither was any taken in 1817. The order transmitted from the colonial office required up to the latest time a complete census of the population, exclusive of the military; distinguishing the Europeans, Nova Scotians, disbanded African soldiers, Kroomen, other African emigrants, and liberated Africans; distinguishing also the sexes, the number of persons married, who have learned to read and write, and the number actually enjoying the means of Christian education. This last order has not yet been complied with, so far as the completion of the census, but it will be finished when the governor (General Turner) returns from the Gold Coast. The grand total of population, according to the census last taken in 1822, is 15,081, of which little more than one-third belongs to Freetown. It is chiefly composed of the following classes:—West Indians and Americans, 48 men, 19 women, 18 boys and girls. Of natives, 1327 men, 977 women, and above 1200 boys and girls. Liberated Africans, 3312 men, 1956 women, and between 2000 and 3000 boys and girls. Discharged soldiers, 1103; and Kroomen, (who appear to be a migratory race, constantly moving to and from the colony,) 947. Between the census of 1817 and 1818 there appears to have been an increase of population of 2252 individuals, including 1190 captured negroes; and between the latter and that taken in 1822, there is an increase of 2956 persons, including 943 liberated Africans, and 1030 discharged soldiers from West Indian and African corps.

The returns of schools show with-

in the last three or four years a very considerable increase of numbers. In 1817, the number of men, women, and children in course of education did not much exceed 400. On the 31st of December 1823, there were—children, 2172; adults, 287; making a total of 2460.

In the account of the number of churches and chapels, with an estimate of the persons attending, we have 24 chapels described, in nearly half of which service is performed by coloured pastors. The number of persons usually attending is 5818, of whom between 500 and 600 are Wesleyan Methodists, above 200 of Lady Huntingdon's sect, and about half that number Baptists. A detailed account of births in the colony was ordered, but no general record appears to have been kept. And in answer to the order for an account of fit persons liable to serve on juries in the colony of Sierra Leone, it is said that this cannot be correctly ascertained, but that the number must be very considerable, for that 42 petit, and from 8 to 10 grand jurors are usually summoned every sessions from the coloured inhabitants.

The usual rate of wages paid is to labourers 9d. to 10d. per day, and from 2s. 6d. to 7s. per day to artificers, according to their skill. It is added, however, that these rates of payment are on the decline. In ships and fishing-boats, exclusive of a small number belonging to natives, the property of the inhabitants of the colony is small, and does not exceed a small tonnage. There are about thirty-five vessels, from 10 to 88 tons burden, besides fourteen boats employed by fishermen.

**An Account of the Total Grants of Money for the Civil Establishment of Sierra Leone, from 1808 to**

**1824; also, an Account of the Total Amount of all Bills drawn upon the Treasury from thence, for Military Expenditure, and paid during the same period.**

Year	Grants of Money for the Civil Establishment of Sierra Leone.			Total Amount of Bills of Exchange paid for the service of Sierra Leone.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1808	16,310	0	0	12,568	9	1½
1809	17,360	0	0	25,853	4	3½
1810	15,710	0	0	36,291	13	3½
1811	14,495	11	6	41,549	9	1
1812	14,020	0	0	55,330	3	4
1813	14,102	0	0	66,968	6	5
1814	14,102	0	0	51,820	15	11½
1815	15,760	0	0	58,951	15	2
1816	15,660	0	0	89,919	17	6
1817	15,814	0	0	60,525	2	8
1818	15,450	0	0	61,793	7	9½
1819	16,687	15	0	11,219	16	0½
1820	22,358	1	0	56,340	11	6½
1821	22,441	3	0	69,394	0	9½
1822	22,176	12	10½	31,291	10	7
1823	22,816	17	0	35,826	13	5

In addition to which, the several sums under mentioned have been paid out of the grant of army extraordinaries for dollars forwarded by order of the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, for the service of the colony of Sierra Leone:—

	L.	s.	d.
1812 . . . .	15,000	0	0
1820 . . . .	10,915	4	2
1821 . . . .	21,110	17	0
1822 . . . .	10,013	3	4

There was no sum voted specifically for the military establishment of Sierra Leone in any of the above years. The expenditure actually defrayed in the colony, in respect of the military force stationed there, was, from about the year 1812, paid out of the bills of exchange drawn upon the Treasury.

## LABOURERS' WAGES.

Abstract of the Answers to the three following Queries, put to the various Districts and Parishes of the several Counties of England and Wales.

Counties.	Has the number of unemployed labourers asking assistance from the parish increased or diminished within the last few years?	What is the lowest rate of daily wages you have known paid to an unmarried labourer, by his employer, during the last year?	What is the usual rate of weekly wages in your district?
Counties.	Answers.	Answers.	Average Answers.
Bedfordshire . .	Neither	Fivepence	Eight shillings and sevenpence
Berks . . . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Eight shillings and ninepence
Bucks . . . .	Diminished	Fivepence	Eight shillings and threepence
Cambridgeshire .	Increased	Sixpence	Nine shillings
Cheshire . . . .	Diminished	One shilling and fourpence	Ten shillings and eightpence
Cornwall . . . .	Neither	Sixpence	Eight shillings and threepence
Cumberland . . .	Diminished	One shilling and twopence	Twelve shillings and twopence
Derbyshire . . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Ten shillings and ninepence
Devonshire . . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Seven shillings and ninepence
Dorsetshire . . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Seven shillings
Durham . . . .	Diminished	One shilling	Twelve shillings and sixpence
Essex . . . . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Nine shillings and fourpence
Gloucestershire .	Diminished	Sixpence	Nine shillings and twopence
Hants . . . . .	Increased	Sixpence	Eight shillings and sixpence
Herefordshire . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Seven shillings
Hertfordshire . .	Neither	Sixpence	Nine shillings
Huntingdonshire .	Increased	Sixpence	Seven shillings and sixpence
Kent . . . . .	Increased	Eightpence	Eleven shillings and fivepence
Lancaster . . . .	Diminished	One shilling	Twelve shillings and threepence
Leicestershire . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Ten shillings
Lincolnshire . . .	Neither	Eightpence	Ten shillings and twopence
Middlesex . . . .	Diminished	Ninepence	Eleven shillings and threepence
Monmouth . . . .	Diminished	One shilling and twopence	Ten shillings
Norfolk . . . . .	Increased	Sixpence	Nine shillings
Northamptonshire	Increased	Sixpence	Eight shillings
Northumberland .	Diminished	One shilling	Eleven shillings and fivepence
Nottinghamshire .	Diminished	Ninepence	Ten shillings and threepence
Oxfordshire . . .	Increased	Sixpence	Eight shillings and twopence
Shropshire . . . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Nine shillings
Somersetshire . . .	Diminished	One shilling	Nine shillings
Staffordshire . . .	Diminished	One shilling	Ten shillings and sixpence
Suffolk . . . . .	Increased	Sixpence	Eight shillings and twopence
Sussex . . . . .	Increased	Sixpence	Nine shillings and sixpence
Surrey . . . . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Ten shillings and sixpence
Warwickshire . . .	Diminished	Sixpence	Eight shillings and ninepence
Wiltshire . . . .	Increased	Fourpence	Seven shillings and sixpence
Worcestershire . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Ten shillings and fourpence
Yorksh. N. Riding	Diminished	Eightpence	Ten shillings and threepence
Yorksh. E. Riding	Diminished	Eightpence	Eleven shillings and eightpence
Yorksh. W. Riding	Diminished	One shilling and fourpence	Twelve shillings and fivepence
Anglesey . . . .	Increased	—	Seven shillings and sixpence
Breconshire . . .	Diminished	Tenpence and ment	Nine shillings and fourpence
Caermarthenshire .	Increased	Ninepence	Seven shillings and fourpence
Denbighshire . . .	Diminished	Fifteenpence	Nine shillings and fourpence
Flintshire . . . .	Diminished	Eighteenpence	Eleven shillings
Glamorganshire . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Twelve shillings and eightpence
Merionethshire . .	Increased	Sixpence	Seven shillings
Montgomeryshire .	Neither	One shilling	Eight shillings and threepence
Pembrokeshire . . .	Diminished	Eightpence	Six shillings and twopence
Radnorshire . . .	Diminished	One shilling	Seven shillings and sixpence



An Account of the Quantity of Linen Cloth, of all sorts, exported from Ireland to Great Britain and Foreign Countries, in the year ended 5th January 1825 ; distinguishing British, Irish, and Foreign Linen.

	Quantity of Linen exported from Ireland, to		
	Great Britain.	Foreign Countries.	All parts of the World.
	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>Yards.</i>
British Linen, . . . . .	...	2340	2340
Irish Linen, . . . . .	46,466,950	3,024,087	49,491,037
Foreign Linen, . . . . .	...	Declared value £22	Declared value £22.
Total, . . . . .	46,466,950	3,026,427 and £22.	49,493,377 and £22.

#### SALMON FISHERIES.

*First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to take into Consideration the State of the Salmon Fisheries of Scotland, and of the United Kingdom, and the Laws affecting the same.*

THE Committee beg to state that their resolutions are founded partly upon the evidence taken in the last and present session of Parliament, but materially also upon a minute inspection of the returns received in answer to the queries sent in the last session of Parliament to all parts of the United Kingdom, which are necessarily so voluminous, and so various in form and substance, as to render them unfit to be presented to the House. In reporting these resolutions, the Committee have been desirous to make known as soon as possible the result of their investigations, upon some of the least difficult branches of the inquiry committed to them, with the intention of continuing their researches into the more difficult, but very important parts of the subject.

1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the salmon fisheries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland have for many years past rapidly decreased, and that there is every reason to apprehend that they will be diminished still more rapidly, unless effectual measures be resorted to for their preservation.

2. That it is of the utmost importance that the fence months, or close time, should be extended, and should commence and cease at the same period in all the salmon fisheries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

3. That the taking or attempting to take, the having in possession, the selling or purchasing salmon, grilse, sea trout, botcher, whitling, whiting or finnock, during the fence months, or close time, ought to be declared illegal, and to subject parties offending to a penalty:

4. That during the fishing season there ought, throughout the rivers, streams, lakes, estuaries, and sea coasts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be a close time weekly, commencing at sunset in the evening on Saturday, and terminating at sunrise on Monday, guarded by



such penalty as may be deemed sufficient.

5. That it ought to be declared illegal, maliciously to injure or molest in any way the salmon, grilse, sea-trout, botcher, whitling, whiting or finnock, when in the rivers, streams, or in the lakes, during the fence months or close time, or in any way maliciously to injure or disturb the spawning-beds, banks, or shallows, and to subject parties offending to a penalty.

6. That the owners or occupiers of mills or other buildings, for the benefit of which water is taken from a river, stream, or lake, in which salmon exist, for the driving of machinery, or any other purpose, ought to be required to erect and maintain such gratings or fenders as shall be sufficient to prevent fish, going from or returning to the sea, from entering the stream so taken from the main current; a specific description of such fender or grating to be furnished for their regulation; the maintenance of such fender or grating to be enforced under a penalty.

7. That it is indispensable to guard against the admission into all rivers, streams, estuaries, and lakes, in which salmon exist, of any matter proceeding from manufactories of any description which is known or deemed to be poisonous or deleterious to fish.

8. That the use of lights in taking salmon, or any other species of fish, ought to be declared illegal, and to subject the parties offending to a penalty.

9. That the size of the meshes of all nets used where salmon fisheries are carried on, ought to be regulated.

10. That there ought to be established on each river and estuary, including such streams, lakes, and coasts as may be connected therewith, such number of conservators or water-bailiffs as may be necessary, proportioned to the value of the salmon fishery, for

the purpose of giving effect to such regulations as are or may be provided by law; the expense of such establishment to be defrayed by the proprietors or lessees of salmon fisheries in the proportion of their respective interests, and to be compulsory upon all persons having legal right to salmon fisheries; the conservators or water-bailiffs to have right to traverse and inspect the banks of all rivers, streams, lakes, estuaries, and coasts, within their respective districts; to inspect all weirs, cruives, dams, mill-streams, and mills, &c. with power to seize and destroy all nets or other engines used for or calculated to kill fish, in any way or at any time, contrary to law.

11. That a process at law ought to be established by which the summary conviction of offenders may be had.

12. That the chairman be instructed forthwith to move for leave to bring in a bill or bills to carry into effect the foregoing resolutions, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively.

*\* 30th March, 1825.*

An appendix contains minutes of evidence taken before the Committee; a letter from Dr Flemming to T. F. Kennedy, Esq. dated 16th March, 1825; a paper delivered to the Committee by Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Bart. (with three plans) and a plan of the lower part of Tweed.

*Second Report from the same Committee.*

Your Committee have, since their last report, proceeded in their inquiries into some of the more difficult branches of the subject of the salmon fisheries; in particular, the important consideration of obstructions to the free passage of salmon between the sea and the upper parts of rivers and lakes, where the spawn is deposited,

and the young fish come into life. They have been particularly desirous to consider this point in all its bearings, because upon such free passage being afforded depends the possibility of the breed being multiplied; and they have approached the inquiry with additional anxiety, because they are fully aware of the delicate ground in some, and of the difficult circumstances in all cases on which they have felt themselves called upon to touch. In some cases such obstructions exist, connected with the salmon fishery, in so far as parties have become possessed of rights to take salmon by means of those obstructions placed across rivers, and which can never exist without a greater or less degree of injury. In other cases similar rights are claimed, although probably on no good foundation. And another class of cases, and that of no small magnitude, is, the obstructions arising from the application of water to the purposes of manufactures. Your Committee are abundantly aware of the difficulty of this part of the subject, and while they beg to express the strongest opinion as to the injurious tendency of all obstructions extending across rivers, they think, as each case may be in some degree different from another, the best course they can at present adopt is, to recommend that individuals should endeavour, as far as may be possible, to ascertain the foundation of right on which such obstructions may have been erected, and are maintained, and, except in such cases as those in which the interests of the salmon fishery must and ought to be permanently subordinate to manufacturing and other interests, that persons interested should endeavour to accommodate differences, by uniting in securing a free passage to the salmon. Your Committee do not hesitate to say, that the attainment of this object must be the foundation of all

future prosperity to the salmon fishery, and that individuals who possess a temporary advantage by the enjoyment of an undue facility of taking salmon, by means of fixed works across rivers, in many instances mistake their own ultimate and real interest by maintaining them. Your Committee consider it essential that this free passage should be afforded during the fence months, or close time, for the purpose of securing the multiplication of the species; and they are equally of opinion that it should be afforded in a considerable degree during the fishing season, because if those persons in whose property, or within reach of whom, salmon breed, be not permitted to take, when of a mature size, some proportion of the countless multitudes of fish which their care and protection may bring into life, it is in vain to expect that such care will be exercised, or that any protection will be given, or to hope that any law will be effectual to prevent the injurious practices during the breeding season, which, wherever they exist, almost extirpate the race. In those rivers on which large commercial cities are situated, and on which the interests of manufactures have led to the expenditure of vast capital, it is not to be looked for that the salmon fishery should flourish; and while it may be from those causes nearly extinct, it would be chimerical to expect that it should ever be restored. Such cases must be obvious, and the Committee by no means wish to make recommendations respecting them, which could end only in failure. But while they wish not to be misunderstood in this respect, they are equally sure that there scarcely is a river in the United Kingdom in which the salmon fishery may reasonably be expected to prosper, on which obstructions do not exist, and on which a vast general and public advantage would not arise from the

removal or regulation of such obstructions. Your Committee have also gone into evidence, at considerable length, respecting the modes of taking salmon practised in different parts of the United Kingdom, with a view to ascertain the circumstances attendant on each, which ought to recommend it to the sanction, or suggest it to the regulation or condemnation of the legislature. In pursuing this branch of the inquiry, the end in view has been to ascertain what modes of fishing are adapted to the greatest variety of circumstances, and calculated to secure the largest permanent supply of fish in fine condition, and, being adapted to the habits of the animal, do not interfere with those habits, so as to restrain its vast prolific powers. Such a subject is necessarily complicated in its nature; but the Committee trust their proceedings may not be deemed wholly unavailing, and that the evidence may be considered as containing the groundwork of principles on which the legislature may be justified in proceeding, in a future session of Parliament, to sanction a measure having for its object the general regulation of the salmon fisheries of the United Kingdom. Although your Committee were of opinion that they possessed abundant evidence on which to found the resolutions contained in their last report, they have, in taking further evidence, excluded no branch of the subject, but have availed them-

selves of the full extent of the information of all the witnesses who have come before them. The testimony of some witnesses may appear to militate against the opinions which have been expressed by your Committee, but they beg to state, that, upon the whole, they have not seen cause to alter the opinions which they have already formed; and they report the evidence with a conviction, that when fully examined and understood, it will be felt, that while anomalies and exceptions are to be met with, no great or permanent good can be effected without an adherence to uniform principles, which, if called into full operation, will, even to individuals, much more than compensate the partial sacrifices which the adoption of sound and general principles may call upon them for a time to make. In conclusion, your Committee cannot refrain from expressing an opinion, that the salmon fisheries of the United Kingdom are eminently deserving, and greatly stand in need, of the protection of the legislature; and that there is every reason to believe, under the influence of a general law, founded in sound principle, that they might rise to an importance and magnitude hitherto unknown.

*3d June, 1825.*

An appendix contains minutes of evidence taken before the Committee, and various plans and miscellaneous papers.

An Account of the Number of Ships, with their Tonnage and Men, who have entered the Ports of the United Kingdom during the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824, respectively, distinguishing British Ships from Foreign.

Ports of entry.	Year 1822.						Year 1823.						Year 1824.					
	British.			Foreign.			British.			Foreign.			British.			Foreign.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England.....	9,416	1,396,476	82,661	2,860	387,812	23,964	9,635	1,461,198	96,197	8,486	497,149	20,103	9,975	1,507,107	90,770	4,879	650,128	35,978
Scotland	1,098	176,327	11,223	229	28,156	1,647	1,063	187,198	11,830	272	31,571	1,872	1,149	198,388	12,712	401	44,752	2,692
Ireland.....	643	89,383	5,092	300	53,183	2,810	573	72,523	4,217	311	54,276	2,853	609	91,825	5,218	373	64,561	3,430
United Kingdom.	11,087	1,664,186	98,976	3,389	469,151	28,421	11,271	1,740,859	112,244	4,069	582,996	33,826	11,733	1,797,820	108,700	5,653	759,441	42,112

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of British and Foreign Tonnage, cleared Outwards from the Ports of Great Britain, distinguishing the Several Countries, for the Year ending the 5th January, 1825.

Countries.	Tonnage.	
	British.	Foreign.
Russia . . . . .	156,443	20,430
Sweden . . . . .	9,698	18,643
The Baltic . . . . .	401	46,039
Norway . . . . .	8,557	122,586
Denmark . . . . .	44,418	57,799
Prussia . . . . .	49,000	78,908
Germany . . . . .	70,933	43,004
Belgium . . . . .	44,354	96,659
France . . . . .	68,370	44,355
Portugal . . . . .	43,370	10,746
Spain . . . . .	25,361	8,304
Gibraltar . . . . .	18,867	494
The Mediterranean . . . . .	—	1,348
Italy . . . . .	43,428	573
Malta . . . . .	5,876	—
Ionian Islands . . . . .	794	—
Turkey . . . . .	27,108	566
Foreign Parts . . . . .	617	3,556
British Isles: viz. . . . .		
Ireland . . . . .	905,449	—
Isle of Man . . . . .	28,983	—
Guernsey . . . . .	21,088	74
Jersey . . . . .	27,488	—
Aldernay . . . . .	560	—
Asia . . . . .	93,482	2,072
Africa . . . . .	31,339	—
Whale fisheries . . . . .	44,316	—
Seal fisheries . . . . .	62	—
British northern colonies . . . . .	375,318	—
British West Indies . . . . .	216,573	—
United States . . . . .	43,082	126,892
Foreign West Indies . . . . .	18,075	3,983
Foreign Continental colonies . . . . .	67,892	3,343
Total . . . . .	2,492,402	690,374

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of British and Foreign Tonnage cleared outwards from the Ports of Ireland, distinguishing the several Countries, for the Year end- in 5th January, 1825.

Countries.	Tonnage.	
	British.	Foreign.
Russia . . . . .	3,930	554
Sweden . . . . .	—	609
Norway . . . . .	1,599	13,336
Denmark . . . . .	141	1,510
Prussia . . . . .	943	9,176
Germany . . . . .	—	407
Belgium . . . . .	—	344
France . . . . .	1,057	378
Portugal . . . . .	1,729	9,861
Spain . . . . .	960	1,618
Gibraltar . . . . .	690	1,045
Turkey and the Levant . .	136	146
British Islands : viz.		
Isle of Man . . . .	390	—
Guernsey . . . . .	130	—
Jersey . . . . .	1,638	—
Africa . . . . .	328	—
British northern colonies .	36,755	345
British West Indies . . .	16,524	—
United States . . . . .	3,236	16,457
Foreign West Indies . . .	—	330
Foreign Continental colonies	131	219
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>70,317</b>	<b>56,355</b>

### TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

AN ACCOUNT of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1825, (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated exclusive of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland reciprocally;) distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise exported; also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported therefrom, according to the real and declared value thereof.

Years ending 5th Jan- uary.	Value of Imports to the United Kingdom, calculated at the official rates of valuation.			Value of exports from the United Kingdom, calculated at the official rates of valuation.									Value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, exported therefrom, according to the real and declared value thereof.		
				Produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom.			Foreign and colonial merchandise.			Total exports.					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1823	30,530,663	0	6	44,236,533	2	4	9,227,589	6	11	53,464,122	9	3	36,968,964	9	9
1824	35,798,707	5	1	43,804,372	18	1	8,603,904	9		52,408,277	7	2	35,458,048	13	6
1825	37,547,826	15	4	48,735,551	2	5	10,204,785	6	4	58,940,336	8	9	38,396,300	17	3

## TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

AN ACCOUNT of the Value, as calculated at the Official Rates, of all Imports into, and of all Exports from, Great Britain, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1825; showing the Trade with Foreign Parts separately from the Trade with Ireland, and distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise exported; also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain, according to the real and declared Value thereof.

## TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH FOREIGN PARTS :

Years ending 5th January.	Value of imports into Great Britain, calculated at the official rates of valuation.		Value of exports from Great Britain, calculated at the official rates of valuation.						Value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain, according to the real and declared value thereof.	
			Produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom.		Foreign and colonial merchandise.		Total exports.			
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1823	29,432,375	14 0	43,558,483	12 9	9,211,927	16 10	52,770,416	9 7	36,176,896	13 11
1824	34,591,264	9 1	43,144,466	1 6	8,583,995	18 0	51,773,461	19 6	31,691,124	8 10
1825	36,141,339	8 3	48,030,036	11 4	10,188,596	9 2	58,218,633	0 6	37,573,918	0 0

## TRADE OF IRELAND.

AN ACCOUNT of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from, Ireland, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1825, (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated exclusive of the Trade with *Great Britain*;) distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise exported:—also stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from *Ireland*, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

Years ending 5th January.	Value of the im- ports into Ireland, calculated at the of- ficial rates of valuation.		Value of exports from Ireland, calculated at the official rates of valuation.						Value of the pro- duce and manufac- tures of the United Kingdom, exported from Ireland, ac- cording to the real or declared value thereof.	
			Produce and ma- nufactures of the United Kingdom.		Foreign and co- lonial merchan- dise.		Total exports.			
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1823	1,098,287	6 6	678,044	9 7	15,661	10 1	693,705	19 8	792,067	15 10
1824	1,207,442	16 0	659,900	16 7	14,908	11 1	674,815	7 8	766,924	4 8
1825	1,406,487	7 2	705,514	11 0	16,188	17 2	721,703	8 3	822,382	17 3

CONVENTION OF COMMERCE, BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE KING OF DENMARK.

[Presented to both Houses of Parliament, on February 7th, by the Earl of Liverpool and Mr Canning.]

HIS Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty of Denmark, being equally desirous of extending and increasing the commercial intercourse between their respective states, and of affording every facility and encouragement to their subjects engaged in such intercourse; and being of opinion, that nothing will more contribute to the attainment of their mutual wishes in this respect than a reciprocal abrogation of all discriminating and countervailing duties which are now demanded and levied upon the ships or productions of either nation in the ports of the other, have appointed their plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention for that purpose; that is to say,—

His Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. George Canning, a member of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament, and his said Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Hon. William Huskisson, a member of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament, president of the Committee of Privy Council for Affairs of Trade and Foreign Plantations, and Treasurer of his said Majesty's Navy;

And his Majesty the King of Denmark, Charles Emilius, Count de Moltke, Grand Cross of the Order of Daborg, his said Majesty's Privy Councillor of Conferences, and his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of

his Britannic Majesty; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

Art. 1.—From and after the 1st day of July next, Danish vessels entering or departing from the ports of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and British vessels entering or departing from the ports of his Danish Majesty's dominions, shall not be subject to any other higher duties or charges whatever, than are or shall be levied on national vessels entering or departing from such ports respectively.

Art. 2.—All articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the dominions of either of the high contracting parties, which are or shall be permitted to be imported into, or exported from the ports of the united kingdom and of Denmark respectively, in vessels of the one country, shall in like manner be permitted to be imported into and exported from those ports in vessels of the other.

Art. 3.—All articles not of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, which can legally be imported, from the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, into the ports and dominions of the King of Denmark, in British ships, shall be subject only to the same duties as are payable upon the like articles if imported in Danish ships; and the same reciprocity shall be observed with regard to Danish vessels in the ports of the said united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in respect to all articles not the growth, produce, or manufacture of the dominions of his Danish Majesty, which can legally be imported into the ports of the united kingdom in Danish ships.

Art. 4.—All goods, wares, and mer-



chandise, which can legally be imported into the ports of either country, shall be admitted at the same rate or duty, whether imported in vessels of the other country, or in national vessels; and all goods, wares, or merchandize, which can be legally exported from the ports of either country, shall be entitled to the same bounties, drawbacks, and allowances, whether exported in vessels of the other country, or in national vessels.

Art. 5.—No priority or preference shall be given, directly or indirectly, by the government of either country, or by any company, corporation, or agent, acting on its behalf or under its authority, in the purchase of any article the growth, the produce, or manufacture of either country, imported into the other, on account of, or in reference to the character of the vessel in which such article was imported; it being the true intent and meaning of the high contracting parties, that no distinction or difference whatever shall be made in this respect.

Art. 6.—The high contracting parties have mutually determined not to include, in the present convention, their respective colonies, in which are comprehended, on the part of Denmark, Greenland, Iceland, and the islands of Ferroe; it is expressly agreed that the intercourse which may at present legally be carried on by the subjects or ships of either of the said high contracting parties with the colonies of the other, shall remain upon the same footing as if this convention had never been concluded.

Art. 7.—The present convention shall be in force for the term of ten years from the date hereof; and further, until the end of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same; each of the high contracting

parties reserving to itself the right of giving such notice to the other, at the end of the said term of ten years; and it is hereby agreed between them, that, at the expiration of twelve months after such notice shall have been received by either party from the other, this convention, and all the provisions thereof, shall altogether cease and determine.

Art. 8.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, within one month from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the sixteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.  
W. HUSKISSON.  
C. E. MOLTKE.

#### SEPARATE ARTICLE.

THE high contracting parties reserve to themselves to enter upon additional stipulations, for the purpose of facilitating and extending, even beyond what is comprehended in the convention of this date, the commercial relations of their respective subjects and dominions, upon the principle either of reciprocal or equivalent advantages, as the case may be: And in the event of any article or articles being concluded between the said high contracting parties, for giving effect to such stipulations, it is hereby agreed, that the article or articles which may hereafter be so concluded, shall be considered as forming part of the aforesaid convention.

The present separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the sixteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

W. HUSKISSON.

C. E. MOLTKE.

#### ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

THEIR Britannic and Danish Majesties mutually agree, that no higher other duties shall be levied in either of their dominions (their respective colonies being excepted from the convention of this date) upon any personal property of their respective subjects, on the removal of the same from the dominions of their said Majesties reciprocally, either upon the inheritance of such property, or otherwise, than are or shall be payable in each state, upon the like property, when removed by a subject of such state respectively.

The present additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the 16th day of June, in the year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

W. HUSKISSON.

C. E. MOLTKE.

DECLARATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HANOVER, RESPECTING RECIPROCITY OF COMMERCE, SIGNED AT LONDON, JUNE 12, 1824.

#### DECLARATIONS.

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of State and Cabinet of his Majesty the King of Hanover, hereby declare, in the name of their respective governments :

That the Hanoverian government having placed British ships, and all articles imported in such ships, in respect to all duties, whether upon the goods or upon the ships, and in respect to charges and privileges of pilotage, upon the same footing with Hanoverian ships, and the like goods, if imported in such ships ; and the said Hanoverian government binding itself to observe these conditions, and any other stipulations in favour of the shipping and commerce of Great Britain, which are contained in a convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, concluded and signed at London on the 2d of April 1824 :—

His Britannic Majesty engages to extend to the subjects and shipping of the kingdom of Hanover all the benefits secured by the said convention to the shipping and commerce of Prussia, upon the principle of reciprocity which forms the basis of the said convention.

In witness whereof, they have signed the present declaration, and

have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the twelfth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.  
MUNSTER.

The undersigned, the Ministers of State and Cabinet of his Majesty the Kings of Hanover, and his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, hereby declare, in the name of their respective governments :—

That the Hanoverian government having placed British ships, and all articles imported in such ships; in respect of all duties, whether upon the goods or upon the ships, and in respect to charges and privileges of pilotage, upon the same footing with Hanoverian ships, and the like goods, if imported in such ships; and the said Hanoverian government binding itself to observe those conditions, and any other stipulations in favour of the shipping and commerce of Great Britain, which are contained in a convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, concluded and signed at London, on the 2d of April 1824 ;

His Britannic Majesty engages to extend to the subjects and shipping of the kingdom of Hanover, all the benefits secured by the said convention to the shipping and commerce of Prussia, upon the principle of reciprocity which forms the basis of the said convention.

In witness whereof, they have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the twelfth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

(Signed) MUNSTER.

GEORGE CANNING.

#### RATIFICATION OF THE COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH BUENOS AYRES.

BUENOS AYRES, Feb. 23.—On Saturday the 19th, the ratification of the treaty, concluded between the government of Great Britain and that of the United Provinces, took place in the cabinet of the government. The treaty is as follows :—

“ Be it known, the treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, having been concluded in due form, on the 2d of this month of February, by Don Manuel Jose Garcia, plenipotentiary of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and Mr Woodbine Parish, plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, that the following is a true copy of the same :—

“ An extensive commerce having existed for many years between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, it seems advisable, for the safety and promotion of the said commerce, and the consolidation of good understanding between his Majesty and the said provinces, that these existing relations should be formally recognised and confirmed by a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation. With this view they have named for their respective plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Mr Woodbine Parish, his Majesty's Consul-General at Buenos Ayres ; and the United Provinces, Don Manuel Jose Garcia, Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c., who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles :—

“ Art. 1. Stipulates perpetual friendship between the dominions and subjects of the two parties.

“ Art. 2. Reciprocal freedom of trade, on the same footing as any other foreign subjects.

“ Art. 3. His Britannic Majesty agrees, that in all his dominions in

Europe and other parts of the world, the inhabitants of the United Provinces shall enjoy the freedom of trade stipulated in the preceding articles, to the whole extent that it is now permitted, or may be permitted in future, to any other nation.

" Art. 4. No article of the produce or manufacture of either party shall be subjected, in the dominions of the other, to higher duties than similar articles from other foreign countries, nor shall any prohibition to export or import any article of produce or manufacture from or into the respective dominions, be imposed, unless such prohibition include the same articles of other countries.

" Art. 5. Vessels of above 120 tons of either party shall not pay any tonnage, light-house, pilotage, salvage, or other local duty, in any of the ports of the other party, higher than the national vessels of the country to which the port belongs.

" Art. 6. Articles of the produce or manufacture of either party, shall pay the same import duties in the ports of the other, whether they are imported in the ships of Great Britain or of the United Provinces; and the same bounties, allowances, and drawbacks, shall be paid on the exportation of such articles of produce or manufacture from either country, whether exported in British ships or those of the United Provinces.

" Art. 7. To prevent misunderstandings, it is stipulated that all ships built in his Majesty's dominions, which are owned, manned, and registered, according to the laws of Great Britain, shall be considered as British ships; and that all vessels built in the territories of the said provinces, duly registered, owned by citizens of the same province, or of any one of them, whose captain and three-fourths of the crew are citizens of the

said provinces, shall be considered as vessels of the United Provinces.

" Art. 8. Every merchant, commander of a ship, and other subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall enjoy, in all the territories of the United Provinces, the same liberty as the natives, to manage his own affairs, to confide them to whoever he pleases, as his factor, agent, or interpreter, without being obliged to employ or pay for that purpose any persons whatever, unless he thinks fit to employ them; the buyer and seller to have at all times full liberty to contract and fix, at their pleasure, the price of all effects, merchandize, &c. imported into, or exported from, the said United Provinces.

" Art. 9. In all points relative to the unloading of vessels, the security of merchandize and effects, the disposal of property of every description, by sale, donation, exchange, or other mode whatsoever, as well as to the administration of justice, the subjects of the contracting parties shall enjoy, respectively, in the dominions of each other, the same rights, privileges, and franchises, as those of the most favoured nation. They shall not pay higher duties or taxes than the subjects of the state in which they reside; they shall be exempt from all military service whatever, either by sea or land; from all forced loans, exactions, or military requisitions, nor shall they be obliged to pay any ordinary contributions, under any pretext, greater than what the natural subjects and citizens of the party pay.

" Art. 10. Each of the parties may appoint consuls, as usual, who shall not exercise their functions till duly approved by the government to which they are sent; and either party may except to the residence of consuls in such particular places as it may please to except.

" Art. 11. For the greater security of commerce between the subjects of the contracting parties, it is stipulated, that, in case of any unfortunate interruption of the amicable relations of commerce, or a breach between the two parties, the subjects and citizens of each, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privileges of remaining and continuing their trade without any interruption, so long as they behave peaceably, and do not in any way offend the laws; and their effects and property, whether confided to individuals or to the state, shall not be subject to any embargo or sequestration, than may be paid by the effects and property belonging to the natural inhabitants of the state in which the said subjects or citizens may reside.

" Art. 12. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata shall not be disturbed, persecuted, or molested, on account of their religion; but they shall enjoy a perfect liberty of conscience in them, celebrating divine worship in their own houses, or in their own particular churches and chapels, which they shall be authorised to build and maintain in convenient situations, which shall be approved of by the government of the said United Provinces. It shall also be permitted to bury the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who shall die in the territory of the United Provinces, in their own cemeteries, which they may, in like manner, form and maintain there. On the other hand, the subjects of the said United Provinces shall enjoy, in all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, a perfect and unlimited freedom of conscience, and the exercise of their religion, public or private, in the houses where they reside, or in the chapels and religious houses destined for that purpose, conformably

to the system of toleration established in his Majesty's dominions.

" Art. 13. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces, may freely dispose of their property of every description, in whatever form they please, or by will, as they think fit; and if a British subject should die in the United Provinces without a will, or disposition of his property, his Majesty's Consul-General, or, in his absence, his representative, shall be authorised to appoint guardians, who shall take care of the property, for the lawful heirs and creditors, without any interference, giving notice to the authorities of the country, and reciprocally.

" Art. 14. His Britannic Majesty anxiously desiring the total abolition of the slave trade, the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata engage to co-operate with his Majesty in accomplishing so beneficial a work, and to prohibit all persons residing in the United Provinces, or subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any part in the said traffick.

" Art. 15. The above treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in four months, or sooner, if possible.

" In testimony whereof, the said plenipotentiaries have hereunto set their hands and seals.

" Done at Buenos Ayres the 2d of February, in the year of our Lord 1825.

(L. S.) " M. J. GARCIA.

(L. S.) " WOODBINE FARMER."

" We, J. G. de las Heras, Captain General and Governor of the Province of Buenos Ayres, charged with the supreme executive power of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata now assembled in Congress, having,

in conformity with the fundamental law of the 23d January 1825, communicated the said treaty to the constituent Congress for its assent, and having obtained its full powers and approbation to ratify and confirm the said treaty; by this present act we ratify and confirm it in due form, promising and engaging, in the name of the said United Provinces, that all the stipulations and obligations in the same shall be sacredly and inviolably fulfilled.

"In testimony whereof, we sign with our hand the present instrument of ratification, and have caused it to be attested by our minister of war and marine, solemnly sealing it with the national seal at Buenos Ayres, the 19th of February, in the year of our Lord 1825.

(L.S.) "JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS  
"HERAS.

(L.S.) "FRANCISCO DE LA CRUZ."

#### CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,

Respecting the Free Navigation, Commerce, and Fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, and the Limits on the Northwest Coast of America; signed at St Petersburg, February 28 (16), 1825:—Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by his Majesty's Command, May 16, 1825.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, being desirous of drawing still closer the ties of good understanding and friendship which unite them, by means of an agreement which may settle, upon the basis of reciprocal convenience, different points connected with the com-

merce, navigation, and fisheries of their subjects on the Pacific Ocean, as well as the limits of their respective possessions on the Northwest Coast of America, have named Plenipotentiaries to conclude a Convention for this purpose, that is to say:—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. Stratford Canning, a Member of his said Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, the Sieur Charles Robert Count de Nesselrode, his Imperial Majesty's Privy Councillor, a Member of the Council of the Empire, Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs, &c. and the Sieur Pierre de Poletica, his Imperial Majesty's Councillor of State, &c. who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles:

Article 1.—It is agreed that the respective subjects of the high contracting parties shall not be troubled or molested in any part of the ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles.

2.—In order to prevent the right of navigating and fishing, exercised upon the ocean by the subjects of the high contracting parties, from becoming the pretext for an illicit commerce, it is agreed that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall not land at any place where there may be a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant; and on the other hand, that Russian subjects shall not land, without permission, at any Bri-

tish establishment on the Northwest Coast.

3.—The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the northwest, shall be drawn in the manner following:—

Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 deg. 40 min. north latitude, and between the 131st and the 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich) the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

4.—With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood:—

First, That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

Second, That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which belongs to Russia, as above-

mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.

5.—It is moreover agreed, that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits assigned by the two preceding articles to the possessions of the other; consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast or upon the border of the continent comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions, as designated in the two preceding articles, and, in like manner, no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.

6.—It is understood that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean, or from the interior of the continent, shall for ever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hinderance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in Article 3 of the present convention.

7.—It is also understood that, for the space of ten years from the signature of the present convention, the vessels of the two powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hinderance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks mentioned in Article 3, for the purposes of fishing and trading with the natives.

8.—The port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects for the space of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention. In the event of an extension of this

term of ten years being granted to any other power, the like extension shall be granted also to Great Britain.

9.—The above-mentioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in spirituous liquors, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder, or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the above-mentioned articles to be sold or delivered, in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country.

10.—Every British or Russian vessel navigating the Pacific Ocean, which may be compelled by storms or by accident to take shelter in the ports of the respective parties, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to provide itself with all necessary stores, and put to sea again, without paying any other than port and light-house dues, which shall be the same as those paid by national vessels. In case, however, the master of such vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall conform himself to the regulations and tariffs of the place where he may have landed.

11.—In every case of complaint on account of an infraction of the Articles of the present convention, the civil and military authorities of the high contracting parties, without previously acting or taking any forcible measure, shall make an exact and circumstantial report of the matter to their respective courts, who engage to settle the same in a friendly manner, and according to the principles of justice.

12.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at London, within the space of six weeks, or sooner if pos-

In witness whereof the respective

plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at St Petersburg, the 28th (16th) day of February, in the year of our Lord 1825.

(L.S.) STRATFORD CANNING.

(L.S.) The Count de NESSELRODE.

(L.S.) PIERRE DE POLETICA.

#### SPAIN

*Conventions between their Catholic and Most Christian Majesties, for prolonging the stay of the French Army in Spain, after the 1st of January, 1825.*

His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, having judged that it would be useful to continue in his states a part of the French army beyond the period of January 1, 1825, in order to give time to the complete reorganization of the Spanish army, and to consolidate the re-establishment of public order; and his most Christian Majesty the King of France and Navarre, desiring to give to his Most Catholic Majesty a new proof of the lively and sincere attachment which he feels for his august person, and to confirm his legitimate authority, for the welfare and prosperity of his people; their Majesties have resolved to conclude, in order to effect this object, a new convention, and have named plenipotentiaries to that effect—his Catholic Majesty, Don Francisco de Zea Bermudez, Knight Pensioner of the Royal and distinguished Order of Charles III., Councillor of State, his first Secretary of State, President of his Council of Ministers, &c. &c.; and his most Christian Majesty, the Sieur Charles Joseph Edmond de Polignac, Knight of the Royal



Order of the Legion of Honour, his Charge d'Affaires to his Catholic Majesty, &c.,—who, having exchanged their full powers, drawn up in good and due form, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. 1. The French corps d'armée at present in Spain, shall be reduced to twenty-two thousand men, to take place from January 1, 1825.

2. These troops shall be stationed in the following places:—Cadiz, Isle of Leon and its dependencies, Barcelona, St Sebastian, Pampeluna, Seo d'Urgel, Jaca, and St Fernando de Figueras.

3. Independently of these troops, a brigade, formed of two Swiss regiments, and commanded by a general officer, shall remain at Madrid, and in such of the royal residences where his Majesty may be, to do service near his person, and that of the royal family, jointly with Spanish troops.

4. All fortresses at present occupied by the French troops, shall be evacuated, with the exception of those which are designated in the second article; and the troops which make no part of any of the new garrisons, shall return to France at the period (January 1, 1825,) fixed by the present convention.

5. The French troops will furnish the garrisons of the cities and fortresses indicated in the second article. The military command of each of those cities and fortresses shall belong to the French officers, provided with a letter of service to command in it; and the relations of the French commandants with the Captains-General, or with the Viceroy of Navarre, in the cities where the two authorities, French and Spanish, are united, shall subsist, such as they were established by the last conventions.

6. The French commandants will appoint the service confided to them, and the arms of war which are found

in the fortresses occupied, and which are to be furnished by Spain. None of the arms, munitions, or magazines, forming the provisions for the fortress, are to be withdrawn, but with the approval and consent of the French commandant who may be there stationed.

7. His Catholic Majesty engages to provide for the establishment of barracks, magazines, *materiel* for the hospitals, conveyances, military rations, provisions for a siege in the fortresses, and to make all repairs and other arrangements which may be considered necessary.

8. The terms fixed by the tenth article of the convention of the 9th February, for the expenses of pay, maintenance, equipment, and clothing, which constitute the differences between the peace and the war footing, being reduced, in proportion to the number of the troops, remain fixed at the sum of 900,000 fr. per month.

9. Measures shall be concerted between the two governments, to establish the amount of the expenses mentioned in the 6th article of last June, and to secure their reimbursement.

10. His most Christian Majesty not leaving troops in Spain but in compliance with the request made by his most Catholic Majesty, these troops shall be withdrawn as soon as the parties interested shall judge it necessary, having regard to the reservations contained in the sixteenth article of the convention of the 9th February last.

11. All the clauses of the convention of the 9th February, and the regulation which is annexed to it; those of the convention of the 10th February, relative to the service of the military posts, which are not modified in the new arrangement to be concluded between the two govern-

ments, founded on the present state of things; and all those of the convention of the 30th June, which are not contrary to the present stipulations,—shall continue to have full and entire effect during the whole period of the present convention.

12. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged with the least possible delay. In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries, in virtue of their full

powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed to it their seals with their arms. Done in duplicate at San Lorenzo de l'Escorial, December 10, 1824.

(Signed)

“EDMOND DE BOISLECOMTE.”

(The ratifications follow, of their most Catholic and Christian Majesties, bearing date Dec. 3, and Dec. 18, 1824.)

## II.—LEGAL CHRONICLE, OR RECORD OF REMARK- ABLE TRIALS AND LAW PROCEEDINGS.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, DUBLIN,  
*January 1, 1825.*

INDICTMENTS AGAINST MR O'CONNELL, FOR SEDITION.

At half-past ten, this morning, Mr O'Connell entered the Commission Court, Dublin, accompanied by Messrs Wallace, Sheil, Perrin, &c., and followed by the Crown Counsel. The judges immediately took their seats, and the Grand Jury was sworn in. Mr Justice Moore then proceeded to charge the Jury; and after adverting to the combinations among the operative tradesmen, he said, he perceived by the indictment, that bills were to be sent to the Jury, in the case of an individual on a charge, the nature of which he should find it necessary to explain at some length. The principle that he would adhere to, in this case, would be a principle supported by the first law authorities in these countries—he meant the English Court of King's Bench. In the case of Sir Francis Burdett's Leicester letter case, it was deter-

mined that the words should be expressed, and that there should be no ambiguity—in fact, that there should be an identity of person as well as of words. They should apply this doctrine to the case of the individual before them.—They should first be sure that the express words were spoken. Secondly, that they were spoken by the person charged with having uttered them—and, thirdly, that these were of the nature and tendency described in the indictment;—that tendency should be unequivocal. It should have the effect of alienating the minds of his Majesty's subjects, or of producing a change, by unlawful means, in the constitution, as by law established. It was necessary that this tendency should be strictly proved, and that was matter of inference for the Jury to decide, when the express words were testified. It would then be necessary to consider the intent with which these words were spoken—whether the person uttering them, taking into account their spirit and context, the time when, and the place where uttered, had a sedi-

tious and unlawful intention in uttering them, or whether they were spoken in the plain and ordinary sense, without any such meaning.

— The Learned Judge concluded his charge at a quarter before four o'clock. Mr O'Connell appeared in excellent spirits, and it was rather ludicrous to observe the playful familiarity with which he and Mr J. S. Townsend conversed. Various witnesses were then called, previously to the sending of the indictment to the Grand Jury.

Immediately after the sending up the bills, Mr O'Connell left Court, accompanied by Mr Perrin and his solicitor Mr Kildahl. On appearing in Green-street, Mr O'Connell was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers from the populace, who assembled in great numbers, and who continued following him down Capel-street, Parliament-street, and Dame-street, notwithstanding his frequent remonstrances, even to his own house in Merrion-square.

A strong detachment of horse and foot police were stationed in Green-street during the whole of the day.

Quarter to Five o'Clock.—Candles have been lighted, and the Jury have not as yet returned their finding. The Court continues crowded. At a quarter past five o'clock, Mr Hickman Kearney came into Court, and addressing the Judge, asked if it were necessary that the words should be proved *verbatim*. Mr Justice Moore replied, that it was not necessary that the words should be proved word for word as spoken; but that, if the spirit, tone, and tendency of them were proved to be of a seditious character, that would be quite sufficient.

Quarter to Seven o'Clock.—The bills against Mr O'Connell have been thrown out! The Jury were in for four hours!

## VAN DIEMAN'S LAND—CANNIBALISM

### TRIAL OF ALEXANDER PIERCE.

*Before Chief Justice Padder, Monday, June 14, 1824.*

Alexander Pierce, a convict, was arraigned for the murder of a fellow prisoner, named Thomas Cox, at, or near King's River, in the month of November last, and he pleaded—Not Guilty.

The circumstances which were understood to have accompanied the above crime, had long been considered with extreme horror. Report had associated the prisoner with cannibals; and recollecting as we did, the vampire legends of Modern Greece, we confess, that on this occasion our eyes glanced in fearfulness at the being who stood before a retributive judge, laden with the weight of human blood, and believed to have banqueted on human flesh! It was, therefore, with much satisfaction we heard his Majesty's Attorney-General, whilst candidly opening his case for the prosecution, entreat the Jury to dismiss from their minds all previous impressions against the prisoner; as, however justly their hearts must execrate the foul enormities imputed to him, they must in duty judge him, not by rumours, but by indubitable evidence. The learned gentleman then proceeded to detail certain confessions made by the prisoner, before the late much lamented Lieutenant Cuthbertson, commandant at Macquarrie Harbour, and at his examination by the Rev. Robert Knopwood—confessions which, although in some respects inconsistent, would yet, when coupled with all the facts, merit the most serious attention. From them, it appeared, that, as other evidence would prove, the prisoner and the deceased,

on the 13th November, absconded from their duty into the woods, each of them taking his axe, and the prisoner being heavily ironed; that they for several days wandered on without provisions, and reduced by weakness, until, on the following Sunday evening, the deceased and prisoner arrived at King's River; a quarrel then arose because the deceased could not swim, and after prisoner had struck him on the head three or four times with his axe, the deceased seeing him about to go away, (his irons having been knocked off,) said, in a faint voice, "For mercy's sake come back and put me out of my misery!" Prisoner struck him a fourth blow, which immediately caused his death; he then cut a piece off one thigh, which he roasted and ate; and after putting another piece in his pocket, he swam across the river, with an intent to reach Port Dalrymple. Soon afterwards, however, he became so overwhelmed with the agonies of remorse, that he was constrained to recross the river, and, on seeing a schooner, under weigh, from the settlement, he made a signal-fire, which, on being seen, induced the pilot boat to put off, and take him on board. He was then conveyed to the harbour, where he publicly owned the murder, and said he was willing to die for it. The Attorney-General concluded a thrilling tale of almost incredible barbarity.

The facts were proved by witnesses; the Jury found a verdict of guilty; and the Learned Judge, who appeared much affected by the dreadful relation, so horribly set forth in evidence and confession, the case being too inhuman to comment upon, urged the miserable culprit to prepare himself to appear before that tribunal where mercy may be obtained.

The following Monday, June 21, was named for the execution to take place, and on Sunday morning, at the convict service, at nine o'clock, an appropriate sermon was preached by the Reverend W. Bedford. The whole of the convicts in and near Hobart Town, were ordered to church upon the occasion.

#### SESSIONS COURT, DUBLIN.

The trial of an indictment, which commenced on Monday, the 3d inst., has been before the Court for several days;—the King, in the prosecution of the Marquis of Westmeath, v. Anne Connell alias Jones, John Monaghan, Edward Bennett, William Mackenzie, Bernard Maguire, and Patrick Farley. They were charged with conspiring falsely to accuse Lord Westmeath of adultery with Anne Connell, and thus to support Lady Westmeath's application for a divorce against Lord Westmeath. The depositions of the defendant, Anne Connell, were read, in which she swore to many repeated acts of adultery committed with Lord W.; her first acquaintance with him originating in the circumstance of her appearing before him, as a magistrate, to swear an illegitimate child to another person. On the other hand, Lord W. positively swore that he had never before seen the woman in his life; and all the consequences of this denial would follow as a matter of course.—On the third day, Mr Justice Moore summed up, and the Jury returned a verdict of guilty against Anne Connell, John Monaghan, and Patrick Farley.—Mr Justice Moore: Gentlemen, I never saw or heard of a more reasonable and discerning verdict. It is creditable to yourselves, and of advantage to the public.

MEETING OF THE FACULTY OF  
ADVOCATES.

*Edin. Jan. 10* — The Faculty of Advocates met in their Library, for the purpose of taking into consideration the report of their Committee upon the Scotch Judicature Bill, which passed the House of Lords last Session of Parliament, but was stopped in the House of Commons by the exertions of the Lord Advocate, and several of the Scottish Members. A protracted debate took place, and in the end, a resolution to the following purport was moved by Mr Forsyth:—

“That it is the opinion of the Faculty, that the period is now arrived, as originally announced, when the business of the Jury Court should form part of the Court of Session procedure; therefore resolved, that from henceforth it would be advisable that the Jury Court should cease as a distinct Judicature, and that the trial by Jury should form part of the ordinary practice of the Court of Session.”

An amendment of great length was moved by Mr Moncrieff. It went to a general approval of the bill passed by the House of Lords; but in order that the benefits of the Jury Court might have full effect, it was necessary to invest it with more extensive powers, to render it independent of all other Courts, and confer on it an original jurisdiction.

Mr Forsyth's motion was carried by a considerable majority—

There being for it,  
For the amendment,

Majority,

Mr Forsyth then moved other two resolutions, the first of which was in substance, that the Legislature ought

to take into consideration the report of the Committee of the Faculty, before passing any act to alter the forms of process in Scotland; and the last, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gifford, Lord Redesdale, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to all the Scottish Members of Parliament.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH—*Jan. 17.*

COX v. KEAN.

This day, Robert Albion Cox, an Alderman of London, obtained a verdict for L.800 against Mr Edmund Kean, the celebrated actor, for adultery with Mrs Cox. In the declaration, the damages were laid at L.2000. It appeared from the evidence, that the criminal intercourse had been carried on for several years, and was known to the plaintiff's servants and others in his family, but was not discovered by the plaintiff himself, till, on some information, he opened his wife's cabinet, and found a series of letters to her from the defendant, which left no doubt of his (plaintiff's) dishonour, and, indeed, exhibited the profligacy of the guilty parties in the most disgusting manner. In these epistles, which are written, often in rapid succession, from various places of England and America, where Mr K. was acting, his epithet of endearment was generally “little breeches,” sometimes “impudent b——;” and those anticipating their meetings, frequently concluded with “then hey for kisses and blisses.” These letters evince as little delicacy as morality or good taste on the part of the writer. He exults naturally enough at his success in America, where he travelled in splendour, and

had L.1000 per month to remit home; but against Bath, where he performed in 1822 without success, he absolutely raves, calling it "d—d town," "infernal city," &c. Mr Scarlett, for the defendant, made the best of a bad case, by endeavouring to show the profligacy of the defendant's wife, and that the husband must have been acquainted with it. It appeared, indeed, from the evidence, that the plaintiff and his wife were in the habit of going to the dressing-room of the defendant at Drury-Lane Theatre, and seeing him dress, and into his private box; that the defendant was often at the plaintiff's house (drunk) at late hours, and this intimacy was continued for five years after Mrs Kean (whose jealousy and tormenting watchfulness are often mentioned in the defendant's letters) had left off visiting Mrs Cox. In fact, the abandoned character of the latter lady was described by her own maid, who deposed, "that she did not think two men enough for her;" and was further proved, by her now living with a Mr Whatmore, once her husband's clerk, and against whom he has brought a similar action for damages. But the learned Advocate failed in bringing home to the husband any knowledge of his wife's guilty conduct with the defendant, (though her following her paramour to Birmingham, under pretence of going to Brighton, must have opened any other person's eyes.) There were two letters of January last, which unmasked a scene of duplicity almost unparalleled. In order to show the artifices used by the defendant, as well to effect his object as to hoodwink the plaintiff, Mr Denman, Mr Cox's counsel, called the attention of the jury to a single fact—that on the very same day the defendant had written two letters, the one to his wife, representing his ardent at-

tachment to her, and the other to the husband, exculpating himself from something that had been hinted regarding his conduct towards Mrs Cox. This event arose out of the following circumstances:—In the early part of the year 1823, Mr Kean had occasion to make one of his professional tours through the west of England. In that tour he invited Mr and Mrs Cox to accompany him. Mrs Kean, and a very respectable clergyman of the Church of England, were also of the party. In the course of the journey, Mr Cox either heard or observed something regarding Mr Kean's attentions to Mrs Cox, which excited his notice. A conversation ensued between Mr Kean and Mr Cox on the subject, and the result of that conversation was the writing of the two following letters:—

(Post Mark,) Exeter,  
January 6, 1823.

Dear little Imprudent Girl,—Your incaution has been very near bringing our acquaintance to the most lamentable crisis; of course, he (Mr Cox) will show you the letter I have written him;—appear to countenance it, and let him think we are never to meet again, and in so doing he has lost a friend; leave all further arrangements to me. My aunt desires her best wishes to you, notwithstanding her anger, she says, of your conduct before him. Love shields the object of its wishes, not exposes it. All shall be shortly as you wish.  
Mrs Simpson, care of Mrs Matthews,  
12, Tavistock-Row, Covent-Garden,  
London.

(Post Mark,) Exeter,  
January 6, 1823.

My dear Cox,—I have been seriously considering the mass of nonsense uttered by us the two last nights at Salisbury. I must own likewise they have given me great uneasiness. If I have paid more attention to your family than any other of my acquaintances, the simple motive was to show the world that I valued my

friends as much in adversity as when I shared their hospitality in their prosperity. I am sorry my conduct has been misconstrued, as the inference is unworthy of yourself, me, and a being, whose conduct, I am sure, is unimpeachable. To remove all doubts upon the subject, and to counteract the effects of insidious men, I shall beg leave to withdraw a friendship, rendered unworthy by suspicion. I must be the worst of villains, if I could take that man by the hand while meditating towards him an act of injustice. You do not know me, Cox; mine are follies—not vices. It has been my task to do all the good I could in the world; and when I am called to a superior bourn my memory may be blamed, but not despised. Wishing you and your family every blessing the world can give you, believe me nothing less than

Yours, most sincerely,

EDMUND KEAN.

R. A. Cox, Esq. 6, Wellington Street,  
Waterloo Bridge, London.

(On one occasion Mr Kean, in advising caution to Mrs Cox, tells her, "that if the goods were not found upon the thief, there was no conviction," which remark caused much laughter among the lawyers in the court; and the artful hypocrisy of these letters was not spared by Mr Denman in his comments. All the correspondence was carried on in fictitious names, and an aunt of Mr Kean's was chiefly employed as receiver of the letters; but his handwriting was proved to them all. Mr Scarlett made a merit in his client of not producing the lady's letters to him; and certainly the Court was obliged to him for sparing it the pain of hearing half the mass of this filthy correspondence. If the stage can be disgraced by the ill conduct of its professors, the records of the Court of King's Bench, on two recent occasions, will afford sufficient condemnation of the morality of the two metropolitan theatres.

Some of the letters from Mr Kean

to Mrs Cox are of a most vulgar and indecent description. These, of course, we leave in the obscurity they deserve. But there are others which are merely absurd, and two of these we shall indulge public curiosity by giving.

June 19, damned town,

(Post-mark,) Bath, June 20, 1832.

My little darling Love,—I am in such a vortex of perplexities and mortifications, that I can scarcely collect my thoughts sufficiently to thank you for your letter, and to tell you how much I love you. It is now, my dearest girl, I wish for you; now that I am suffering under the most painful sensations of wounded pride, and the evident dupe of determined scoundrels, my mind, boiling with rage and grief, wants now my own dear darling—my love, to condole with; my fevered head wants rest in the bosom of my Charlotte. Indignation, resentment, and all the passions of the furies, guide my hand while I tell you, that in this infernal city, where I was a few years since the idol of the people, my endeavours are totally failing. I have not yet acted one night to the expenses. Come to me, darling, come to me, or I shall go mad. You must put off Tidswell; the carriage will not hold us all. If I should ever return to London, I will give her a jaunt to some of the environs; but if my provincial career is followed up by this terrible sample, heaven or hell must open for me. I bore my elevation with philosophy; I feel I cannot long submit to the opposite. Meet me as soon as possible at Birmingham, that is, as soon as safety will permit; and believe me, dearest girl, that I love you to distraction, and in heart!!!—I am, solely yours for ever, ever, ever, ever.

Mrs Alley, care of Miss Tidswell,  
12, Tavistock-Row, Covent-Garden,  
London.—(Post-paid.)

Dover.

Something whispers to me that I have been unkind or harsh to my dear, dear Charlotte, and though it may perhaps be imaginary, the palpitations of my heart are so annoying, that I must ease them



by the same imaginary atonement. That I may have been mad enough to wound those feelings (whose delights are my enjoyments) is probable—that I intended to do so is impossible. I am sure my little darling must feel that nothing in this world or the next is prized beyond her—that my advice is not intended for reproof—that though I may have suddenly repelled those tears, there was not one that did not drop into my heart. My dear, dear, dear, dear, dear little love!

If I have been wrong, forgive me, my dear, dear, dear, dear love!

If I was right, be cautious, but be assured I love you, almost to madness.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, Jan. 31.

*Sittings in Hilary Term for the City of London, before the Lord Chief Justice and a Special Jury.*

#### MILITARY ASSAULT AND FALSE IMPRISONMENT.

M'INTIRE, v. LAYARD.

Mr Brougham stated the case to the Jury. The plaintiff had been quarter-master-serjeant in the 10th regiment of foot, which was in 1819 stationed at Malta. The defendant was major-general of the same regiment, and at that time was governor in the absence of Sir Thomas Maitland. The plaintiff had held the highest character for correctness in all the duties of his station. But there had been serious complaints by the troops, of being supplied with bad pork; but whatever delinquency there had been of this kind, it had been that of another person, who was allowed to sell out all his commissions, and, what was most extraordinary, to retire on the rank of brevet. The plaintiff was tried court-martial, and found guilty

of having neglected to examine the pork, or submit it to examination after he had received it from the commissary. He was sentenced to be reduced to the ranks; and he was so reduced. But after he had been thus sentenced, General Layard, who acted as governor, thought proper to have the plaintiff arrested, thrown into the provost prison, and there confined from the 1st of July to the 5th of October. For some days no person was allowed to see him, and during the whole of the time, his wife was not suffered to see him or converse with him, without the presence of the jailer, who placed himself between them. The cell was a narrow, low, dark hole, without window or opening for light or air. The consequence was a fever, which had nearly proved fatal.—The Learned Gentleman then called witnesses to prove the facts.

The evidence of Colonel Rate was read, from which it appeared, that General Layard had ordered the arrest and imprisonment, and that the reason was, to prevent any communication between M'Intire and Major Trickey, who were believed to have conspired in the issue of the pork from the stores. Major Trickey resigned rather than stand a court-martial.

The Attorney-General addressed the Jury. The case was defended by the Treasury, because General Layard, who had served for many years in Spain and various other places, was now absent on the public service; but if any one supposed that, should damages be given, the Treasury would pay it, he was greatly mistaken. The plaintiff's character had been good, and therefore he had been promoted; but he lent himself probably to the temptations of Major Trickey. It was not because Major Trickey was superior in com-

mand that a fraudulent collusion could be justified. The plaintiff had made an over issue of beef without authority, and he had also withdrawn beef and substituted unwholesome pork. This was done in absence of the officer whose duty it was to inspect the provisions. They could not suppose that M'Intire did not derive advantage from this fraud. The men had naturally become more outrageous at finding this unwholesome food. The plaintiff was found guilty and degraded. When the defendant arrived from Cephalonia, he found the men still dissatisfied. A court of inquiry was instituted, and the result was, a determination to bring Major Trickey to a court-martial. Major Trickey was a man of influence. He was put under arrest. There were strong apprehensions that M'Intire would be tampered with, and in order to prevent that, he was put under confinement. Even in this country, there were some instances of witnesses being thus confined, where tampering was apprehended, he did not say whether lawfully or not. The plaintiff was treated, during his confinement, with all the lenity consistent with the object.

The Lord Chief Justice summed up. The circumstance of the Treasury paying, or not paying the damages, was not material for their consideration. The estimate of damages would be the result of calm consideration.

**Verdict for the plaintiff—Damages £200.**

**COURT OF SESSION—SECOND DIVISION.—Tuesday, Feb. 22.**

**SUSPENSION AND INTERDICT.**

*Mrs H. Siddons v. Mr Corbet Ryder.*

The case of Mrs Henry Siddons, of the Theatre-Royal, against Mr C.

Ryder, of the Caledonian Theatre, came to be pleaded in the Second Division.

The statement in the bill of suspension appeared to be substantially this:—That it is unlawful to exhibit entertainments of the stage without letters patent or license;—that the suspender holds a patent for such entertainments;—that the respondent holds no patent or license;—that he, notwithstanding, exhibits entertainments of the stage;—that he is, therefore, acting illegally; and that the suspender, as possessed of the legal right, is entitled to stop him.

In answer to this, the respondent observed, generally,—

1st, That the suspender holds no sufficient right to the patent on which she founds; and, therefore, is not entitled to plead upon it.

2d, That, although she held such right, no exclusive privilege is carried by the patent; and it, therefore, affords no right for challenging. The act of 10th Geo. II. on which the suspender founds, contains no prohibition against the performance of plays. It merely enacts, that if they are performed, certain penalties shall attach; and it is, therefore, inept and incompetent to proceed by suspension and interdict.

3d, That the suspender's premises are not supported by the fact, because the respondent does not exhibit such performances as, according to universal practice and understanding, fall under the description of entertainments of the stage, in the sense of the said act of 10th Geo. II. cap. 28.

4th, That the question of interdict is a *res judicata*.

Mr Cockburn, for the suspender, stated, that the suspender was met at the very threshold with an objection to her title. The patent was granted to the late Duke of Buccleuch,

and the late Viscount Melville, by whom it was assigned to certain assignees, who subsequently conveyed the right to the suspender, for the period of five years. The respondent seemed to contend, that that assignation was limited to five years only, but in this he was mistaken. Even though the objection was originally good, it must fall to the ground when the assignees consent, and all parties from whom the suspender derives her right, concur in her procedure. The act of Parliament declares it to be criminal to act for hire any tragedy, &c., or any part thereof. The argument of the suspender is, that in this theatre the same plays are acted with the same words—and exactly the same scenes, as acted at the Theatre-Royal. The respondent named his house a minor theatre—to that the suspender has no great objection—it was of what was acted in it she complained. “The whole of Shakspeare’s plays are acted at this theatre, with only this difference, that they are divided into three acts, and denominated melo-dramas. The tragedy of Richard III. is called the Battle of Bosworthfield; and Richard never appears without the accompaniment of a flourish of fiddles, therefore the tragedy is said to be melo-dramatised. Your Lordships are quite certain that a mere change of name cannot evade the statute. Melo-drama is just a modern name for a dramatic performance. Thus, if Hamlet is made to sing a song, and the tragedy comprised into three acts, it is a melo-drama. A burletta, according to the same rule, is a musical farce,—therefore the Beggar’s Opera was called a musical burletta. So, by merely altering the names, it is considered quite lawful to perform those pieces which could not be performed under their real names. In fact, Richard III. has been

acted at this very theatre under the designation of the Battle of Bosworth. With respect to the minor theatres, they are all either licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, or by the justices—and even in these, much was done by tolerance that never would be recognised as legal. When this theatre was first got up, it was used as a circus, in which rope-dancing and other entertainments of a similar kind were performed: It has no license from the Chamberlain, nor from any Justice of Peace, nor any one else; and it is, therefore, a place in which entertainments of the stage cannot be acted.”

Mr Moncrieff, for the respondent, said the bill of suspension contained a conclusion for an interdict against all representation whatever. The demand was made under very peculiar circumstances; for it was matter of notoriety, that for about thirty years this theatre had been occupied as a place of public entertainment; and for the last nine years, performances of a similar description to those now complained of, had been exhibited in that very house without interference. His first objection was, that the suspender had no title to complain, and she had not shown the fact to be otherwise. So conscious was she of the defective nature of her title, that she brought forward the acquiescence of a number of other persons, with whom the respondent had nothing to do. From the very nature of her patent, she had no title to complain; and to make out her case, she founded on the 10th of Geo. II. She thus founded on a positive statute, which must be interpreted strictly. That statute prohibits the representation of entertainments of the stage “without authority by letters patent from his Majesty’s Chamberlain.” &c. According to that statute, she was entitled to go before the Justices, and

complain by information; but instead of following that course, she comes and demands an interdict. So, because she had herself obtained a license, she conceived she has acquired an exclusive privilege in her favour. Though her license gave her the right of acting, did it give her a title to apply for an interdict, and prevent such things being done by others? The suspender might proceed against the respondent for a penalty, but not for an interdict. In London, the fact was notorious, that performances at the minor theatres had always been considered as lawful which did not call for interference of the police magistrate. By the 25th Geo. II., which relates to places kept for public dancing, music, &c., all entertainments of that kind, for twenty miles round London, without a Justice's license, were deemed disorderly, and subjected to certain penalties. This was a statute which prevented the acting of melo-dramas and burlettas within twenty miles of London and Westminster, without a license from the Justices; but if a license was granted, every melo-drama was acted, and all those complained of in this bill, without interruption. With respect to the minor theatres, the 10th Geo. II. was inoperative, melo-dramas and burlettas being there represented under authority,—not that, however, of the Lord Chamberlain, acting on the 10th of Geo. II.—but of the Justices, by the 25th of Geo. II., which protects them, and they are not subject to any other statute. It is plain that the 10th Geo. II. did not apply to melo-dramas, nor did the 25th Geo. II. apply here. In a recent case, (and it was very curious that it happened to be one of the pieces upon which the present bill was founded,) that of *Elliston v. Glosset*, the proprietor of the Cobourg Theatre, the attempt was

the same as here. A piece, entitled *Therese, or the Orphan of Geneva*, was performed at Drury Lane, licensed, of course, by the Lord Chamberlain; notwithstanding, the same piece was avowedly performed at the Cobourg. Mr Elliston complained in the Court of Chancery, and applied for an injunction. It was granted, in the first instance; but when the case came to be argued, the Lord Chancellor dissolved the injunction. In the case of the *King v. Glosset*, who was said to have acted *Richard III.* the complaint was for penalties, and £50 was recovered. In that case, the merits of the question were not decided. The respondent is said to have acted *Richard III.* That he denies.—He merely performed a melo-drama relating to the scenes and some of the historical facts contained in that tragedy. If an interdict was granted, it would be ruinous to the respondent, who had taken a lease of the theatre on the faith of established practice, and engaged performers, all of whom would be thrown adrift.

Lord Alloway said, that as the case was new, and most of the decisions referred to English, he was not prepared to give his opinion, and wished that the farther consideration of the question should be delayed till Thursday. This proposition having been approved of, the case was adjourned accordingly.

*Thursday, February 24.*

Mr Moncrieff gave in a minute as to the state of fact of possession. From 1789 to 1801, the Caledonian Theatre was constructed with a stage and movable scenery; it was then converted into concert rooms. In 1816 it was reconverted into its original form; and since that period melo-dramas and burlettas had been acted. In 1818, two applications for

interdict had been refused, in which the suspender had acquiesced.

Lord Glenlee then delivered his opinion on the case, which was, that the suspender was entitled to represent such dramas as received the sanction of the Lord Chamberlain, and therefore entitled to an interdict against the respondent, who was not entitled to represent such pieces.

Lord Robertson coincided in the opinion of Lord Glenlee. He was decidedly of opinion, that a melo-drama was a dramatic entertainment of the stage, and clearly within the meaning of the statute; therefore the suspender was entitled to an interdict.

Lord Pitmilley—In 1818, Mrs Siddons applied for an interdict against Mr Corri, for performing entertainments of the stage. The bill of Mrs Siddons was passed, and interdict refused, in order that the question might be tried, but that application appeared to him to be totally different from the present. That application prayed for an interdict against all melo-dramas, interludes, and all other entertainments of the stage whatever. In the present case, the application was limited to the very words of the act of Parliament, "an interdict prohibiting and interdicting the acting at the Caledonian Theatre, all interludes, tragedies, comedies, operas, plays, farces, or other entertainments of the stage, or any part or parts thereof, including melo-dramas and burlettas, which have been, or shall hereafter be, licensed by the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household, and which the complainer is authorized by the aforesaid letters patent to represent and perform at the Theatre Royal of Edinburgh."

It was done in the minor theatres, was a different case—licensed by the justices, has no license, neither

from the Lord Chamberlain nor Justices of the Peace, nor is it possible that he can be licensed. The act of Parliament is general, and the interdict ought to be equally broad. They ought to follow the act, therefore, as the interdict was asked in terms of the act, they were bound to give it.

Lord Alloway—If it had been ascertained that no prosecution had been made under the act of Parliament except for penalties, he much doubted whether their Lordships should step forward with their authority. He knew nothing that they had to go upon but presumption. In all matters of private right, or for the protection of the public peace, their Lordships were entitled to grant interdict; but in trying this question, they must proceed upon the principle that they were trying the parties upon statute; and their duty was to give statutes the mildest construction, whether these affect the liberty of the subject, or the rights of parties. The first act of Parliament we have on this point, was that of Queen Mary, in 1505, which was to prevent breaches of the peace taking place at the exhibition of the Abbot of Unreason, and Robin Hood and Little John. This act was continued in operation till the period of the Union, after which the statute 12th Anne was passed. Notwithstanding this, theatrical performances were continued; and that there were at that time two small theatres in Edinburgh, subject to restrictions, was matter of history. The 12th of Queen Anne, same statute, enacted, that every person convicted of certain offences shall be stripped naked from the middle, and whipped till his or her body be blooded, and thereafter sent to hard labour in the jail or bridewell. Notwithstanding the severity of this statute, theatrical amusements went on and increased. Nor was he aware if their

Lordships' books, or those of the Court of Justiciary, contained any record of ladies or gentlemen having been stripped and blooded for acting in defiance of that act. At one period there were four theatres in Edinburgh; and at no subsequent time had stage performances been brought to greater perfection. There was an account in Arnot's History of Edinburgh, of a theatre having been built near the head of St John Street, in which something was acted that gave offence to the gentlemen of the law, a riot ensued, and the theatre was pulled down. The proprietors of the theatre brought an action against the rioters. The young gentlemen of the law, in those days, were just as sharp-sighted as they are now—they adopted an ingenious device to get rid of the action,—they also brought an action against the proprietors of the theatre, founded on this very statute. This turned out to be a very serious question, for four of the Supreme Judges of this Court were proprietors. Thus, four Judges of the Court of Session might have been tried as rogues and vagabonds. These were, Lord Almyer, Lord Monboddo, Lord Ankerhill, and Baron Stewart. Besides, there were a great number of Judges, whose sons were parties in either action, so that it was found utterly impossible to get a quorum of Judges, not interested, to decide the cases; both actions were consequently quashed, because the one could not go on without the other. A circumstance also occurred with a Mr Murray, (whether he was a relative of the present respectable manager or not, he could not say,) which was tried before the Court of Justiciary. Mr Murray had gone into the theatre and attacked the manager, and the question came to be, whether it was a case of *habeas corpus*. It was im-

possible that the law of the country could remain in that state. The statute of Geo. III. was applied for, and a patent obtained for Edinburgh. There was a belief that the statutes only applied to playing for hire, and, to evade them, a practice was adopted, which he ascertained by the bills of the day. These intimated that a concert was to be given at such a price, after which Hamlet and an interlude were to be performed *gratis*. The statute 25th Geo. II. only applied twenty miles around London, and allowed Justices of the Peace to license minor theatres in London. It was a mistake to suppose that that act applied to twenty miles round Edinburgh, in the same manner as London. On looking, however, into the statute-book, he discovered an act of Parliament, 28th Geo. III. cap. 30., which seemed to have escaped the notice of the counsel on both sides, by which Edinburgh was put upon the same footing as London and Westminster. Now, it appeared to him a matter of considerable difficulty, if Edinburgh was on the same footing as London, how the patent could confer privileges which do not exist in patent theatres of London and Westminster. What a melodrama or a burletta was, he could not pretend to decide; but he had looked into Johnson, and was much surprised to find no such words there. He also looked into Sheridan, thinking that as he had belonged to the theatre, he would find it there, but he was again disappointed. He now understood that it was in Todd's edition of Johnson. Dr Johnson died in 1784, and at that time neither burletta nor melodrama was known. The performance of many of these might be quite consistent with the rights of Mr Ryder; and he thought there was a necessity for passing the bill.

could see no ground for an interdict. He was lately in the Caledonian Theatre, and witnessed a very extraordinary exhibition.—It was certainly an entertainment of the stage; but he must plead his ignorance both with respect to Mr Alexander's performances, and those of Mr Matthews, being dramatic entertainments, but unquestionably they were stage performances, and as such, perhaps, within the act 10th Geo. II. His Lordship thought it was impossible to grant an interdict without injury to a number of individuals who would be set adrift. In 1812, a number of noblemen and gentlemen applied for permission to establish a minor theatre in Edinburgh; and if such was necessary at that time, it was surely much more so now, for since then half of the New Town had been built.

The Lord Justice Clerk divided the case into three parts. First, Whether the suspender was possessed of such a title as warranted her to seek their Lordships' interdict? 2d, Suppose she was possessed of this title, was she entitled to demand an interdict? 3d, Was the matter of which she complained fit to be interdicted? As to the first point, he would not go into the history of the granting of the patent, which was by a power conferred on the King, that he did not before possess. It was a departure from the known law of the land. That patent conferred on the holder rights and privileges which otherwise could not be possessed. No objection could exist to the assignment of the patent, which assignment did not expire till July next. In the present shape of the question, the suspender had such a right, and the objection of the respondent could not be listened to. The statute drew a distinction between what might and what might not be done. He did not

think the act mentioned by their learned brother, (Lord Alloway,) though it applied to Scotland as well as to England, bore upon the present question. If a party publicly avowed that he had come to the resolution of establishing a company of comedians, and the patentee applied for an injunction, as being an infringement of her just privileges, on the plain principles of common justice, he could have no hesitation in granting it. If Mrs Siddons was entitled to this strong measure, (for it certainly was a strong measure,) they were bound to grant it. Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that the change of the name, or the singing of a song between the acts, could evade the enactments of the statute. Such pretences were too palpable. Were their Lordships to countenance this, there was no private right which might not be invaded. He was most decidedly and clearly of opinion, that as to the first part of the prayer, there could not be a shadow of a doubt,—it was in the very words of the statute. He was also prepared, under these circumstances, to accede to the second part, which was very cautiously worded. He was also clearly of opinion, that the same right which warranted their Lordships to prohibit such pieces as were licensed, warranted them also to interdict what might hereafter be licensed. If their Lordships had been called upon by Mrs Siddons to shut the doors of the Caledonian Theatre, because her rights were endangered, they would not for a moment have listened to such a demand. As to other performances, they were as fully protected by this interdict as they were before. He was certainly very sorry for Mr Ryder, but he felt they must grant the interdict in terms of the prayer, on the suspender finding caution.

## CHRONICLE.

The Lords remitted to the Ordinary to pass the bill in terms of the prayer, on caution being found.

Counsel for the suspender, F. Jeffrey and H. Cockburn, Esqrs. Advocates. Agents, Messrs Inglis and Weir, W. S.

Counsel for the respondent, J. Moncrieff and R. Jameson, Esqrs. Advocates. Agent, James T. Murray, Esq. W. S.

### FEBRUARY.

#### 28.—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY, EDINBURGH.

Robert Murray, sometime in the naval service of the Honourable East India Company, was put to the bar, accused of being art and part concerned in the robbery of the Stirling mail, on the evening of the 18th December last, at or near the house of Matthew Linn, postmaster, Kirkliston, on the road leading from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, and with stealing therefrom three parcels of bankers or bank-notes,—one of these having been sent from the branch of the Bank of Scotland, Stirling, to the office in Edinburgh, and containing notes to the value of L.2434, 17s.; 2d, a parcel from Crieff to the Commercial Banking Company, amounting to L.2360; and, 3d, a parcel to the Leith Banking Company, from Callander, amounting to L.2254, 10s.

The first witness called was Thomas Burnie, who proved that a sketch of the roads adjoining Kirkliston had been made under his inspection, and that the one produced was correct.

John Macmillan, agent for the branch of the Bank of Scotland at Stirling, was in the habit of transmitting money to Edinburgh by the guard of the mail-coach. A parcel

of notes was made up on the 18th December, by James Thomson, sealed and addressed to "William Cadell, Esq. Treasurer of the Bank of Scotland." Witness saw that parcel given in charge, between two and three o'clock, to William Boyd, who carried it to the guard. The duplicate specification kept, showed the number of bank-notes sent, and the total amount in cash, but did not show the numbers of large and small ones which belonged to each bank. The amount of notes sent on the 18th was L.2434, 17s.; this he ascertained, partly from the report of the teller, and from the notes being counted over in his presence. He sent advice by post on the 17th that such a remittance was to be made, and on the 18th that it had been made.

John Boyd, teller at the Bank of Scotland's office, made up the notes into parcels, tying each bank's notes by themselves, and put all into one parcel, which was wrapped in paper, sealed, and addressed to the Treasurer of the Bank of Scotland, by James Thomson. Witness afterwards delivered it to Hume, the guard of the coach. Thinks there was in the parcel a L.5 note of the Bank of Ramsay, Bonars and Co.

James Thomson sealed and addressed the parcel.

Alexander Macdonald, agent for the Leith Banking Company at Callander, recollected making up a parcel on the evening of the 17th December, which contained notes to the amount of L.1754, 10s. addressed to the managers of the Leith Bank. Money, when transmitted to Leith, was usually sent to a Mr M'Pherson, coffee-house, Stirling, who was in the habit of getting payment of such bills as fell due in that place. Witness sent a bill for L.500 to Mr M'Pherson, to get the payment of at the



Bank of Scotland's office, Stirling, some days before.

Angus Macdonald, clerk in the branch of the Leith Bank at Callander, sorted notes amounting to L.1754, 10s.; these were tied up in a parcel, and on the 18th December, he took them from Callander, to Mr M'Pherson at Stirling, to be forwarded to Leith.

James M'Pherson, of the coffee-house, Stirling, received the parcel of notes from the preceding witness, which, with the proceeds of the L.500 bill, he forwarded by Hume, the guard of the coach, the same night.

William Hume was guard of the Stirling mail on the 18th December last. The conveyance of notes was a private transaction between the guard and the banks, the coach proprietors refusing to take the risk of money parcels. He received a parcel containing notes from Mr M'Pherson for the Leith Bank. He also got one from Mr Boyd for the Bank of Scotland. These were put into the mail-sack (a large leather bag) for a part of the road. He was in the habit, for his own convenience, of taking the parcels out of the road-sack, and putting them into a canvas bag—that he also put into the mail-box under his feet. He generally made that change after passing Falkirk. The box under his feet should always be fastened with a padlock, the key of which he kept. When witness arrived at the post-office, he usually delivered the canvas bag to his wife, while he did the post-office business, or to the persons who came from the banks. The gentlemen of Leith were often at the post-office when the mail came in. On the 18th December, between two and three o'clock afterwards, he got a parcel from Mr Boyd of the Bank at Stirling. He received it, and the general understanding

that it contained money. He was in the post-office when Boyd came with it. He took it from him, and put it into the leather bag called the road-sack; that he brought from the post-office to Mr Gibb's, where the mail started,—put it into the mail-box, which he locked. He likewise got a parcel from Mr M'Pherson for the Leith bank; there was a small parcel attached to it by a string. He received a third parcel from Nicolson, the porter of the Stirling Bank, which had come from Crieff; that was put into the mail-box, but not into the bag. The coach left Stirling about a quarter past three, with four inside passengers, three males and one female; and three outside, one male and two females. The outside passengers were seated on the front of the roof of the coach. The first post-office bag delivered was at Falkirk, where he got another for Edinburgh, which he put into the road-sack, at which time he found the money parcels were all safe; he resumed his seat, and did not again leave it till the coach reached Linlithgow. At Falkirk one passenger left the coach, and another joined it. He left a bag at Linlithgow, and got another; that he put into the sword-case, the place where the fire-arms are kept. At Laurieston, about two miles on this side of Falkirk, he put the money parcels into the canvas bag, which he afterwards placed in the right hand corner of the mail-box; the change was effected while the coach was going on. That might be about five o'clock, and the outside passengers remained on the front of the coach—they might have seen what he was doing if they had looked, but in taking the parcels out of one sack, and putting them into another, he went down into the box, which was about two and a half feet deep—thus it was impossible for the parcels

to fall out. He unlocked the box at Winchburgh, without stopping, and put the Linlithgow bag, which he had previously kept in the sword-case, into the mail-sack. He then felt with his feet that the money parcels were still safe. He did not then lock the mail-box—that was a neglect on his part. No person ever left the front of the coach to come to the back part till it reached Kirkliston. An outside passenger was taken up at Linlithgow, who sat alongside the coachman. The coach stopped at Kirkliston, opposite the door of Matthew Linn, the postmaster; it was very dark when the coach arrived there, at forty minutes after six o'clock; witness dismounted, and went into the post-office for the bag, leaving the mail-box unlocked; he had no occasion to open the box there, nor did he do so till he reached Corstorphine. He was not more than one and a half minute in the house at Kirkliston, but he afterwards assisted in putting the leading horses to the coach. The total amount of the whole stop, did not exceed four or five minutes, including the time he was in the house. While putting to the leaders, he had no occasion to look to the hinder part of the coach. Upon again mounting the box, he discovered that one of the inside passengers had got out. Witness said to him, "he did not know that he was out;" on which the other replied, "You see that I am out now." Saw no person change his or her seat on the outside, nor did he observe any stranger, except a man, who, the driver said, was a servant of Mr Pyper's, wishing to get a ride to West Craigs,—but was refused, in consequence of the coach being full. The mail-box continued unlocked till he arrived at Corstorphine, where he got a bag to take to Edinburgh. He then opened the box to put in

this bag, and he discovered that the money parcels were gone, having been taken out at Kirkliston. He never mentioned the loss to any one till he arrived at the post-office; there he met the persons from the Banks. Two inside passengers and one outside were set down at Frederick Street; one of the insides was the passenger who was out of the coach at Kirkliston; and the outside one, was he who was taken up at Linlithgow. He let them go at once, although he was aware of the robbery; from being in a state of alarm and confusion, he did not well know what he was doing. Did not, however, suspect any of these passengers, for one had no luggage whatever, and the other only a small bag which lay in the fore boot, not nearly so large as the parcels. He had no participation, directly or indirectly, in the theft, nor did he know by whom the robbery was effected. When about two miles on this side of Linlithgow, a gig came up behind the coach, having one lamp burning on the "near" side. It followed the coach to Kirkliston. Witness believed that the gig kept up with the coach for protection, and for the benefit of the lights. The gig stopt at the door of the stable, shortly after the coach halted at the door of the post-office. Never saw the prisoner, nor any person like him. The porter who brought the Crieff parcel said, "Hume, I don't like some of your insides to-night."

Mr Colin Lane, traveller for Messrs Hicks, brothers, was on the road from Stirling to Edinburgh in December last. He travelled in a gig with bills and cash to a considerable amount, which made him desirous to have the company of the coach on the road. He came up to the coach about three miles eastward of that burgh, and followed it to Kirkliston.

He saw the guard in his seat till the coach arrived there, and never observed any one near him. He also saw passengers on the outside of the coach. After coming up with the coach, he kept within twenty yards of it till it arrived at Kirkliston, then he drove to the stable door, the coach having gone to the door of the inn. Witness remained in the stable till the coach drove off.

Cross-examined.—A number of boys were going about the coach, but he did not see the panel there, nor any person carrying parcels.

George Jack, porter to the Leith bank, was at the post-office on the 18th December, to receive a parcel of money that was expected to arrive with the Stirling coach that night. Hume was the guard. He told witness that the parcel for which he came was gone, along with those for other banks, adding, at the same time, that he was a ruined man.

Cross-examined.—Hume appeared much distressed, and in great agitation.

James Logan, porter to the Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, corroborated the preceding testimony.

Mrs Dobbie lived in Kirkliston. She saw the Stirling mail stop at Mr Linn's door on the 18th December last. When the coach stopped, she walked slowly towards it. The guard had left his seat, and she observed him looking at his time-piece. She saw the guard go into the house, and, as she came up towards the coach, a man leaped down at her feet from off the place where the guard usually sits. He made a run to the dark side of the road, and then went to the westward, followed by another man, who appeared to come from the stable door. One came close past her, and stared broadly into her face. He was in a grey great-coat and red coat; both men had hats. She did not

observe the man till he leaped down, and she was somewhat surprised. The two men went to the west, and she followed them a few yards till she reached her own house. She soon lost sight of them from the darkness of the night, but heard them whispering for some time after. The road to Mr Dudgeon's house at Loanhead is on the road to Queensferry. She knows the house of Mr Ritchie at Kirkliston Mains. There is a road which leads from the Mains to Mr Dudgeon's house, parallel with the high road. There is also a lane to the westward of witness's house, which goes from the high road to Kirkliston Mains. The two men went towards that lane, or they might have got across a grass park to the by-road. Witness mentioned what she observed to her husband, and likewise to many others.

Cross-examined.—Cannot say that the prisoner is one of the two men.

Thomas Boyd recollected being at Kirkliston on the evening of the 18th of December. He left that place at twenty minutes past six o'clock, and proceeded along the Queensferry road to Milton, where he resides. John Leach was in company with him. At Loanhead, about 300 yards past the toll-bar, they heard the horn of the mail-coach blow; and 300 yards farther on, Leach picked up a light-coloured great-coat, which was lying on the road. A few yards farther on, two men came up from behind, and passed them, going towards Queensferry. They had each a small bundle, scarcely the size of a hat, under their arms. They said nothing in passing. A little farther on witness found two mantles; the cloaks were of a hard texture, but the great-coat was of cloth; on searching the pockets, they found a small parcel and a coarse white neckcloth, such as coachmen wear in bad weather. The

parcel was wrapped in paper, and had a soft feel. A third man overtook them, following the others at the distance of about forty yards, and demanded the cloaks, saying they were his. Witness desired to know how that could be, upon which he informed him that they had been dropped out of a gig. Witness believed his story, gave them up, and got a shilling for his trouble. The two men who had passed on were walking at a quick pace; and the other person who came up appeared breathless with anxiety. The former were stout men, middling tall, and, as far as witness could judge, did not wear great-coats. He could not see their faces, the night was so dark. Next morning (Sunday) he was going towards Kirkliston with James Gifford. The latter was in advance, and called out to witness to run, as there was a horse and gig in the ditch. This was about three quarters of a mile from Kirkliston, on the road to Queensferry, and to the north of the place where the two men with the bundles had passed them the preceding evening. The horse was very exhausted, and the gig broken. Witness took the horse to Milton, and latterly to Mr Smith's, Rose Street, to whom it belonged. Saw there a dark cloak with red lining, which appeared to be the same which he had previously seen. (On being shown the cloak, he identified it as that which he had seen at Mr Smith's.) He examined the road, and discovered the track which the horse and gig had made; saw marks of its having run on the middle of the road, till about the place where it was overturned; broken fragments of the gig were lying on the road. It had made a stop at Loanhead, and had been put across a quarter of a mile south of Mr Dundas's gate.

Cross-examined.—On the Sunday

morning, when he came up to the gig, he found the head of it turned to the north, and the horse's head looking to the south. It had turned itself, in its struggles to get at liberty.

John Leach and James Gifford corroborated the statements of Boyd.

Thomas Forsyth is a head constable at Newcastle. Was applied to in December last respecting a theft which had been committed at Kirkliston. From the information he received, he proceeded to Thirske in Yorkshire, along with Mr Edwards, and Sergeant Stewart of the Edinburgh police. After making some inquiry, he found the prisoner in bed at the inn. He was shown to his bed-room door, and forced it open. Witness asked his name, and he told him it was Graham; but on looking at the prisoner, he said he appeared very like a person of the name of Murray, whom the Edinburgh police were in pursuit of, on suspicion of having robbed the Stirling mail. He then seized him by the hands, and desired Mr Edwards to examine his legs. At this moment the prisoner said, "I am Murray;" and shortly after, in a subdued tone of voice, "It is up." Witness searched his apartments and his clothes. He found a L.10 Bank of England note, a L.10 post bill, 26 sovereigns, and 20 small English provincial notes. He cautioned the prisoner not to commit himself by saying anything which might be turned against him, and promised to take him to York if he chose, but he declined this. Witness then took him to Newcastle. In going down the stair, after being searched, the prisoner said, "They will get it again." There was no previous conversation which led to this. The prisoner had no luggage—he complained very much of the cold. In the course of his inquiries, witness discovered that

a man of the name of Graham had been booked as an outside passenger on the coach from Newcastle to York.

Sergeant Stewart corroborated Mr Forsyth's testimony.

Mrs Wilson, with whom the prisoner had lodged while in Edinburgh, deponed, that he had been six weeks, all but one day, in her house. He left it on a Sunday. The day preceding he went out between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, and returned at half past eleven at night. She gave him his blue cloak with red lining before he went out. When he went away from her house, he did not tell where he was going, but said it was owing to an aunt's death. To the best of her knowledge, he left all his clothes behind. When he went out in the gig, he generally put a spotted shawl round his neck. (Witness identified the cloak and shawl as being the property of the prisoner.)

Mr Smith, stabler, stated that the prisoner hired gigs on the 7th, 14th, and 18th of December last. Witness had been out on Saturday evening, and when he returned home, found the prisoner waiting his return. He said he had been two or three miles beyond Queensferry, and had lost the gig in coming home. Witness next day got four L.10 notes of the Bank of Scotland from him, as a deposit, until the amount of damage should be ascertained.

Mary and Robert Halliday (of the Red Lion Inn, Queensferry,) proved that the prisoner and two other persons had refreshed themselves at the Red Lion. They took their departure at a quarter to six o'clock.

Archibald M Laren, waiter at Newhall's inn, stated, that the prisoner hired a post chaise on the evening of the 18th of December.

Alexander Adams, the driver of the chaise, took the prisoner, and a friend of his, whom they met by the

way, into Edinburgh. Both got out at Stockbridge.

Alexander Robertson, who keeps a public-house in Musselburgh, recollects the prisoner having hired a chaise to go to Haddington, on a Sunday in December last. Think he had a parcel under his arm. The prisoner paid him with a L.5 note of Ramsay, Bonar and Company's bank.

William Reid corroborated the preceding witness's testimony.

The declaration of the prisoner was then read. He stated that he was thirty-nine years of age; that he was born in London, and had been in the naval service of the East India Company; that he did not follow any line of business, but lived on the interest of money which had been acquired during his services in the East, or left by his mother—chiefly vested in India bonds.

Mr Alison shortly addressed the jury for the crown.

Mr Jeffrey, on the part of the prisoner, contended for a verdict of acquittal.

The Lord Justice Clerk shortly addressed the Jury.

The Jury, without leaving the box, returned a *voce voce* verdict of Not Proven, and the prisoner was dismissed *simpliciter* from the bar.

The case excited great interest, and the court-room was excessively crowded till the very close of the trial. Lord Abercromby, the Baron de Ende, Sir John Connell, and the Hon. Captain Duncan, sat on the bench beside their Lordships during the greater part of the day.

At the close of Murray's trial, he was taken into custody, on a charge of being a convict at large, and committed to jail till liberated in course of law. The same evening he was examined before the Sheriff, and identified by Mr Lavender, of the Manchester police establishment. The

following particulars of Murray's history are said to be correct:—When a boy, he was sentenced to transportation for life, under the name of Henry Herrings. He, however, returned from Botany Bay in the ship with Governor Hunter, by whom he was recommended to Mr Hookman, the bookseller, Bond Street, London. While in Mr Hookman's service, he managed to steal a ticket to the grand fete given by the Prince Regent in 1813, which he attended, but was detected stealing a gold snuff-box from Lord Norman-ton. For this offence he was tried, and sent to the Hulks, from which he made his escape. Soon after, a mail coach robbery took place; and he, along with others, was suspected of being concerned in it, and consequently apprehended, but the charge was abandoned. He was, however, put upon trial, for having been found at large without lawful cause; and on that charge was sentenced to be transported for life. This took place, it is said, at Bristol, about the end of 1814. About two years afterwards, he effected his escape from Botany Bay, by way of the East Indies, and returned to this country, where it is believed he has since existed by levying contributions on various bankers. Murray was rather surprised when given to understand that he was to be detained on the charge of returning from transportation, and maintained that Mr Lavender was egregiously mistaken. Lavender is quite confident as to his man—Murray wants the two first joints of the forefinger on the left hand—so did Herrings. He also has a cut on his right hand, similar to one upon Herrings. Herrings had a nose, however, which Murray has not. This may probably be a recent mutilation.

## MARCH.

8.—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY,  
EDINBURGH.

Thomas Menzies, appeared at the bar, accused of maliciously assaulting and beating William Auld, one of the magistrates of Leith, on the 20th January last, to the effusion of his blood, and danger of his life, on the road leading from Leith to Queensferry, near the Bonnington toll-bar.

To this charge Mr Menzies pleaded not guilty, and written defences were given in, in which he did not deny having met Mr Auld, but alleged that the meeting was accidental: That Mr Auld was the person who began the assault: That he had no malice against that gentleman, who had exhibited a placard designating his father a malicious liar: That he did not go to the place with any intention to commit a breach of the peace.

Mr Moncrieff, for the panel, stated *viva voce* at more length the defence for the panel, according to which the rencounter arose out of a dispute between Mr Auld and the panel's father, a ship-builder in Leith, in the course of which Mr Auld had exhibited a paper in Leith Coffee-room, in which Mr Menzies was designated a malicious liar.

After evidence was led on both sides, the Jury were addressed for the Crown by Mr Dundas, and for the panel by Mr Cockburn.

The Lord Justice Clerk then addressed the Jury, remarking, in reference to what had fallen from counsel, that the law of Scotland did not allow the son to be the avenger of his father's wrongs. The charge against the panel was one of a very aggravated nature; but before they could convict him, they must be satisfied that it was established to a conclusive man-

ner. He thought there was a want of legal evidence to support the indictment. The principal witness for the Crown was not only not supported, but flatly contradicted by another witness also for the Crown, who was present at the affray. It was for the Jury to reconcile their statements; but he really thought the prosecutor had not made out his case. If they therefore adopted his view, they would return a verdict of Not Proven.

The jury, after consulting a few minutes, and without retiring from their box, returned a verdict of Not Proven.

The Lord Justice Clerk shortly addressed Mr Menzies. He said, in consequence of the verdict which had now been given, it was his duty to dismiss him *simpliciter* from the bar, and from the testimonials they had heard of his character, and the manner in which he had conducted himself during his trial, he was convinced he would not be so involved again.

The cause excited extraordinary interest, from the circumstance of the original dispute between Mr Auld and Mr Menzies, sen. having had its rise in the contention between some of the people of Leith and the city of Edinburgh, regarding the proposed Joint Stock Company Dock Bill; Mr Auld, in that affair, having stood forward as the champion of the Leith public, and Mr Menzies having taken the opposite side.

## 9.—JURY COURT, EDINBURGH.

### FIFE CAUSE.

This day the Court met for the trial of the following Issue, which had been referred and sent to a Jury by the House of Lords, in the

process of reduction brought by the Right Honourable James, Earl of Fife, against Sir James Duff and others, trustees and heirs of entail of the deceased James, Earl of Fife:—

“Whether the instruments of trust, disposition and deed of entail, both dated the 7th day of October, 1808, sought to be reduced, being in law probative instruments, were not, or either of them were not, the deeds or deed of the Earl of Fife? and whether the deed of alteration, of the 12th day of November, 1808, being in law a probative instrument, was not the deed of the Earl of Fife?”

The Lord Chief Commissioner, Lords Gillies and Pitmilley, took their seats on the bench a few minutes after ten o'clock.

Mr Cockburn opened the case for the pursuer. The address of that learned gentleman occupied two hours and thirty-five minutes. His arguments, both to Court and Jury, were principally, that there was a want of the solemnity required by law in the witnessing of the deeds under reduction, which rendered them null, and therefore not the deeds of the late Earl of Fife. That the absence of one witness to the signature was the same in law, as if there had been no witness whatever; and he would prove, that one of the testamentary witnesses signing the deeds of 7th October, 1808, neither saw the Earl of Fife sign those deeds, nor, at any subsequent period, heard him acknowledge his signature. If he established that fact, the jury must find that the deeds were not the deeds of the Earl of Fife.

The deeds under reduction, and some other documentary evidence, were then put in; one part of which was the averments of the pursuer, in some former stage of the trial, that the deeds were signed and the testing clause filled up in the charter-room

at Duff House by George Wilson ; that the Earl was not then present, nor did he ever acknowledge his signature to that witness. The answers of the defenders to these averments were, that the witness (Wilson) was not present when the Earl signed the deeds, but his Lordship subsequently duly acknowledged his signature in hearing of Wilson. The blindness of the late Earl, to the extent found in the former trial, was admitted.

George Wilson—examined by Mr Jeffrey.—Was factor to the late Earl of Fife, at the time of his Lordship's death, and possessed a small farm on his property. He recollected signing some deeds, the last time the Earl was in Scotland, and just before his Lordship went to London for the last time. The deeds were signed at Duff House, on the 7th October, 1808. His name and designation formed part of the testing clause, which was written by him. He did not see the Earl sign the deeds ; he was perfectly confident he did not see him sign any part or page of them. Witness was in what was called the charter-room, in Duff House, when he annexed his signature. Mr S. Souter was in the room, and Mr Forteith came in before the operation was finished—this might be about noon. Mr Souter brought the deeds into the room, where witness had been for some time alone. It was at the request of Mr S. that witness filled up the testing clause, and annexed his name. The Earl of Fife had neither at that time, nor before signing, acknowledged to witness the signatures to the deeds to be his. Witness filled up the clause at the request of Mr Souter, without having heard the Earl say anything about the deeds—he was quite confident of that. He had never seen the deeds at all to his knowledge before that day. His attention was first called to the circumstances under which

he had annexed his signature, soon after the death of the Earl, on hearing that the deeds were to be proved at Doctors' Commons, and that he would have to go to London as a witness. The Earl died in January, 1809, his remains were brought to Duff House for interment, soon after,—and it was about the time of the funeral that it was proposed to go to prove the will. He had a distant recollection of Mr Forteith coming into the room about a quarter of an hour after the deeds had been brought in by Mr Souter, who dictated the testing clause to witness first on a scroll, and afterwards from the scroll to the deeds. The name of Mr Forteith was at the deeds, he thinks, when brought to the charter-room ; and he was sure he did not see the Earl in that room at any time during the filling up of the testing clause, or of adhibiting his signature to them. There was a desk in the window at which the witness sat, and that window looked into the park, from which he saw the Earl and Forteith walking from the house towards the shrubbery. This was after Mr Souter came into the room with the deeds ; but almost immediately thereafter, he observed Mr Forteith re-pass the window without Lord Fife and enter the house. He thinks that the testing clause of one, if not both, were filled up when that gentleman entered the room. The deeds were afterwards taken away by Mr Souter, and witness never again saw them during the lifetime of the Earl. He is quite sure that he did not at any time that day see the Earl and the deeds together at the same time. The witness then went on to detail that there had been a monthly meeting of the tenants the day before, and that he and others had breakfasted with the Earl that morning. He saw Lord Fife in the morning, when something was said about



papers. Witness signed the deeds, because he saw the name of the Earl on the last page. It was customary at Duff House to sign as witness to deeds he had not seen the Earl affix his signature to.

Cross-examined by Mr Moncrieff.

—Had been bred as a man of business with Mr Young, at Banff, and knew the rule of witnesses signing. He had been in the service of Lord Fife from 1804 till his death, and was well acquainted with his Lordship's signature. He had no doubt but the signatures at the deeds were genuine. He knew when he signed as witness to the deed, that they were deeds of settlement, and that Lord Fife had had a good deal of correspondence with Mr Inglis about them. Shortly after the deeds were executed, (perhaps a fortnight but not a month,) his Lordship went to London by land. His Lordship was then between 70 and 80 years of age. Witness received several letters on business from his Lordship from London, which were signed by his own subscription. His Lordship took a great interest in the affairs of the country; and was very conversant in country matters—beyond which the witness did not consider himself a competent judge.—Earl Alexander succeeded Earl James in the entailed estates, but survived him only three or four years. Witness first mentioned the circumstance of not having seen Lord Fife sign the deeds to Mr Cook, when that gentleman was north making inquiries before commencing the process of redemption. At dinner on the 7th October, the Earl said he was glad that the matter was now settled; witness supposed from that, that every person present knew what was meant—there was nothing more said. At dinner he heard Lord Fife say to Mr Young, that they would take the spell at the deeds.

By the Court.—He never heard Lord Fife at any time acknowledge his signature, though he had signed witness to a vast number of deeds, which he neither saw his Lordship sign, nor heard him acknowledge.

Mr Duff Bruce, formerly steward to Lord Fife, stated that he was at the meeting of tenants on the first Thursday of October. On the following morning his Lordship said he was making some arrangements, which would be beneficial to him (witness.) The witness, after breakfast, observed Mr Souter come from the low parlour and go into the charter-room, carrying papers. Shortly after, the Earl and Mr Forteith came out from the low parlour, and went out of the house, going in the way of the garden and shrubbery. They walked out without entering into the charter-room. Lord Fife returned to the house about three o'clock; his Lordship entered the house by the front stair and not by the low door.

Alexander Gill, ground officer, gave evidence to the same effect; only he said the Earl and Mr Forteith came out of the parlour first, and Mr Souter after them.

William Minty, servant to the late Lord Fife, stated, that Mr Souter left the low parlour, carrying papers, before his Lordship and Forteith left the house, which they did without entering the charter-room.

Edward Garland saw Lord Fife and Mr Forteith leave the low parlour and go out of the house. Mr Souter came out of the same room after them, and entered the charter-room.

Mr Forteith Williamson was secretary to the late Earl of Fife. Was aware that his Lordship executed certain deeds about the latter end of 1808. His name appeared at those deeds as witness, along with that of Mr Wilson. Witness annexed his

name to the deeds in the low parlour, and was present and saw Lord Fife sign them. He had no recollection of Mr Wilson subscribing. After the deeds were signed in the low parlour, they were carried by Mr Souter to the charter-room. Witness and the Earl followed Mr Souter across the hall to that room, in which Mr Wilson was sitting at a desk. Mr Souter was dictating the testing clause when witness and the Earl entered. They remained till the deeds were completed and sealed up in a packet. During all that time he did not hear Lord Fife acknowledge his subscription, or address anything to Mr Wilson. Never heard Lord Fife acknowledge his subscription, though it was customary to call in witnesses.

Cross-examined.—He was aware that Lord Fife had been for some time in correspondence about the preparation of the deeds. He was anxious and impatient about their execution; some time, however, elapsed between their arrival and completion. Lord Fife was a considerable time employed in signing the deeds. He was sure that Lord Fife was sitting at the fire in the charter-room, while Mr Wilson was writing the testing clause to the dictation of Mr Souter. His Lordship was behind Mr Wilson, and that gentleman might not see him.

The examination of this witness closed the case for the pursuer.

Mr Moncrieff then addressed the Jury and Court for the defenders.

The Lord Chief Commissioner then charged the jury.

The Jury retired for about twenty minutes, when they returned a verdict, finding—"That the trust-disposition and deed of entail, dated October 7, 1808, were not the deeds of the late Earl of Fife." On the second part of the issue they found for the

defenders, "that the deed of alteration dated 12th November, 1808, was the deed of the late Earl of Fife."

The effect of this verdict, which was received with loud huzzas, is to put the present Earl of Fife, the pursuer in the cause, in possession of property, we understand, amounting to about L.24,000 per annum. The Noble Earl was present during the whole trial. The Court was crowded to excess from ten in the morning till eleven at night.

## APRIL.

### 7.—OLD BAILEY SESSIONS, LONDON.

#### TRIAL OF PROBERT.

This morning these sessions commenced in the Justice Hall, Old Bailey, before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Alderman J. J. Smith, the Recorder, Mr Sergeant Arabin, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Mr Baron Garrow. The first prisoner put to the bar to be arraigned was William Probert; he was respectably dressed in a black coat and waistcoat, drab breeches, and top boots. He appeared in excellent health and spirits; he did not seem to be in the least fear as to the result of his trial. He sat in the dock prior to the Judge coming into Court, and was occupied in perusing the defence he had drawn up. Every eye in Court was fixed upon him most steadfastly. Being placed at the bar, he addressed the Court to the following effect:—

"My Lord,—I have been able to employ a solicitor, but I have no counsel; and at present my friends have not been near me with any money. I have, therefore, to request the

indulgence of the Court for a few hours." Mr Barry at this moment arose and said, "Mr Probert, I will take your brief." The prisoner appeared very thankful.—The prisoner was then put on his trial for feloniously stealing a mare value L.25, the property of Andrew Meredith. The prisoner pleaded not guilty.

The first witness called was the prosecutor.

Andrew Meredith—I am a miller, living at Recardon, in Gloucestershire. Know the prisoner at the bar. On the 10th of February I had a black mare in a small orchard of mine; on the next morning (Friday) I missed the mare from the orchard; about nine days or a fortnight before the mare was missed, the prisoner called on me two or three times; after I lost the mare, I went and watched about his mother's house, who lives about two miles off, where the prisoner had been living two months. I went to a place called ———, and on Sunday morning I went to Gloucester, from thence to Cheltenham, and from thence to Andover, and then to London, where I arrived on the following Saturday, when I saw the mare at Bow Street, in the possession of Ellis, the officer. I had had the mare two years last September. The mare appeared much distressed; her tail had been cropped, and her mane cut, and she was much altered, yet I can swear she is the mare.—Cross-examined by Mr Barry: I bought the mare two years ago; she is of a black colour; I can swear positively she is my mare, though she has been roughly used. There is a particular mark upon her, a white mark; if she was turned out amongst a thousand, I would point her out. Probert here handed a paper to Mr Barry.—Cross-examination continued: Never heard my wife say she had lent the mare to Probert.

Mary Meredith—I am wife to the last witness; know the prisoner; he had been living at his mother's from haymaking last; he had been at my husband's three times. He saw the mare on Tuesday the 8th of February, about a quarter before eight in the evening. The prisoner came into the fold with a little boy, and a candle and lantern in his hand. The little boy was his son. He asked me if that was where we kept the mare. I said sometimes, and sometimes in the orchard. He then came into the house and stopped there till near ten o'clock, and then went away. On the Thursday I saw him again at his mother's house, about half-past twelve o'clock in the day.

Mr Barry begged the Court would allow him to cross-examine this witness at a future stage of the trial, which was acceded to.

Andrew Meredith, son to the last witness, a lad of about 14 years of age, knew the prisoner; remembered the prisoner speaking to his mother about the mare on the Tuesday, and heard him ask her where she kept the mare. She said in the orchard. On the Thursday night before the mare was missed I left the gate on the latch, and next morning I went to fetch the mare and found her gone. I saw the mare on Monday last, and it is the same mare that belonged to my father. Her tail was cropped, yet I knew her; she is black, with a white star on her forehead, and a mark on her back where the saddle hurt her. Cross-examined: There are many other black horses in Gloucestershire with white marks on the forehead, but I am sure she is the mare.

Richard Stammers.—I am ostler at Mr Francis's, a livery stable keeper, in Phillimore Place, Kensington. On the 16th of February, the prisoner came to my master's about seven o'clock.

clock in the evening; he brought a black mare with a saddle and bridle; she seemed to have had a hard day's work. He said, "Ostler, will you take care of my mare?" I said, "Yes, sir," and took the mare into the stable. He said, he had rode her 40 miles that day; and requested I would feed her well. He then gave me his spurs, and said, he did not know whether he should fetch the mare himself, or whether he should send for her. He then asked me my name, and I told him my name was Stammers. He then asked me my Christian name, and I told him James. He then said he should send a note, directed to me, to deliver the mare, and then went away. Next day a man, named Fruin, brought me a note from the prisoner, directing me to deliver the mare to the bearer. Fruin paid me for the keep of the mare before he took her away. She is a strong mare, and rather more than 14½ hands high. Cross-examined: I had not seen the prisoner before my knowledge.

James Fruin.—I am a green grocer in Carnaby-street, Carnaby market, and have known the prisoner five months before last haymaking. I always knew him by the name of Thompson. On Friday night, the 18th of February, he came to my house and asked if I knew of a lodging; I told him I did not; he said he saw one as he came through Cross-street; (he had called on the preceding Wednesday;) he went away and, returned again, saying he had taken the lodging for a week, and he had some bread and cheese, and he sent out for a pot of porter; he asked me to call on him on the Thursday; I said I would, and I called between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning; he said he had got a horse from the country for sale, and if I would sell it he would give me a sovereign for my trouble; I went at the pris-

oner's desire to inquire when the sale-days were at Dixon's; I returned and told him Dixon's sale was on Friday, in Barbican; he then desired me to call again in the afternoon, and when I went he wrote three notes; the one (the order) now produced is one of them; he sealed two of the notes up, and gave me them to deliver; he told me I was to take one of the notes to Mr Cousins, the right hand side of High-street, Kensington, the other to give to the ostler, and the other to Dixon's; I went to leave the letter at Mr Cousins' first, and then I presented the one to the ostler and paid him 4s. 6d. on the delivery of the mare; I then rode her in the direction desired by the prisoner, towards Barbican, and delivered her to a man at Dixon's Repository, together with the note; I then returned home, and the prisoner asked whether anything was said; I told him the man said he had opened his mouth too wide; I spoke to a man at the Repository, and he is here now; I afterwards saw her sold at the hammer for twenty guineas; I saw the prisoner that night, and told him she had sold for eighteen guineas, thinking to surprise him when I told him she had fetched twenty guineas.—Cross-examined: There is a mark on the mare's back caused by the saddle.

David Lughton.—I remember a black mare being brought to Dixon's by the last witness, with a note with her. The note produced is the same note. Fruin came next day, and I told him I thought she was marked at too much money, the price being named in the note thirty guineas. Fruin said she must be sold, fetch what she would. She was sold next day to Mr Eames for twenty guineas. I afterwards saw the same mare at Bow Street.

Mr Eames.—I am proprietor of the

Angel Inn, St Clement's. I purchased the mare in question, at Dixon's, for 20 guineas. I saw the same mare at Bow-street.

Mr William Cousins.—I am a linen-draper at Kensington. I have known the prisoner some years. The witness Fruin brought me a note, signed Edward Thompson; I destroyed it before his face, and said I knew no such person. The note was in the prisoner's hand-writing. The notes to the ostler and to Dixon were here handed to the witness, who swore them to be in Probert's hand-writing.—Cross-examined.—I destroyed the note immediately. It merely said, Mr Thompson requests Mr Cousins will call on him to-morrow. I cannot now swear that the note was in his, the prisoner's hand-writing.

David Ellis, one of the officers at Bow Street.—I apprehended the prisoner on Friday, the 18th February, in Great Windmill Street, Haymarket. I searched him, and found a parcel of papers about him, and some small bills for refreshments, and keep of the horse, at different inns on the road between Gloucester and London, and a pair of scissors. I received a black mare from the witness Eames, which has since been seen by the several witnesses, and sworn to by Meredith. The mare has been in my possession ever since.

Mr Barry requested the Court to permit him to ask Mrs Meredith if she never lent the mare to the prisoner? It was granted, and Mrs Meredith was called again and examined.

Mr Barry.—Now, Mrs Meredith, prisoner, I believe, is a distant relation of yours, and the question I am going to ask you, I must request you to answer me truly—remember you are on your solemn oath. Did you ever lend the prisoner the mare? or was he charged with stealing?

Mrs Meredith.—Never.

Mr Barry.—Nor did your husband or son?—Never, never.

By the Judge.—I never saw the prisoner after I saw him at his mother's house on the Thursday before the mare was stolen.

Meredith again called and examined by the Judge.—Never saw the prisoner in the neighbourhood after the mare had been stolen. This closed the prosecution.

Lord Chief Justice.—William Probert, the case for the prosecution is now closed, and it is now for you to offer anything you have to say in your defence.

Probert.—My Lord, may I be permitted to read the few remarks I have to offer?

Judge.—Certainly.

Probert then bowed respectfully, and commenced reading in a faltering voice the following defence:—

“My Lord and Gentlemen of the Jury—I have pleaded not guilty to the crime I have been accused of, not with a view of escaping the sentence the Court may put upon me, should I be found guilty; but with a view that I might have an opportunity of saying a few words in this court. I have, since my discharge from Hertford, been the victim of public censure, through the medium of the public press, and, wherever I went, even in the smallest village, I was shunned in society, and I could never move but my route was announced in the papers. Every door was shut against me, and every hope was blasted. I was hunted down like a wild beast in the forest. Heaven and myself know only what I have suffered since my discharge from Hertford. I will only ask, whether my situation was not most deplorable, and I will put it to the Gentlemen of the Jury, what they would have done if they had been similarly situated? and,

therefore, Gentlemen, I trust, that should you find me guilty, you will accompany your verdict with a recommendation to the Court to mercy. And you, my Lord, I hope will, in that case, forward such recommendation to the proper quarter.

One word more, my Lord and Gentlemen, and I have done. My wife and children have been for some time in a state of starvation, and my poor wife has just been put to bed, without a friend or any human being to assist her. Such, Gentlemen, has been, and is still, the wretched situation I am labouring under. I hope, my Lord, you will consider me an object of commiseration, through the censure I have received through the public newspapers, and I trust, should there be any points in the case favourable to me, that you will give me the benefit of them." Probert then bowed and resumed his seat.

Judge.—Have you any witnesses to call to your character.

Probert shook his head.

The Judge then recapitulated the evidence, and the Jury, after consulting for about five minutes, found the prisoner Guilty, without a recommendation to mercy.

The prisoner heard the verdict without any emotion, and on Mr Wontner, the governor, asking him his age, he replied loudly 36. He then walked firmly from the dock.

On Friday morning, Probert was visited by his wife, Mr Noyes, her brother, and the prisoner's mother. This was the first interview Mrs Probert has had with her unhappy husband, and the meeting between them was truly affecting. On entering his apartment, she approached him in a flood of tears to embrace him. Probert coolly desired her not to feel, and to bear herself up under her afflictions' with fortitude. Mr Noyes

was also very much affected. The prisoner's mother, his wife, and brother-in-law, remained, by the permission of the Sheriffs, some time longer than usual with the prisoner. He is perfectly composed, and converses with those about him very cheerfully. He, from his observations, anticipates a mitigation of the punishment his crime has subjected him to, and frequently says, he shall be heartily thankful to leave the country for ever; it would be the happiest moment, should it arrive, he had seen for many years.

#### HOUSE OF PEERS.—June 17.

##### SCOTS APPEAL.

*John Graham, Esq. W. S. v. the Writers to the Signet.*

Mr Graham being accused of subscribing signet letters not written by his own clerk, and of charging less than the established fees, he was cited before the Society; but having declined appearing, was held confessed, fined, and threatened with suspension and deprivation, if he persevered in breaking the regulations. Mr Graham having refused submission, an action of declarator was entered in the Court of Session. The Court found Mr Graham bound to yield obedience to the rules, and liable to the penalties imposed and threatened. The case having come by appeal before Lord Gifford, his Lordship reversed the judgement of the Court *in toto*, from which it results that the rules of the Society cannot be enforced in a court of law, that it cannot fix a minimum rate of fees, or insist that signet letters be written by the writer's own clerk or apprentices.

**COURT OF SESSION—FIRST DIVISION.—June 29.**

*The above case of Graham v. Writers to the Signet.*

On the petition of Mr Graham, for an application of the judgement of the House of Lords, being moved, on 29th June, the Lord President spoke in substance as follows:—

“ I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that I wish the writers to the signet would look back into their records ; I have no doubt they are a corporation—nobody can doubt that ; but to what extent are they a corporation ? I recollect, when I came to the bar, the whole internal regulations of the body were executed by the keeper and the commissioners ; they form the corporation, and, I think, if they were to look back into their records, they would find that everything was done by the keeper and commissioners, and that the body of the writers to the signet have no other power than the management and administration of their own funds—they have no powers otherwise. For example, I see a very respectable gentleman appointed their procurator-fiscal ; but who authorized them to elect a procurator-fiscal ? What corporation elects a procurator-fiscal ? In short, if I am not mistaken, it will be found that the whole powers lie in the keeper and commissioners ; the others are merely the clerks to the signet. It is just like the clerks of a bank making laws and regulations for the directors.”

Mr Forsyth.—Your Lordship, I am afraid, is promulgating very unpalatable truths.

Lord President.—Not at all, Mr Forsyth ; for the keeper and commissioners would have the same powers as the body now claims.

The court then pronounced this interlocutor:—“ The Lords having considered this petition, with the judgement of the House of Lords therein referred to and produced, in pursuance of the said judgement, they alter the interlocutors complained of in the petitioner's appeal, assoilzie him from the conclusions of the action, and decern ; and farther, recall the interlocutor pronounced by the Court on the 9th March, 1824, in the application to regulate the interim possession in the cause pending the appeal. Find the respondents (W. S.) liable in the expense of this application ; appoint an account to be given in, and remit it, when lodged, to the auditor to tax and report.”

**COURT OF SESSION.—30.**

**ROYAL BURGH CESS.**—In a case before Lord Cringletie this week, relative to the exaction of cess by the bailies of a petty burgh, Mr Cockburn, having mentioned that these bailies had levied more than they had any right to do, said that this practice was not confined to the municipality in question. Edinburgh was a notable instance of it. The amount of cess affecting the burghs was settled at the Union, and remained the same to this day. L.6000 were allocated in Edinburgh, and it was clear, that the proportion exigible from each householder should diminish with the increasing size of the town—with every house that is built, the assessment being spread over a greater surface. But the proportion was never varied ; it continued the same now that the town was enlarged, as when it was more limited. How this is managed, and what is done with the surplus, for the Crown gets no more than its L.6000, our civic rulers and their

friends know best. For his part, he paid no cess; it was regularly demanded, but the call was never answered. He invited them to prosecute him; he should like to be prosecuted; but he had never been, and he thought it was pretty certain he never would. The investigation would be troublesome. The learned gentleman delivered this *con amore*; and his Lordship said, he believed it was very possible that the case was as he stated it.

## JULY.

6.—LIBEL IN THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—In the Court of King's Bench, at Guildhall, the important cause came on of Buckingham against Murray, the eminent bookseller in Albemarle Street, for a series of libels published against the plaintiff, a gentleman of literary talents, in the Quarterly Review, No. 52, in the month of March, 1822. The case excited considerable interest. After Mr Scarlett had addressed the Jury at a very considerable length, a witness was called, who proved purchasing the work at the shop of Mr Murray, in Albemarle Street, containing the alleged libels.—After several of the passages had been read, the Attorney-General stated, he was instructed to express the regret his client felt at what had occurred, and would submit to a verdict being returned against him. The Jury instantly found for the plaintiff. Damages L.50.

## AUGUST.

4.—OXFORD CIRCUIT.—HEREFORD.—*Judge v. Berkely and Others.*—In this case, which attracted a crowded audience, Jasper Tomsett Judge,

editor of the Cheltenham Journal, was plaintiff; and Colonel William Fitzhardinge Berkely, Lord Sussex Lennox, and Robert Carr Hammond, Esq., were defendants. The declaration alleged a violent assault to have been committed by the defendants on the plaintiff, on the 14th of March, to which they pleaded, "Not guilty." This prosecution originated in Colonel Berkely and others having assaulted Mr Judge, in consequence of certain offensive articles regarding the Colonel's intimacy with Miss Foote having appeared in the Cheltenham Journal. The Jury found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages L.500.

## DECEMBER.

HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY,  
*Edinburgh, Dec. 21.*

TRIAL OF DUNCAN M'INNES, LATE MASTER, AND PETER M'BRIDE, LATE PILOT, OF THE COMET STEAM-BOAT.

The trial took place before the High Court of Admiralty, Sir John Connel, Knt., Judge, assisted by William Boswell, Esq., advocate, Sheriff of Berwickshire.

M'Innes and M'Bride, who had been liberated on bail, appeared at the bar, at ten o'clock, and soon after that hour the Judge took his seat.

The criminal letters were read over, and the charges they contained were as follow:—"That albeit by the laws of this and of every other well governed realm, culpable homicide, as also the culpable, negligent, and reckless command, charge, and steering of a steam-boat, by the master or pilot thereof, whereby the lives of any of the lieges are lost, are crimes of an



heinous nature, and severely punishable. Yet true it is and of verity, that the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride are both and each, or one or other of them, guilty of the said crime, actors or actor, or art and part : In so far as the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride, having proceeded from Inverness in the said steam-boat called the Comet, with the intention of proceeding to Glasgow, and they having the direction, guidance, and command of the said steam-boat, the said Duncan M'Innes being master thereof, and the said Peter M'Bride being pilot of the same ; and having, late on the night of Thursday the 20th, or early on the morning of Friday the 21st days of October, 1825, or one or other of the days of that month, or of September immediately preceding, or of November immediately following, arrived in the said steam-boat in the river or frith of Clyde, and at a part thereof nearly opposite to Kempoch Point, in the shire of Renfrew, and it being their particular duty to take care that the said steam-boat should not come in collision with any other boat or vessel, they, the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride, did nevertheless, both and each, or one or other of them, culpably, and reckless of the consequences, and by their extreme and culpable carelessness and inattention, and misconduct in managing and directing the course of the said Comet steam-boat, bring the said steam-boat in collision with the steam-boat called the Ayr, whereby the said Comet steam-boat was immediately sunk, and whereby Hugh James Rollo, writer to the signet in Edinburgh ; Charles M'Allister, writer to the signet in Edinburgh ; John M'Alister, nephew of the said Charles M'Alister ; Captain Wemyss Erskine Sutherland of the 33d regiment of foot ; Sarah Georgina Duff or Su-

therland, his wife ; Archibald Graham, coal-agent at Corpach, near Fort-William ; Alexander Gray, piper at Fort-William ; Ann M'Brayne or Wright, widow of Archibald Wright druggist in Glasgow ; Euphemia Niven, servant to the said Ann M'Brayne ; Ranald M'Kenzie, piper to Sir Joseph Radcliffe, Baronet, lately residing at Ercles Castle, in the county of Inverness ; and a great many other persons, men, women, and children, to the number of sixty-two or thereby, whose particular names and designations are to the prosecutor unknown, were drowned and bereaved of life, and were thus culpably killed by the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride, or by one or other of them : As also, the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride having proceeded from Inverness in the said Comet steam-boat, with the intention of proceeding to Glasgow, and they having the direction, guidance, and command of the said steam-boat, the said Duncan M'Innes being master thereof, and the said Peter M'Bride being pilot of the same ; and it being the particular duty of the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride to take care that the said Comet steam-boat should have a light affixed in some conspicuous part thereof, while navigating the said river or frith of Clyde during the dark, in order that such steam-boat might be more easily observed and kept clear of by other vessels approaching it ; yet, nevertheless, on the night of Thursday the 20th October, 1825, after it had become dark, and on the morning of Friday the 21st day of October, 1825, while it was yet dark, and when proceeding up the said river or frith of Clyde, opposite or near to Kempoch Point, situated in the county of Renfrew, they, the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride, did, both and each, or one or other of them, culpa-

bly, and reckless of the consequences, neglect to cause a light to be affixed to the said steam-boat; and the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride continued to steer and direct the course of the said Comet steam-boat without any such light being affixed to the same; and having, time aforesaid, in the course of the foresaid voyage, reached a part of the river or frith of Clyde, nearly opposite to the said Kempoeh Point, and having then and there met with another steam-boat called the Ayr, which last steam-boat was then proceeding down the frith of Clyde, and in an opposite direction to that in which the said Comet steam-boat was then proceeding, the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride, having charge of the said Comet steam-boat as aforesaid, did then and there, both and each, or one or other of them, culpably and recklessly, and carelessly, and in consequence of the said Comet steam-boat having been steered and directed by them without any light affixed as aforesaid, and in consequence of their extreme carelessness and culpable neglect and inattention in steering or directing the course of the said Comet steam-boat, bring the said Comet steam-boat in collision with the steam-boat called the Ayr; and the said Comet steam-boat was thereby sunk, and the said Hugh James Rollo, Charles M'Alister, Capt. Wemyss Erskine Sutherland, Sarah Georgina Duff or Sutherland, Archibald Graham, Alexander Gray, Ann M'Brayne or Wright, Euphemia Niven, Ranald M'Kenzie, and a great many other persons, men, women, and children, whose particular names and designations are to the prosecutor unknown, were thereby drowned, and were thus culpably killed by the said Duncan M'Innes and Peter M'Bride."

Mr Patrick Robertson, on the part of the panels, stated two objections

to the relevancy of the indictment: First, that in the major proposition they were charged with two crimes, namely, culpable homicide, and also reckless and careless command and steering of a steam-vessel, &c.; while in the minor proposition it is stated, that they are both, or one or other of them, guilty of the said *crime*, without stating which. In the second place, that the crime or crimes charged in the major proposition were not sufficiently clearly specified in the minor; seeing that the words in the minor were little more than a repetition of those in the major proposition.

Mr Alison, Advocate-depute replied to the objections.

The Lord Advocate said he had no objection to confine the charge to that of culpable homicide.

Mr Alison was about to proceed, when

The Judge Admiral said, as the prosecutor had passed from one of the charges in the major proposition, he had virtually passed from one in the minor also, so that there was no occasion to reply farther to Mr Robertson's objections. He then recapitulated the objections and replies. He agreed that the panels were entitled to have a statement of the facts with which they were charged; but it was not necessary that they should know the whole facts. All that was necessary was, that the minor proposition should contain certain facts, generally referred to by the major; and he thought, in the present case, there was a sufficient statement of facts. He felt no difficulty in sustaining the relevancy.

James Reddie, first town-clerk of Glasgow, was then called and sworn, when

Mr Robertson said he was happy, in this early stage of the proceedings, to have an opportunity of stating an objection to one of the documents

founded on in the indictment. He submitted that the document described as the regulation of the Clyde could not be admitted in evidence. It was a printed pamphlet of 17 pages, founded on as purporting to be the regulations for navigating the river Clyde. It was not alleged to be in point of fact the regulations, but purporting to be such. He submitted it was not a document which could be entertained in any Court of Justice whatever. It was a rule in law that the best evidence must be produced that can be procured; and he would ask, why the Counsel for the Crown had not produced an extract from his Lordship's books, containing this alleged extension of the regulations? The best evidence was surely the record of Court, or an extract by the proper officer.

Mr Alison replied.

Mr Cockburn contended that the objections taken by his learned friend, Mr Robertson, must be sustained.

The Judge Admiral said, that this was a question of some importance. The rule certainly was, that the best evidence ought to be produced. The best evidence of the established regulations on the Clyde was surely the original documents, or certified copies. It was acknowledged that these had not been produced; and he could not consider that the production of a pamphlet was legitimate evidence of the records of the trustees of the Clyde. He must therefore hold that the objection was well founded.

Peter Sutherland, late carpenter on board the Comet, was then sworn and examined. Was on board the Comet, as carpenter, in October last. Recollects the circumstance of her being lost. They left Inverness at six o'clock on Tuesday morning of the 18th of October, and came by the line of the Caledonian Canal to Fort William; from thence to Oban,

and from that through the Crinan Canal. They then came to Rothsay. The crew of the Comet consisted of 14, including the steward. There were three men about the engine, an engineer and two firemen. There was sometimes one, and sometimes two men on the look out, at the head of the vessel, but always one. They used to have a regular watch set on board, but had not one on the last voyage. He was four months on board the Comet. There were regular watches kept in the Comet on the voyage before her last. They were all on duty on the night when the Comet was lost. The whole crew were on deck the whole voyage, so far as he knows. Does not know any reason for changing the system, except that there was a new master the last voyage. They were all frequently about the deck, and it was equally the duty of all to look out. Does not know if any particular person got orders from the master to look out. When they left Rothsay, there might be about eighty on board, including the crew. Knew the names of very few of them. Knew Miss Macintosh, from Campbelton, Duncan M'Kellar, and Judy Macdonald, from Fort Augustus. Knew Captain Sutherland's lady, and saw Captain Sutherland with her.—Left Rothsay between 10 and 11 at night. It was clear moonlight. The sea was pretty rough. They steered to the Tower, and from thence to the Cloch lighthouse. After passing the Cloch, they steered upon Gourrock Point. It was about one on Friday morning when they passed the Cloch. They were then about a quarter of a mile from the shore. The moon set before they came to the Cloch. There was no light at the head of the vessel that night. There had been a light at all times before. It was the usual practice with steam-boats on the Clyde to have a light up when dark,

Does not know the tonnage of the Comet, but there were larger ones navigating the Clyde. Witness was on deck all the time from leaving Rothsay, till the Comet was lost. After leaving the Cloch, James Nicol was at the helm of the Comet. He was not the pilot, but the seamen relieve one another at the helm. Peter McBride, the pilot, was close alongside of Nicol at the time of passing the Cloch. Witness was forward in the vessel, at the steerage door, frequently sitting on the companion-head, and walking about. Did not see the captain on deck after coming to Toward light-house, nor afterwards. The first thing that attracted his attention after, was hearing John McLachlan call to port the helm. Witness had seen nothing before that. To port the helm, was to push it to the left side of the vessel, which operation would turn the head of the vessel to the right. Immediately after he heard the word "starboard," but did not know by whom it was given. The order came from about the centre of the vessel. To starboard the helm, would put the vessel to the left. The vessel obeyed the first order, but was not quite certain if she obeyed the second. Upon hearing the first order, he ran forward, and saw the Ayr steam-boat coming down upon them. It was about 100 yards from the Comet when he first saw it. The head of the Ayr was rather leading inshore, in the same direction as the head of the Comet when her helm was a-port. Saw no alteration in the course of the Ayr till she struck the Comet. It was not above a minute and a half after witness first saw the Ayr till the vessels struck. About the same time elapsed from the order "starboard" till the collision. If the Comet had continued her helm a-port, he thinks the vessels would have cleared each other. If the order "star-

board the helm" had been given first, and adhered to, he thinks that also would have prevented the collision. It was the larboard or left bow of the Comet which was struck by the starboard bow of the Ayr. The Ayr had a light at her starboard bow. After the collision, the Comet was turned almost round, but the Ayr came upon her larboard side. Both their heads were to the land. The Ayr came so close alongside of the Comet, that witness had his hand on her gunwale. Heard no orders given on board the Ayr at that time. To the best of his knowledge the crew of the Comet were all on deck, and most of the passengers were below. Heard no order given in regard to the engine after the order to the helmsman was given, till after the collision, when he heard a voice call to put on the engine, and then heard Captain McInnes give an order to run her ashore. The vessel ran a little way when the engine was put on. The water came in and stopped the engine, when there was great confusion and cries on board, and the passengers ran all on deck. The Ayr had left the Comet before the cries got up. The Ayr first broached a little a-head, and then he heard a voice on board of her call to put on the engine. The Ayr was between them and the shore when the Comet endeavoured to work the engine.—The Ayr seemed to proceed on her voyage. There was an attempt to put out the boat of the Comet; one end was down when he came forward, and it was filled with passengers and part of the Comet's crew—the boat immediately swamped. He did not then see either the master, mate, or pilot. It was about two minutes after the boat swamped that the Comet sunk. It might be between three and four minutes after the collision that the Comet sunk. Witness swam ashore.

When the Comet went down, the Ayr was about a quarter of a mile off, as near as he could guess. After he was in the water, he saw the Ayr return, and pass where the Comet sunk. He hailed the Ayr, but got no answer, and does not know if he was heard or not. The Ayr did not slip her engine at the place the Comet sunk. As long as he saw the Ayr she was proceeding towards Greenock. There were very loud cries for help on board the Comet before it sunk, calling to the Ayr for God's sake to come back and help them. Did not hear any voices on board the Ayr, except the order to put on the engine. The cries on board the Comet continued as long as she was above water; but no attention was paid to them. Thinks they must have been very well heard on board the Ayr.

A number of other witnesses confirmed generally the testimony of the preceding witness.

Mr Claud Marshall, Sheriff Substitute of the Lower Ward of Renfrewshire.—A number of dead bodies came ashore, and ten or a dozen of watches were brought to him. All these had stopt at from 25 minutes to two to five minutes past two; at various times between these periods.

James Martin, river pilot, residing at Gourrock.—Recollected of hearing cries on the river the morning on which the Comet steam-boat was lost; he was in his bed when he heard them. In consequence of these cries, he got out a boat, and succeeded in saving eight persons, who had been on board the Comet; he made three trips, but found none the last time. Observed the steam-boat Ayr, then proceeding up the river towards Greenock. It was a fine clear night; the moon had just set, but he could see the hills on the opposite side of the river. The cries he heard were

so loud, that he heard them in bed, but was not awoke by them.

Thomas McClelland was master of the Ayr in October last. Sailed from Glasgow on Thursday, the 20th of that month, in order to proceed to Ayr. Left Greenock about one on Friday morning, having been detained by the Ayr getting aground near Port-Glasgow. His time of sailing was regulated by the high water on Ayr bar. With northerly winds the Ayr could only get in on the top of high water. Takes about five and a half or six hours on the average, to go from Greenock to Ayr. It was high water that morning at six o'clock. Intended to have left Greenock at half past twelve, but was detained till one. A candle was placed in a lantern at the head of the vessel the moment of leaving the quay. He never sailed in the night-time before; but it is the practice of steam-boats navigating the Clyde at night to hang out lights. Immediately after hanging out the light, he ordered two men to the fore-castle to keep a look-out, and two to the deck, to pass the word to the steersman. The pilot, Thomas Knox, was at the helm, and he himself on the larboard paddle-box. Thought the men kept a sharp look-out; and was doing so himself, being anxious about fishing boats, but never dreamed of meeting a steam-boat. Went aft to adjust the binnacle light, and had got to midships, when he heard the man on the fore-castle call out, "A boat a-head—starboard your helm." It is a rule, on steam-boats meeting on the Clyde, for each to starboard their helm.—When he heard the cry, being on the larboard, he went to the starboard side, to ascertain what kind of a boat it was ahead. The collision almost immediately took place. That was the first time he saw the Comet. Did not hear a hail or a word from the Comet

before his men called out. The Comet had no light out. The vessels, after the collision, rebounded from each other about 15 or 20 feet, the Ayr not altering her course; the engine being on, she passed the Comet in-shore.—The Ayr has two engines of 30 horse power each.—They had gone about three lengths of themselves before he heard a cry from the Comet. He then ordered the engine to stop, and in the same breath ordered the boat to be lowered. The engine was stopt immediately, and the boat attempted to be lowered, but swamped. Running forward to ascertain the state of the vessel, he heard a cry that the boat was swamped, it being lowered before the steam was put off. He then ordered the helm a-port, but his vessel did not answer the helm. It was then believed that the boat was hanging at the stern; but he since thought that the Ayr had not weight enough. He then starboarded the helm, hoisted the jib and wore the vessel; but when the Ayr had come round, the Comet had disappeared. He then ordered the pilot to steer in the direction he had last seen her, he remaining a-midships to stop the engines. He did stop the engines when he came to the spot where he supposed the Comet had disappeared. Thinks they stopped for 10 minutes. He made a round of the vessel himself, looking out and hallooing, but never saw nor heard anything, and is sure he stopt 10 minutes. On setting on the engine again, he steered for Greenock, the passengers then entreating him to save their lives by running the vessel on shore. Had about fifteen passengers on board the Ayr, and nine of a crew. The engine might be on about fifteen seconds after the collision (an odd time! said the Lord Advocate,) before he

ordered it to be stopped. It was two minutes before the steam was put on, and not more than three minutes elapsed till it was stopt the second time, when it came to the spot where the Comet was supposed to have gone down. They stopt there 10 or 15 minutes, but neither saw nor heard anything; it was so dark that it was impossible to see a person in the water, above two or three yards off. The stars were out, the moon was down, and the high land threw a shade on the water. The land could be seen, but not an object on it. Was about a quarter of a mile from the shore. He could have directed the vessel to sail about the spot, but in so doing they might have gone over some of the persons in the water. Greenock was distant from this place three miles, and they had to cross Gourock bay to get to that port. There was a harbour at Gourock for small vessels, but his vessel could not have gone near the harbour, in the state of the tide, as it was then dead low water. The Ayr drew seven feet, and could not go safely into Gourock at any time. There was deep water close in at Kempoch Point, but rocky. Never observed a white house, with a boat hanging on the wall, close to the water edge. Asked if he was not aware, that by going in-shore, they might have given the alarm to the people at Kempoch Point, and thus saved the lives of some? No answer—but, after a minute, said the water was increasing on him. He lowered the jolly boat, which was capable of containing 15 persons. He tried all he could to bring help to the Comet so soon as he brought the Ayr round.

Robert Knox, pilot of the Ayr, concurred generally with M'Clelland, as did John Macgregor, cooper on board the Ayr.

Much exculpatory evidence was led, tending to criminate the captain and crew of the *Ayr*, and in favour of the character of the panel *M'Innes*.

The Lord Advocate addressed the Jury for the Crown, as did Mr Cockburn for the panels, both at great length.

The Judge Admiral summed up the evidence at great length, reprobating in strong language the conduct of the *Ayr*. He urged the necessity of an example being made to prevent a recurrence of similar accidents, through carelessness. With respect to the pilot, (*M'Bride*,) he did not see any grounds for finding him guilty. That individual was bound to obey orders, and he had only done so.

The Jury were then enclosed, and directed to return their verdict yesterday at two o'clock. The panels, in the mean time, were sent to jail.

The Judge began summing up at ten minutes from three, and concluded at four o'clock of the morning.

The Court Room was excessively crowded throughout the whole trial. The Marquis of Queensberry and the Earl of Minto sat on the bench for some time.

22.—The Jury returned a verdict, unanimously finding the libel proven against *D. M'Innes*; but in consideration of the circumstances of the case, as well as his good character, recommending him to the leniency of the Court; and with respect to *M'Bride*, finding him not guilty.

On discharging the Jury, and thanking them for their attention, the Judge observed, that their verdict was exactly in unison with his own opinion.

The Lord Advocate then moved the sentence of the Court.

Mr Cockburn said, that at the beginning of the trial he had made certain objections of a legal nature. He considered it as his duty, in jus-

tice to the Court, the prosecutor, and his client, to state, that, founding on these objections, he intended to exercise the right of appeal, and bring the case before a superior Court. He therefore put it to the learned Judge, whether, in these circumstances, he ought now to pass sentence, or delay till the fate of an appeal could be decided. Upon what grounds the Jury had convicted *M'Innes* of a most gross crime, and in the same breath recommended him to the leniency of the Court, he really could not see. If they really considered him so reckless and careless as to be the means of sacrificing 60 persons, upon what possible ground could they recommend him to mercy? The consideration of the punishment caused him look back to the charge, and there he found another ground for the infliction of the most lenient possible sentence. "For so help me, God," said Mr C. "I do not in my heart know of what specific crime the panel has been guilty."

The Lord Advocate observed, that he did not see anything in the address of his learned friend, which imperatively required an answer. The panel had an undoubted right to carry his case before a superior judicatory, if he was so advised, but he (the Lord Advocate) in the performance of his duty, must insist upon a sentence in conformity with the verdict.

The Judge Admiral, in reference to what had fallen from the counsel for the panels, had only to observe, that so far from not wishing the case to be brought under review in a superior Court, nothing would be more gratifying to his feelings. But that could only be done by suspension; it was therefore essential that sentence should be pronounced, and the whole proceeding brought to a conclusion.

The learned Judge then proceeded

to pass sentence upon M'Innes, ordaining him to be imprisoned in the jail of Greenock for three calendar months. He went over, at considerable length, the circumstances of the case, remarking upon the great danger to be apprehended from the careless navigating of rivers by steam-boats. He trusted that the result of that day's conviction would be a warning to all masters and owners of steam-boats, to induce them to take every step in their power to prevent the occurrence of similar misfortunes. He also said a few words

to the pilot, M'Bride, in dismissing him from the bar, and expressed a hope that he would not suffer in reputation from any share he had in this calamitous event.

Counsel for the Crown—The Lord Advocate, R. Dundas, A. Alison, and A. Wood, Esqrs. advocates. A. Kidd, Esq. Procurator Fiscal. A. Rolland, Esq. W.S. agent.

Counsel for the panels—Henry Cockburn, Patrick Robertson, and Alexander M'Neil, Esqrs. advocates. John Nairn, Esq. S.S.C. agent.



No. III.

GENERAL CHRONICLE;

OR,

RECORD OF MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

JANUARY.

PROCLAMATION.

" Hanover, December 18.

" **GEORGE IV.**, &c.—It having come to our knowledge that some doubts are entertained respecting the interpretation and application of the first paragraph of the 16th Article of the Act of the German Confederation of the 8th of June, 1815, which is to the following effect:—"The difference of the Christian religious committees cannot lead to any difference in the enjoyment of civil and political rights in the countries composing the German Confederation,"—we are induced to issue the following declaration and ordinance:—

" 1. The several professors of the Christian faith enjoy a perfect equality of civil and political rights in the kingdom; and, in conformity with the said article, the notion of a pre-

dominant, and of a merely tolerated Church is entirely abolished.

" 2. All Christian religious communities have a right to the unobstructed and free exercise of their religious worship; and every clergyman can require the surplice fees, &c., only from the parishioners of his own persuasion. Consequently,

" 3. Those inhabitants who belong to a different Christian persuasion from that of the parish, are to pay the fees, &c. only to the clergyman of their persuasion to whose parish they are positively annexed. Fees can be required by a clergyman of a different persuasion when he has been required to perform an official duty, and has really performed it.

" 4. On the other hand, all dues to churches and schools, which proceed from houses, farms, and other landed property in a parish, without regard to the personal qualities of the professor, in respect to his religious be-

lief, are still to be paid to those entitled to them by every possessor, even if he belongs to a Christian party different from that of the parish.

"5. (Contains regulations for the entries in the church book.)"

A committee appointed by the heritors and feuars of the burgh and parish of Stromness, have voted a handsome piece of plate to Mr Peterkin, late Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney, as a mark of their thanks for the services he rendered them in obtaining their several parochial establishments, and of their respect for him as their resident chief magistrate, during the time he officiated among them.

On Friday week, the 1st instant, during the violence of the storm, a poor woman, with a grandchild on each arm, (a boy and girl,) protecting them to or from the school, was by the blast blown from the slender wooden bridge, between north and south Walkerton, parish of Leslie, into the Leven. In her fall she dropped the boy, who clung to the bridge, and was saved; but the grandmother and the girl were drowned, notwithstanding every exertion was made to save them by many of the people in the neighbourhood, at the imminent risk of their lives. The body of the child was found at Prinlows millsluice. The grandmother was carried still farther down, and got out between that and Cabbagehall. Medical aid was in immediate attendance, but the vital spark was extinct.

On Saturday night, the 2d instant, William Robertson, master, and John Becks, mate, of the sloop William, of Ulverston, Lancashire, then lying in Carlsdyke Bay, were returning on board in the sloop's boat, when, as is supposed, it went down with them, neither of the men, nor the boat, having been heard of since. Ed-

ward Marshall, the only other person belonging to the vessel, on Monday morning, at eight o'clock, hoisted a signal of distress, and got assistance about ten o'clock, when the vessel was towed into the harbour by the Hercules steam-boat. During the gale the ship Sisters, wind-bound, from Miramichi, had run foul of the sloop, and carried away her main-boom and bulwarks, and slipt one of the cables.

GLASGOW.—The Professional Society's first Subscription Concert took place in the Assembly Rooms, George Street, on Friday evening, the 7th instant, and was numerous and splendidly attended. A considerable and highly judicious alteration had been effected in the arrangement of the seats and orchestra. The latter was occupied by a very powerful body of performers, led by Mr Pearson; and their exertions met with great and deserved applause. The vocal part of the performance, by Miss Noel, Mr Thorne, and Mr Swift, though of a superior description, was surpassed in effect by the instrumental.

#### CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

DUBLIN.—The Association met on Saturday, the 8th instant, the Honourable Pierce Butler in the chair.

Mr O'Connell gave notice of a motion relative to strange conspiracies, which were, he said, made to disturb the country, and were simultaneous. The son-in-law of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Reverend Mr M'Neale, had said at a Bible Meeting in London lately, that the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland were circulating *Pastorini*. He (Mr O'Connell) asked, in the name of the living God, how Mr M'Neale dared commit such a libel on the Catholic priests? He would prove, that on Christmas day Dr Magee spoke a po-

litical sermon in the presence of the corporators, where he talked of a demagogue, &c. Mr Hobson, a Protestant clergyman, preached a sermon, and said he did not know how soon they should be obliged to turn out with a Bible in one hand and a knife in the other. The people should be told, that to remain tranquil was their duty.—Ireland was never more quiet than at present. He had inquired respecting the system of spying and informing, and understood it was transacted in Mr Gregory's office in the Castle, where none but sworn Orangemen were so employed. The object of the Association was not to meddle with the question of reform; let Catholic emancipation be granted, and he pledged himself the Catholic Association would be dissolved in half an hour. He concluded by giving in his notice of a motion for an address to the Lord Lieutenant, and a petition to Parliament on the present system of exciting false alarm in Ireland.

Mr O'Connell again brought forward the subject of the Courier newspaper, and the intended prosecution of that journal for "its calumnies" on Roman Catholic priests and the college of Maynooth, and concluded by reading a letter to the proprietors of the Courier, offering to abandon the prosecution, if the author of the recent articles was given up.

#### THE LATE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR O'CONNELL.

Mr Shiel said, that he rose to propose a series of resolutions, respecting the issue of the legal enterprise in which the Irish Government had so fantastically adventured. He congratulated Mr O'Connell upon his victory, and Mr Plunkett on his defeat. His success would have been disastrous to his country and to him-

self. We feel, said Mr Shiel, as if we had snatched a poniard from the grasp of an antagonist; and beholding in his face the lineaments of an early friend, instead of turning back the dagger upon his bosom, exclaim, in the accents of mingled reproach and sorrow, "Is it thus that you requite us?" After indulging in some very *fiery* remarks upon the *patient* endurance by the Irish Catholics of the disqualifying laws, he read the following resolution, which passed unanimously:

"That the prosecution of Mr O'Connell had excited the amazement of the whole English public, and was calculated to awaken a stronger feeling than one of mere astonishment in the people of Ireland."

The other resolutions were also passed. The last was, that an address should be presented to Mr O'Connell.—So soon as the repeated cheers which followed the passing of this resolution had subsided, Mr O'Connell rose to return thanks; and in the course of a long speech, adverting to the design of legislatively putting down the Catholic Association, he observed,

"I should be glad to know what law could reach us, or how such a law could be shaped. Is this room to be put under the ban of the empire? Why then we could build another brick tenement. Is the name of the Catholic Association to be abolished? We will call ourselves the Catholic Board, or the Catholic Committee, or if it be more pleasing to their ears, we will call it a Directory. Perhaps we are to be prevented from meeting to make speeches? I would be glad to know, will they make a law to prohibit our dining together? (A laugh.) In short, so long as we are excluded from the constitution, the Association must subsist in some shape or other;

so long as our disabilities continue, there must be some organ to speak the sentiments of the people—some guardian to watch over their interests and protect them from injustice,—some friend to recommend, for their guidance, such rules as will preserve them from reproach, and tend to their amelioration or their happiness.”

The amount of rent acknowledged to have been received for the week was £775, 2s. 3d.

The meeting adjourned to Thursday.

#### PROFESSORSHIP OF CONVEYANCING.

11th.—Tuesday, Professor Napier took possession of the rooms allotted for him, and gave his first lecture within the walls of the College. The room was filled with students, professors, and gentlemen of the law. Professor Napier was received with long and cordial cheers; and after a few remarks on the expediency and good effects of the new arrangement, and on the liberal and enlightened spirit evinced by those who had carried it through, he delivered a very interesting lecture on the origin and progress of the feudal system.

LYR.—A silly girl named Campbell, whose petty delinquencies have sometimes been the subject of a newspaper paragraph, has played her final trick. On Saturday last she entered a house in town unperceived by the inmates, and reached the dining-room press, where cakes and buns were deposited for an evening party of seventeen. These she totally devoured, and washed down with a bottle of old Jamaica rum, which she drained to the last drop. She was found weltering on the floor in a state not to be described, and on Monday she died in consequence of the surfeit.

12th.—BRISTOL.—The Earl of Liverpool and Mr Canning having

arrived at Bristol on their way to Bath, the mayor and aldermen of the former city agreed to present them with the freedom of the city, and invite them to a public dinner, as a testimony of respect for their public conduct. The town-clerk announced to the two distinguished statesmen, in a highly complimentary speech, the fact of their now being freemen of Bristol. The Earl of Liverpool and Mr Canning returned thanks. After which the party sat down to a most sumptuous dinner.

#### HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH.—The Anniversary General Meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday the 11th inst. The Society met in their new Hall, Albyn Place, which has been finished and fitted up in a style and with a taste which do much credit to Mr Playfair the architect. The accommodations for the Directors, committees, and acting officers, and for the Library, are in every respect complete, as will also be the apartments for models of machinery, when finished, as proposed; but we suspect the room for the General Meetings, which for its size is a very beautiful specimen of pure Greek architecture, may occasionally be found small for the accommodation of the very numerous and constantly increasing members of this great institution.

Soon after one o'clock, nearly 200 members were assembled, and among them, the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon; the Marquis of Tweeddale; the Earls of Mar and Aboyne; Lord Nairne; the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.; the Right Hon. Charles Grant, M. P.; Hon. Baron Sir P. Murray, Bart.; Lord Meadowbank; Hon. Admiral Fleming; Sir William Forbes; Sir John Hope; Sir John Hay; Sir Thomas Dick Lauder;

Sir James Colquhoun ; Sir Archibald Campbell ; and Sir A. Maitland Gibson, Barts. ; General Sir John Hope, K. C. B ; Sir W. Macleod Bannatyne, and others.

On the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, seconded by the Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Tweeddale, one of the Vice-Presidents in office, was unanimously called to the chair, when, after a ballot, as prescribed by the Society's charter, a number of gentlemen were duly admitted members.

Mr Innes, the Treasurer, submitted to the meeting a view of the funds of the Society, which proved highly gratifying.

Mr Macdonald, the Secretary, then reported the proceedings of the Directors since the last general meeting in July. He submitted a general view of the rewards bestowed for promoting the agricultural and internal improvement of Scotland. In speaking of kelp, the Secretary noticed with approbation the successful experiments of Mr McCrummen of Leith, with the view of improving its quality on the east coast, where it had previously been rated at a comparatively low value. He also observed that various local agricultural societies were now very judiciously devoting a portion of their funds to promote attention to veterinary surgery, by encouraging skilful veterinary surgeons to settle in their respective districts, or for defraying a part of the expense of sending farriers to Edinburgh, to attend the lectures given by Mr Dick, under the Society's patronage.

Mr Ferguson of Woodhill submitted the report of the Committee for conducting the General Show of Live Stock at Edinburgh, which was to this effect :

1. That the General Show of Stock, and Exhibition of Implements of Husbandry, Roots, and Seeds, should

be continued in 1825, in Edinburgh.

2. That it is expedient that the General Exhibition of Stock should also be continued in 1826, but to be held in Glasgow, and the same sum applied for this purpose as is given in Edinburgh, and that this should be immediately announced for the information of competitors.

On the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, seconded by the Earl of Aboyne, the report was approved of.

Mr Robertson Scott of Benholme, from the Committee for deciding the premiums for the best specimens of Dunlop and of imitation double Gloucester cheese, made in Scotland, reported the very satisfactory result of this the first competition. Fifty-two cheeses had been sent in, and from the affidavits of competitors it appeared that some thousand stones of the same quality must have been made in the course of the year. By the advice of several practical judges, who had afforded the Committee the benefit of their assistance, the first premium for Dunlop was awarded to Mr Sanderson, tenant in Blackcastle, Carnwath, Lanarkshire, and that for imitation double Gloucester, to Mr James Bell of Woodhouselee, Dumfriesshire ; the Judges being farther of opinion, that many of the specimens of the latter description of cheese were equal in quality and flavour to real Gloucester cheese.

A most favourable report was made by Mr Monro Binning, from the Committee appointed to decide the premiums offered by the Society, for promoting the curing of provisions in Scotland, after the manner practised in Ireland. He said, that in a branch of industry, previously almost unknown in Scotland, a rapid advance had already been made in the quarters where the premiums were offered. They were limited, in the first place

to beef shipped at the port of Aberdeen, from cattle fed in the counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine, and Banff; and, in the course of the first year, Mr David Milne, the successful competitor, had cured and shipped above 90,000 lbs. of beef, fit to keep on any foreign voyage. As superior pieces only were used, it was estimated that he must have cleared the market of 700 or 750 cattle, fed in the three counties. Mr Binning mentioned, that it was in the view of the Directors, to transfer the premium to some others of the principal ports,—Greenock and Dundee for instance.

On the motion of Mr M'Pherson Grant, seconded by the Duke of Hamilton, the thanks of the Society were voted to the Commissioners for Public Records, and particularly to Thomas Thomson, Esq. depute-clerk-register, for presenting a copy of the Parliamentary and other Public Records of Scotland, published under their direction, to be deposited in the Society's library, which was now to be established on a footing of respectability and permanency.

On the motion of Sir John Sinclair, seconded by Mr Scott of Sinton, the thanks of the Meeting were likewise voted to various public authorities and private individuals in France and the Netherlands, who had lately presented to the library publications, containing important statistical and agricultural information connected with these kingdoms.

Mr Graham Dalyell, convener of the Committee on Machinery, stated the proceedings since last general meeting; and upon their report, approved by the Directors, the following sums were voted, viz. :—

1st, To Mr James Scott, superintendant at Queensferry, for a grate on a new construction, by the use of which a considerable portion of the

smoke is consumed during the combustion of the fuel, a premium of five sovereigns, and a sum not to exceed L.10 as the price of the grate, which had been placed for experiment in a chimney in the Society's house.

2d, To James Aird and James Dunlop, ingenious operative mechanics at the coal-works of Messrs Taylor of Ayr, for an improvement in the mode of attaching the axles and wheels to carriages for rail-roads, (a model of which was submitted to the Society), seven sovereigns.

3d, To James Sellar, an operative blacksmith in the parish of Botolphney, Banffshire, for a cart-wheel, with nave, spokes, and fellocs, entirely of malleable iron, with certain improvements, L.6;—a model of the wheels and axle to be transmitted to the Society, in place of the large wheel which was sent for inspection.

Several other articles and their purposes were exhibited to the members; among which, were the model of a machine for twisting straw ropes for corn-stacks, by Mr Ainslie, farmer at Begbie, Haddingtonshire; and the model of an improved gate, by Mr Hunter of Thurston.

The Earl of Mar presented to the meeting several models of improved corn-stacks, and also a specimen of hornbeam hedges, which his Lordship has found to make a remarkably strong and durable fence. He, at the same time, laid on the table a paper of directions for preparing the soil, and treating the hedge, after it has been planted, until it attains maturity. The meeting expressed their acknowledgments to his Lordship for these farther instances of his continued attention to agriculture.

GÆLIC DICTIONARY.—Mr Graham Dalyell reported the progress of the committee. They had been fortunate in recently obtaining the

assistance of Mr Mackintosh Mackay, who proved himself eminently qualified for the task. They likewise had been able to procure the use of the earliest and only known copy of Bishop Carsewell's Liturgy, printed in Gaelic in 1566, from the library of the noble family of Argyll. A considerable portion of the Dictionary, now completed, lay on the table for inspection of members, who would be gratified equally by the style and appearance of the work; the remainder was advancing expeditiously through the press, and there did not seem any doubt, that in about a year, or little more, the whole would be offered, in a finished state, to the public.

A very great number of requests for premiums, from various districts of Scotland, were referred to the Directors.

The meeting having proceeded to the election of President, Vice-Presidents, and Officers of the Society, and to supply the vacancies in the Direction, in terms of the charter, the following noblemen and gentlemen were chosen, viz.

His Grace Alex. Duke of Gordon, K. T.  
President.

*Vice-Presidents.*

Most Noble George, Marquis of Tweeddale.

Right Hon. John Francis, Earl of Mar.

Right. Hon. P. R. Burrell Drummond,  
Lord Gwydyr.

Right Hon. George, Lord Abercromby.

Gilbert Innes, Esq. of Stow, Treasurer.

R. Macdonald, Esq. of Staffa, Secretary.

Claud Russell, Esq. Accountant, Auditor of  
Accounts.

Messrs Lewis and Charles Gordon, Deputes-  
Secretaries and Collectors.

The very Rev. George H. Baird, D.D.  
Principal of the University of Edinburgh,  
Chaplain.

Mr James Mackay, Jeweller and Medallist.

**ORDINARY DIRECTORS, ACCORDING TO SENIORITY IN DATE OF ELECTION.**

Alexander Pringle, Esq. of Whitebank.

James Grant, Esq. Burnhall.

James Farquhar Gordon, Esq. of Lochar-  
woods.

Alexander Young, Esq. of Harburn.

Sir John Hope of Craighall, Bart.

James Jardine, Esq. Civil-Engineer.

Robert Patrick, Esq. of Hazlehead.

Adam Fergusson, Esq. of Woodhill.

Dr Thomas C. Hope, Professor of Chemist-  
ry in the University of Edinburgh.

George Macpherson Grant, Esq. of Ballin-  
dalloch and Invereshie, M. P.

John Barclay, M.D. Edinburgh.

Henry Jardine, Esq. of Harwood.

David Monro Binning, Esq. of Softlaw.

William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martin's.

Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory.

James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston.

H. Home Drummond, Esq. of Blair Drum-  
mond, M. P.

Dr Robert Graham, Professor of Botany in  
the University of Edinburgh.

George Robertson Scott, Esq. of Benholme.

Robert Dundas, Esq. of Arniston.

Alexander Osborne, Esq. late one of the  
Commissioners of Customs for Scotland.

H. Macdonald Buchanan, Esq. of Drum-  
kill.

James Stuart, Esq. younger, of Dunearn.

Robert Abercromby, Esq. of Birkenbog.

P. Small Keir, Esq. of Kilmouth.

Rear-Admiral Sir David Milne, K. C.B.

George Sinclair, Esq. younger, of Ulbster.

James L'Amy, Esq. of Dunkenny.

Alexander Macleod, Esq. of Harris.

John Shaw Stewart, Esq. Advocate.

**EXTRAORDINARY DIRECTORS.**

Right Honourable Lord Strathaven.

Right Honourable Lord Elcho.

Right Honourable Sir Samuel Shepherd,  
Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exche-  
quer.

Right Honourable William Adam, Lord  
Chief Commissioner.

Right Honourable Charles Grant of Glen-  
elg, M. P.

Sir John Hay of Smithfield and Haystoun,  
Bart.

Archibald Campbell, Esq. of Blythswood,  
M. P.

John Hope, Esq. his Majesty's Solicitor-Ge-  
neral.

Henry Mackenzie, Esq. Edinburgh.

R. Dalrymple Horn Elphinston, Esq. of  
Logie Elphinstone.

The Duke of Hamilton, seconded

by the Earl of Aboyne, in very appropriate terms, moved the thanks of the Society to the Marquis of Tweeddale, for his Lordship's able discharge of the duty of Vice-President. The Noble Marquis expressed his acknowledgments.

In the afternoon, a party of above ninety noblemen and gentlemen, members of the Society, attended the anniversary dinner at the Waterloo Tavern, when Lord Tweeddale did the duties of the chair.

A letter from Naples, of the 4th of January, informs us, that the King expired in the morning between six and eight o'clock, of a sudden attack of apoplexy. The Nuncio, the Ambassador of Spain, the Austrian Minister, and the French Charge d'Affaires, were introduced, with the whole Council, into the King's apartment. His Majesty was lying on his back, with his mouth open, but his features were not at all changed; only on his left hand, which was uncovered, there appeared some marks of extravasated blood. All the posts, as well as the guard of the palace, were doubled as a measure of prudence. No apprehension was, for a moment, entertained of the tranquillity of the capital.

#### ANNIVERSARY OF THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES J. FOX.

On the 24th, a numerous company dined in the Waterloo Hotel, to celebrate this anniversary. The chair was taken by Francis Jeffrey, Esq. who was supported on his right by the Duke of Hamilton, and on his left by Sir A. M. Gibson. At one end of the chairman's table sat the Earl of Rosslyn; at the other, Lord Glenorchy. James Moncrieff, Esq. acted as crou- pier.

Among the distinguished person- ages present were,—Mr Maule of Pan-

mure, M. P.; Mr M. A. Taylor, M. P.; Mr J. P. Grant, M. P.; General Ferguson, M. P.; Mr Ferguson of Raith; Mr Menteach of Closeburn; Mr J. Gibson Craig of Riccarton, &c. &c. &c.

A number of loyal and constitutional toasts were given, and several eloquent speeches delivered.

#### THE THEATRE.—MR KEAN.

24th.—DRURY-LANE.—The great- est crowd that we ever saw assembled on any theatrical occasion, except when his present Majesty visited the theatre for the first time, gathered round this theatre, to witness the first appearance of Mr Kean after the recent trial which excited so much curiosity. Great part of this crowd appeared before the several avenues to the theatre at an early hour, and some time before the usual period of opening the doors, it was very difficult to get near to them. At length the doors were opened, and a furious rush took place. The pit was almost instantaneously filled, but as places were taken in the boxes, the arrangements for retaining them were observed for some time, till, at length, all the usual restraints were overcome, and the boxes also were rapidly filled, and few of those who had taken places were able to secure them. During the time when the audience were entering into the different tiers of boxes, a clamour commenced between those who were opponents of Mr Kean and those who had come determined to favour him; and which seemed to have reached its acme when the house was actually filled. On the rising of the curtain, and the appearance of performers, a more furious contest arose between the respective parties, than we had ever before witnessed, consisting of hisses, cries of "Kean for ever!"—"No Kean!"—"Little Breeches!"—and other allusions to the letters which were read on the



trial in question. At length Mr Kean appeared, and then the tumult exceeded all bounds, and seemed to be raised by every voice in the theatre. As the cheerings, however, seemed to predominate, he came forward, bowed, placed his hands on his breast, and evinced every token of gratitude for what he apparently considered as a favourable general reception. In this respect, however, he was deceived, for on commencing the part of Richard the Third, the storm burst forth with redoubled violence, and continued throughout the performance; always, however, more outrageous whenever Mr Kean came upon the stage. During the representation he came forward, evidently with a design to address the audience, but not a word could be heard, and he resumed the character. After some interval, he again came forward, uncovered, but with as little success, and he then, doubtless in despair of obtaining a hearing, resigned himself to the performance of his part. Once Mrs W. West, as the Queen, was heard for a moment or two, and Mr Wallack, on his appearance as Richmond, was received with applause, and a few sentences of his part were heard, but the general spirit of tumult was again triumphant over all partial favour, and his voice was afterwards overwhelmed in the general clamour. A very few oranges were thrown upon the stage, but no other missile of hostility was observable. It should be stated, in justice to Mr Kean, that he manifested no signs of discontent towards the audience; but though he smiled on his first appearance, apparently conceiving that the general decision would be finally in his favour, on his subsequent attempt to address them he maintained a calm composure of countenance. There were several passages and situations

in the play, particularly on the appearance of the Mayor and Aldermen, which, as the passages were generally known, and one of the civic Magistrates essentially concerned in the cause, seemed to give an additional stimulus to the feelings of the audience. On the death of Richard, the universal roar of mingled applause and disapprobation was tremendous, and a similar clamour attended the final dropping of the curtain. Mr Kean has received a potent reproof and an awful lesson. His reception will, no doubt, operate as a warning that will influence his conduct during life. We saw with regret some well-dressed ladies in the boxes, and some in the pit, who rendered themselves conspicuous, by waving of handkerchiefs, and clapping of hands, in favour of Mr Kean. These persons, if in respectable situations in life, have certainly brought the purity of their morals into question. The desperadoes who came, not from curiosity but for plunder, stationed themselves in the saloon, where the money and ticket receivers are placed, and in strong bodies surrounded their victims, robbing them with the most shameless violence and cruelty.

On Friday the 28th, Kean made a second attempt to stem the tide of popular indignation against him, by playing *Othello*. The tumult was greater than even on the former occasion. In the last scene the uproar was at its height; and a cry for Mr Elliston having been renewed, when the pantomime had nearly reached its commencement, he again came forward, and, after the exertion of a little patience, obtained a hearing. In concluding, he proposed bringing Mr Kean forward to speak for himself. After a considerable time had elapsed, Mr Kean appeared, led on

to the stage by Mr Elliston, and was enabled to gain a hearing for the following address :—

“ Ladies and Gentlemen,—If you expect from me a vindication of my own private conduct, I am certainly unable to satisfy you (applause and disapprobation). The errors I have committed have been scanned before a public tribunal; and—(here the uproar was so great that we could not collect the termination of the sentence).—On the occasion, ladies and gentlemen, to which I have alluded, I have withheld circumstances from delicacy (much laughter, applause, and hisses). If, ladies and gentlemen, I have withheld circumstances from motives of delicacy (laughter), it was from regard to the feelings of others, not of myself (clamours of applause, mingled with hisses). It appears, at this moment, that I am a professional victim (laughter). If this is the work of a hostile press, I shall endeavour, with firmness, to withstand it; but if it proceeds from your verdict and decision, I will at once bow to it, and shall retire, with deep regret, and with a grateful sense of all the favours which your patronage has hitherto conferred on me.”

An uproarious cry of “ No, no,” burst from many voices. Mr Elliston returned to the stage, and led off the actor. The audience appeared somewhat pacified, the clamorous contest became less loud, and sunk away, as the pantomime proceeded.

#### DREADFUL ACCIDENT.

ENNISKILLEN, *Jan. 31.*—A melancholy catastrophe took place in the county Fermanagh, on Saturday last. A number of persons, (upwards of forty), chiefly females, embarked at Derryhinch Point in a long cot, for the purpose of crossing over to

Devinish, where they intended to bury the body of a young woman, which they carried with them. Devinish is an island in Lough Erne, between two and three miles north of Enniskillen, and containing the remains of an ancient abbey, (supposed to have been founded in the sixth century,) and a round tower. The wind was high, and the current strong, and the boat so much crowded, that the Rev. Mr Kelly, the parish priest, who intended to accompany the funeral, remonstrated on the imprudence of crossing under circumstances of such imminent danger, and refused to proceed, by which his valuable life was preserved. The party in the cot, however, were not to be dissuaded. They went on, and had nearly reached their destination, when a female became alarmed, sprang out, and actually reached the shore in safety. Another woman, equally frightened and adventurous, but not so fortunate, leaped overboard, fell into the water, and was seen no more. A rush to that side took place, for the purpose, probably, of endeavouring to afford this unhappy person assistance, but she had disappeared, and, dreadful to relate, the boat upset, and thirty-five persons lost their lives. The corpse, of course, also sunk. There was no aid immediately at hand, but several of the bodies were soon afterwards taken up, when the accident came to the knowledge of Doctor Maguire, the benevolent physician, who resides in that county, and who went to the spot without a moment's delay, and with the promptitude, skill, and humanity for which he has been long remarkable, tried every means to restore animation, unfortunately without effect. The occurrence has, necessarily, thrown a great gloom over that part of the country.

## FEBRUARY.

## DRURY-LANE.

1.—Kean made another desperate effort to regain popular favour. The confusion and uproar which reigned exceeded that of any of the former nights; and the pugilistic deeds of several children of Israel, who stood forward on the occasion as the champions of Kean, made "confusion worse confounded." The whole acting was pantomime. At length Mr Kean appeared; he was dressed in black, looked pale, but, as before, without anything bordering upon submission in his air. The uproar increased, but, gradually subsiding, he addressed the audience in nearly these words:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen—I have made as much concession to a British audience as a British actor ought.—(Applauses and disapprobation.)—I hope, for the honour of my country, that I shall be permitted to perform during the remainder of the twenty nights; after which I shall take my leave for ever.—(Loud cries of No, no, Kean—you shall not leave us! Never, never!)—I also hope, for the honour of my country, that this persecution will never reach foreign annals." He then bowed and retired. Applause and disapprobation were kept up for some time, which sank at last into silence.

## DECCAN PRIZE MONEY

*From the Courier.*

Some statements have recently appeared in the public papers upon the subject of the Deccan prize-money, which have induced us to make inquiries in a quarter where the truth of the matter was likely to be obtained. The result of these inquiries is, that that property, consisting of specie, jewels, gums, stores, grain, &c. exceeding in value five millions of pounds sterling, was either captured by the brave army of the Deccan in the year

1817, and beginning of 1818, at the point of the bayonet, and delivered over by it to the civil servants of the East India Company, or left in possession of these servants, by the army, on its capture, when the army was obliged to proceed to ulterior operations without waiting for the realization of that booty. The army submitted its claim, as usual, for the value of the property or booty so taken, to its Sovereign, who was graciously pleased to grant the whole to the captors, and to appoint trustees for carrying the same into effect; but, notwithstanding the exertions made by those trustees to realize the property in question, we are informed that the Company has as yet only admitted a small portion of the claim, and paid no part of it; which delay has led to the unpleasant consequences alluded to in the statements before mentioned, and which must continue to increase until the payment takes place. When, however, we consider the gallant and important services rendered by the army of the Deccan to their King and country, and more especially to the East India Company, who are reaping an annual revenue of upwards of one million sterling, from the additional territory conquered, and secured to them by their prowess and exertions, we cannot but hope that they will soon act fairly and promptly, by paying over, without further loss of time, the full amount to which the captors are justly entitled, including interest, &c. It is estimated that one-third of these brave men are already dead; and it is known that great discontent prevails among the Sepoys of the Madras army, entitled to participate, which would in all probability have led to most unpleasant and serious consequences, had they not been informed that the Duke of Wellington, (who is adored by the Madras army, and under whose victorious banners many of

the men in question, and their fathers, had served,) had condescended to be their trustee, owing to which their spirits and confidence were revived, and they were induced to volunteer cheerfully against the Burmese in the present war, relying that, through him, they would speedily receive their prize-money for the campaign of 1817 and 1818; and it will be wise on the part of the Directors of the East India Company, to cause their expectations to be speedily realized. We understand, that most of the King's regiments entitled to share in this prize-money, have returned to England, and been in part disbanded; and that men, women, and children, entitled to receive more than half of the whole prize-money, are already in England, most anxiously, and in many cases most distressingly, waiting for it.

4.—**DRURY-LANE.**—Mr Kean made his fourth appearance this season last night in the character of Macbeth; but instead of being received, as on former occasions, by the clamour of a crowded house, he made his *entrée* literally to empty boxes. After the curtain had dropped, a call for "Kean, Kean," was partially raised.

#### COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

5.—Miss Foote made her re-appearance as Letitia Hardy, in the *Belle's Stratagem*. Every seat in the boxes, even to the last circle, had been previously engaged; but such was the anxiety to be present, that hundreds, disappointed of securing places in time, eagerly paid for admission for a chance of seeing the least part of the performance. The orchestra was opened at a guinea a-head, and even at that extravagant rate, there were bidders enough to have filled the pit. The manner in which every allusion to Miss Foote was applied, showed that the feeling of the house was de-

cidedly in her favour. A few slight hisses were heard at intervals, but these were instantly put down by bursts of simultaneous applause. Mr Hayne, the simple cause of all this commotion, appeared in his own box on the first circle, attended by his fighting friend, Mr Jackson, the late monarch of the pugilists; and the audience, determined not to be out of humour, and perhaps affected by rumours of a late reconciliation in the Park, acknowledged his *entrée* with slight applause. Mr Hayne had the tact for the rest of the evening to remain ensconced behind the curtain of the box, and the house had the good taste to forget his presence altogether. The centre and right side dress boxes bore a large proportion of ladies, but those on the left of the house were nearly all filled with men. In one box particularly within our observation, the young ladies were affected to tears at Miss Foote's first appearance, and at the most successful moment of her performance! The rising of the curtain was the signal for a general burst of applause, and also for the effort of the few who were anxious to try their strength at disapprobation; but the cries of "Turn him out!" "Shame! shame!" and the wry looks of a thousand faces directed every instant to where the slightest hissing was heard, put them down, and the general feeling of satisfaction was allowed to predominate. The three first scenes of the play were hurried over without attention, until the moment when Letitia Hardy is to enter—then a sudden pause seemed to suspend the faculties of the most noisy, and the whole house waited with an anxious silence for the opening of the scene. A gentleman in the pit took advantage of the calm, and called out, "Three times three on her appearance;" and Miss Foote coming on the stage at the moment, was received

with three rounds of applause, the pit and boxes all standing up, waving their hats, and cheering in the most animated manner. The object of all this seemed almost overwhelmed with her feelings at so gratifying a reception. Her person shook with agitation—her knees trembled, and she sunk nearly to the ground with her hands clasped before her—in acknowledgment of her gratitude. She then burst into tears, and seemed anxious to retire from such oppressive kindness; but Mr Gibbs, who was on the stage at the time, took her hand, spoke to her, and endeavoured to rouse her energies. Some hisses were heard in the slip boxes on the right side of the stage. Those hisses occasioned much uproar; and the theatre at this instant assumed rather a terrific appearance, from the rage against the few hissers, and the efforts of some persons to storm one of the boxes at the end of the slips. They literally beat against the door, till they beat it in. The panels were split into divers pieces, which fell amongst the persons in the assailed box; and those they seized and used against the assailants, who endeavoured to rush into the box, as if they were wielding so many battle-axes. The fight was sturdy and dreadful; but, with the exception of one white coat, all the assaulters were kept out, their heads excepted, which, after some time, were allowed to squeeze in at the battered door, with danger from the split panels. Next there was a terrific uproar in front of the two-shilling gallery, against a lad, or young man, a solitary hisser, or alleged hisser, there; but whether he had hissed or not, it is impossible to say; inasmuch as when he was attacked, he seemed as much amazed as the house. However, twenty fists belaboured his person instant; and a middle-aged man, four or five rows back, jumped down, seized the mal-

content by the throat, and in this state (after a narrow escape from a toss over into the pit,) he was handed over the heads of the people as if he had been nothing more than a bundle. The middle-aged man then took the lad's seat, and huzzaed as heartily as if he had been the man who took the "invincible standard." Uproar in the pit diverted the attention from him. There was a hisser there, near the dress-boxes, and his hostility was disposed of in the like summary manner. Still the few hissers in the right slips were heard mysteriously amongst the applauses with which the house rung on every side to the very echo; but after a short time, respect for their own persons, and the indignation of the pit and the house generally, reduced the gallant few into reluctant silence. Her simplicity of dress was well calculated to aid the impression made by her feminine conduct; and though Miss Foote's beauty is impaired by her late agitations, we have never seen her look more interesting or becoming than she did this night in a plain white dress; her hair falling in ringlets on her neck. Mr Orator Hunt divided the honours of the evening, by his exertions in turning some intruders out of the centre boxes; and the puff which Mr Jones, as Flutter, introduced for his "Roasted Corn," made him a source of attraction for some time. At the end of the play, the cheers with which it closed were all evidently directed to Miss Foote. The whole house stood up waving their hats, and crying "Bravo!" while the curtain dropped. Mr Charles Kemble then gave out the Belle's Stratagem for repetition on Tuesday, evidently to the satisfaction of all present.

EAST INDIA-HOUSE—MARQUIS OF  
HASTINGS.

11.—A General Court was conve-

ned, to take into consideration the Hydrabad papers, so far as they related to the Marquis of Hastings. Mr D. Kinnaird, after a short prefatory address, observing upon the importance that the personal character of every gentleman should be freed from all stain, &c. concluded with moving a resolution, "That this Court, having taken into consideration the Hydrabad papers, is of opinion that nothing therein contained tends to affect the personal character or integrity of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, the late Governor-General of India." The Chairman begged leave to move, as an amendment to the motion of the honourable proprietor, "That this Court, having taken into consideration all the Hydrabad papers, thinks that no grounds for corrupt motives can be imputed to the late Governor-General of India, the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, or to any member of the Bengal government; but at the same time it records its approval of the political dispatches of the Bengal Government, of the 24th August 1820, the 28th November 1822, and the 19th April 1823, and the 1st January 1824." Mr G. Robinson seconded the amendment. Mr J. Smith objected to the amendment, because it appeared to give the go-by to the only important question. Mr Poynder read to the Court long extracts from the Hydrabad papers. His object was not to exculpate the noble Marquis, by reading these papers, but the Directors, who, by the original motion, were covered with dirt. The Marquis and his friends had not removed all suspicion. Mr Hume defended the Court of Proprietors, and spoke at considerable length. He was followed by several other proprietors. In the result, the amendment was carried.

#### DESTRUCTION OF STOBBS' POWDER-MILLS.

17.—A few minutes before eight

clock this morning, the drying-house of Stobbs powder-mills, situate about four miles south-west of Dalkeith, blew up with a terrible explosion; and almost instantly thereafter the "relief-house," or store-room, also exploded in a manner still more terrible. Cornwall, a very respectable workman, who has been about thirty years employed at the works, was in the drying-house removing a quantity of gunpowder. At the door stood a small waggon, attended by a man named Matthew Thomson, who was occupied in conveying the powder, in casks, from the drying-house to the other building, called the "relief," about thirty feet distant. How the accident originated, cannot exactly be ascertained. The first explosion certainly took place in the drying-house, of which scarcely a stone remains in its original position, being scattered in all directions. At three o'clock, part of the mangled remains of Cornwall had been found. The head and some parts of the body of Thomson were also found at some distance. It is, however, very difficult to say to which of the bodies the fragments that have been discovered belong. Our reporter saw part of the intestines of a man drawn from a burn that runs near by; also part of a body picked up in a field nearly a mile distant. The horse which stood in the waggon was killed. It was hurled to a distance of forty feet; and the shoes of the fore and hinder feet of that side which was next the door of the house, were torn off. A large puncture was visible in the animal's side, as though something had pierced through the body. It is scarcely possible to describe the effects of this awful explosion on the buildings and trees adjacent. The houses for carrying on the various branches of the work stand detached, and at a considerable distance from each other; but, with one exception, all are more or less injured, either in walls or roofs.

Some of the latter are completely driven in by the tremendous concussion, but no part of the machinery seems to be injured. The houses in which the explosions took place are entirely destroyed. Many of the stones belonging to them are driven into the earth to a considerable depth. Most of the glass in the windows at Stobbs' village, and at Gorebridge, are shattered—many of the casements forced in—and the tile roofs partially, and in some cases completely destroyed. The trees in the neighbourhood, many of which are of considerable size, are shivered as if by lightning. To persons on the spot, the scene was truly terrific. Several leapt into the water for safety, others were beaten to the ground by the concussion, and for a time no one had courage to inquire the extent of the devastation. The shock was felt at Edinburgh, at Lauder, and at Haddington. At Dalkeith one of the bells tolled, from the concussion of the air; and in Musselburgh several panes of glass were broken. The two unfortunate sufferers bore respectable characters. Cornwall was an elderly man. His family have arrived at maturity; but he has left an aged widow. When a similar accident occurred at these mills about eighteen years ago, he was severely burnt. Thomson was a younger man, and has left a widow and five young children to bewail his untimely end. Such portions of the remains of these unfortunate men as have been discovered, are to be interred to-day. Several persons received contusions from stones; and a shoemaker, sitting at work at Gorebridge, had his head cut by a piece of glass forced out of his window.

#### CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

DUBLIN, *February 10*.—At three o'clock, Lord Gormanston having taken the chair, the Secretary laid be-

fore the meeting a letter from Mr M'Donell, the agent of the Association in London, in which Mr M'Donell mentions having addressed a letter to the Earl of Liverpool, to ascertain whether his Majesty's Government would object to the Association offering evidence, and appearing, by themselves, or counsel, at the bar of each House of Parliament, against the proposed bill. The reply of the Earl of Liverpool, which was contained in Mr M'Donell's letter, was then read as follows:—

“Fife House,  
5th February 1825.

“SIR,—I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I am under the necessity of informing you, in reply to it, that I cannot enter into any communication with the agent of the Roman Catholic Association of Ireland.—I am, Sir, your very faithful and humble servant,

“LIVERPOOL.”

“Eneas M'Donell, Esq.”

After some routine business, Mr Lawless rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Duke of Hamilton, for the sentiments expressed by him towards Ireland at the late Edinburgh Fox dinner.

Lord Killen said, he was not a friend to many resolutions of thanks; but he rose with peculiar pleasure to second the present motion, because he could not forget that two of the happiest years of his life were spent in the country where the dinner alluded to was given. He was during that time at the University, and he never heard an allusion to sectarian differences; and although they knew his politics and creed, he never knew from them whether they accorded with theirs or not; of so little consequence, or rather so strictly personal, did the matter appear to them.

Mr Lawless's motion was unanimously carried.

Mr Lawless then moved, "That Mr O'Connell and Mr Shiel should be requested to proceed with all convenient dispatch to London, and to supplicate to be heard, on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, at the bar of both Houses of Parliament."

Mr Lawless's motion, which was seconded by Lord Killeen, was then put and carried by acclamation.

#### AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Tuesday, 15th instant, an aggregate meeting was held in Townsend Street Chapel, Dublin. It was numerously and respectably attended. Lord Killeen was called to the chair.

Mr Dwyer moved a vote of thanks to Mr O'Gorman.

Mr Lawless seconded the motion, which was carried; upon which Mr O'Gorman returned thanks.

Mr Conway read a letter from the Catholic Primate of Ireland, inclosing a five-pound note for the rent, and eulogising the objects which the rent attained for the Catholic people.

Mr Bric proposed a resolution of thanks to the members of Parliament who so strenuously opposed the bill for putting down the Catholic Association.

Mr Lawless seconded the motion. If the Association were put down, they could not put down the human mind. Mr Goulburn had asserted falsehoods against the Association; but he was one of those political birds of prey, that came and fattened upon the dissections of the land.

Mr Conway moved a resolution, that they should be heard at the bar of the House of Commons.

Mr Lawless next, in a personal and pointed line of observation, directed himself to the late proceedings against Mr O'Connell by the Attorney-General. He put in juxtaposition his late bill against him and his eulogy of Mr O'Connell in the Commons House.

The petition was read by Mr Bric

at length. Several resolutions were then passed.

#### ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

LONDON, *February 26.*—On Saturday, a meeting of the Catholics of England was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, to petition Parliament against the bill for suppressing the Catholic Association. Amongst other distinguished individuals present, were, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Stourton, Lord Killeen, Sir T. Esmonde, Mr O'Connell, Mr Coke of Norfolk, Mr Plover, M. P., and the whole of the Catholic Deputation. The Duke of Norfolk expressed his pride in being surrounded by the Catholic gentlemen of England and Ireland, and so many Protestant friends, whose co-operation would, he trusted, succeed in obtaining those concessions for the Catholics, so unjustly withheld from them. Lord Stourton, at some length, defended the Catholic Association from the aspersions cast on them. He contended for the same liberality of religious feeling in England and Ireland which was shown in Hanover, Canada, and the States of America. He proposed a resolution, claiming for the Catholics religious liberty, and declaring that, if in power, they would extend to the Protestants the same liberality. Lord Killeen said, if the Association wished the Irish Catholics to separate from England, he would secede therefrom. The petition to the House of Lords recapitulated the disabilities under which the Catholics laboured, and from which they prayed relief. It also prayed that the House would not pass the bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association. Mr O'Connell rose amid loud and universal cheering. He was cheered loudly and repeatedly as he contrasted the conduct of the Catholics, when in power under Queen Mary, with that of the Protestants under Elizabeth, and having defended the Catholic Association in a most ani-



mated manner, contended, that some such institution was necessary, in order to place the Catholics fairly before the British people, in an appeal to its good sense, sound justice, and generosity. Mr O'Connell spoke nearly three hours.

#### AMERICAN CONGRESS.—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*February 9.—Election of President.*

At twelve o'clock precisely, the members of the Senate entered the hall, preceded by their Serjeant-at-Arms, and having the President of the Senate at their head, who was invited to a seat on the right hand of the

Speaker of the House. Seats were then assigned the Senators, who took their seats together, in front of the Speaker's chair, and toward the right hand of the entrance.

The President of the Senate (Mr Gaillard), then rose, and stated that the certificates, forwarded by the electors from each State, would be delivered to the tellers.

The tellers, presenting themselves in front of the speaker, delivered their report of the votes given; which was then handed to the President of the Senate, who again read it to the two Houses as follows:—

	For President.				For V. President.					
	John Quincy Adams.	William H. Crawford	Andrew Jackson.	Henry Clay.	John C. Calhoun,	Nathaniel Macon.	Andrew Jackson.	Nathan Sanford.	Henry Clay.	Martin Van Buren.
Maine, . . .	9	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire, . .	8	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	0
Massachusetts, . .	15	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island, . .	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut, . .	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0
Vermont, . . .	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
New York, . . .	26	5	1	4	29	0	0	7	0	0
New Jersey, . . .	0	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania, . .	0	0	28	0	28	0	0	0	0	9
Delaware, . . .	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
Maryland, . . .	3	1	7	0	10	0	1	0	0	0
Virginia, . . .	0	24	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	0
North Carolina, . .	0	0	15	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina, . .	0	0	11	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia, . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Kentucky, . . .	0	0	0	14	7	0	0	7	0	0
Tennessee, . . .	0	0	11	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
Ohio, . . .	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	16	0	0
Louisiana, . . .	2	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi, . . .	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana, . . .	0	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Illinois, . . .	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Alabama, . . .	0	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Missouri, . . .	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
Total, . . .	84	41	99	37	182	24	13	30	2	9

The President of the Senate then rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States; that Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford, were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a President now devolved upon the House of Representatives. He further declared, that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having received 182 votes, was duly elected Vice President of the United States, to serve for four years from the 4th day of March.

The Members of the Senate then retired. The Speaker directed the roll of the House to be called by States, and the members of the respective delegations to take their seats in the order in which the States should be called, beginning at the right hand of the Speaker. The delegates took their places accordingly, ballot boxes were distributed to each delegation, by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the Speaker directed that the ballot should proceed. The ballots having all been deposited in the boxes, tellers were named, one from each state in the Union:—

Messrs Cushman, Livermore, Webster, Eddy, Tomlinson, Buck, Tayler, Condict, Ingham, M'Lahe, Kent, Randolph, Hooks, Campbell, Forsyth, Trimble, Allen, of Tennessee, Sloane, Livingston, Rankin, Jennings, Cook, Owen, and Scott.

After the ballots were counted out, Mr Webster rose and said:—

Mr Speaker,—The tellers of the votes at this table have proceeded to count the ballots contained in the box set before them. The result they find to be, that there are—For

John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, 15 votes.

Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, 7 votes.

Wm. H. Crawford of Georgia, 4 votes.

The Speaker then stated this result to the House, and announced that John Quincy Adams, having a majority of the votes of these United States, was duly elected President of the same, for four years, commencing with the 4th day of March next.

When the fact of Mr Adams having 13 votes was announced by the tellers, some clapping and exultation took place in the galleries, and some slight hissing followed. The House suspended its proceedings until the galleries were cleared.

## MARCH.

2.—**ABERDEEN**.—Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P. was yesterday elected Lord Rector of the Marischal College and University for the ensuing year; and Gavin Hadden, Esq. Lord Provost of Aberdeen, and Thomas Gordon, Esq. of Cairness, Alexander Bannerman, Esq. and Robert Abercrombie, Esq. were elected Assessors. At the same time, Hugh Lumsden, Esq. of Pitcaple, Advocate, was elected Dean of Faculty.

**TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S SHIP KENT, CAPTAIN COBB, BY FIRE, IN THE BAY OF BISCAY, WITH TROOPS ON BOARD.**

This vessel was making her way in the Bay of Biscay, on the morning of Tuesday the 1st instant, when her progress was arrested by a fatal accident. An officer, who was sent into the hold to see whether the rolling of the vessel had disturbed the stowage,

perceiving that a cask of spirits had burst from its lashings, gave the lamp he had in his hand to a seaman to hold, while he should replace the cask. Unfortunately, in the continued rolling of the vessel, the man let the lamp fall near the spirits, to which it set fire in a moment. The flames spread; attempts were made to smother them by wetted blankets and hammocks, but all was in vain, and they soon assumed an aspect so tremendous, as to show that it would be impossible to subdue them. At this moment of despair the man at the mast-head exclaimed that a sail was in sight; guns were fired, and a signal of distress hoisted. The boats of the Kent were now got out and placed, not alongside, on account of the flames and the danger of staving the boats, but a-head and a-stern. Into the latter many got out from the cabin windows, but the chief part were let down from the bowsprit into the boat a-head, the men sliding down by a rope, while the soldiers' wives were lowered into the boat slung three together. The fire had burst out about ten o'clock, and about twelve the signal of distress had been perceived by a strange sail, which proved to be the *Cambria*, Cook, outward-bound to Mexico, with a number of mining workmen, and a cargo of mining machinery. It was at two o'clock that the *Cambria* received the first boat load of passengers, consisting chiefly of ladies and children, half clothed and pale with fright and fatigue. The whole afternoon was passed in exertions on board the one vessel in sending off the sufferers, and in the other in receiving them. The *Cambria* had amongst her passengers several stout workmen, who took their station at the ship's side, and were indefatigable in hoisting the poor sufferers on board, so that, out of 642 persons in the Kent,

no less than 557 were safe in the *Cambria* before midnight. The remainder (85 in number) were lost, chiefly in getting out and in of the boats, the swell of the sea being very great all the time. The captain of the Kent was the last man to leave her. She blew up a few minutes before two o'clock on Wednesday morning. The *Cambria*, a vessel little more than 200 tons, was previously sufficiently filled, having goods in her hold, and above fifty persons in passengers and ship's company. How great then must have been the pressure and confusion caused by an influx which carried the total on board to more than 600! The progress of the fire in the Kent had been so rapid, as to prevent the sufferers from saving any clothes except what were on their persons, and both officers and soldiers were thus ill prepared to encounter the wet and the cold of the deck. The cabin and the 'tween decks were thus crowded beyond measure, and most fortunate it was that the wind continued favourable for the return of the *Cambria* to an English port. She reached Falmouth in 48 hours after quitting the wreck, and was landing her unfortunate inmates, many of them half clothed, on Friday morning.

*Persons Saved.*—31st regiment, 21 officers, 280 men, 46 women, and 51 children; ship's company, 140; passengers, 19.

*Persons Lost.*—31st regiment, 64 soldiers, 1 woman, and 15 children; ship's company, 1 man, 4 boys.

(*Extract of a Letter from Falmouth, dated March 4.*)

"We yesterday had a scene of misery and distress here that beggars all description. You must have heard of the loss of the Kent East Indiaman, by fire. The survivors were brought into this port, amounting to upwards of 500 men, women, and children,

almost naked, and in a most lamentable state. The inhabitants came forward most promptly and liberally to relieve them. Mr Carne has received from them apparel sufficient for 6 or 700, and about L.100, which were subscribed last night. The poor sufferers were picked off the burning ship by the crew of a vessel bound to Mexico, with a number of Cornish miners on board, who behaved very nobly on this distressing occasion."

#### LORD MELVILLE'S NEW SCOTCH JURY BILL.

The Sheriff of each county is to make up a roll, on 1st January next, of all persons within the county liable to serve as jurors in criminal or Exchequer trials. The roll is to be in two parts, one of special jurors in terms of the act 55 Geo. III. (introducing jury trials here) and one of common jurors. The book in which the names are enrolled is to lie in the Sheriff's office, and to be open on all lawful days to any person who requires inspection. In Edinburgh the list is to be divided into three parts—one of persons residing within the bounds of police—a second of persons in Leith—and a third of persons in the county. Glasgow is also to have two lists—one for the city and suburbs, and one for the county. Haddington and Linlithgow to send lists to Edinburgh as at present. When a jury is wanted in Edinburgh, the Sheriff is to send up forty-five names, of whom twenty-four from the city, six from Leith, six from the county, four from West and five from East Lothian. Similar regulations are laid down with regard to circuit juries. In all justiciary trials one third of the jurors is to be taken from the special jury list, and two thirds from the common jury list. The Sheriffs, in all returns, are to "take the names in regular order, be-

ginning at the top of the list of special and common jurors in each county, commencing with the name immediately after the list in the preceding return, without regard to the court to which the last returns were made, and taking the subsequent names in the order in which they stand, to the end of the list, without omitting any person excepting one known to be dead." New lists are to be prepared to replace the others, before the latter are completely gone through. A peremptory challenge of five jurors (of whom two may be special) is allowed to the person tried, and the same to the prosecutor. The number of jurors returned by the Sheriff in criminal cases shall be forty-five, and the jurors for the trial of the case shall be chosen in open court by ballot from the lists of persons summoned. The name and designation of each jurymen is to be written on a bit of paper, rolled up and put into a box,—the special jurors' names being put into one box, and the common jurors' names into another—and after being mixed, one third of the jury shall be drawn from the one box, and two thirds from the other, with as many more as may be needed to replace those set aside by challenge. The jury so appointed may serve upon a succession of trials, if the accused and the prosecutor concur. Verdicts to be returned by the Chancellor *viva voce*, unless the court direct them to be in writing.

#### DISSOLUTION OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—DUBLIN.

As the meeting of the Catholic Association of Friday was to be, in obedience to the new law, the final one, the assembly-room of the Association was filled at a very early hour. The Honourable Colonel Butler was called to the chair.

The amount of rent received du-

ring Thursday and Friday, was announced to be two hundred and fifty-two pounds, nineteen shillings and threepence. Mr Conway read the parting address, which had been agreed to by the committee.

Mr Sugrue stated, that he had received a letter from Mr O'Connell, which he begged leave to hand to Mr Maurice O'Connell, for the purpose of being read to the meeting.—Mr M. O'Connell then proceeded to read the letter, which contained some reflections upon Mr Lawless, on account of that individual having accused Mr O'Connell of having wished to sacrifice the small Irish Freeholders, to his own purposes of personal aggrandizement.

Dr Magee felt assured that Mr Lawless meant nothing offensive or unkind towards Mr O'Connell, who had, he (Dr Magee) thought, fallen into an error in attributing such a motive to Mr Lawless. But Mr Lawless had expressed other and many opinions in his letter, which there could be no doubt were seconded by a vast majority in this country. Cries of "No, no, no."

Upon the motion of Mr Forde, it was resolved, that the accounts of the Association be audited up to the period of the dissolution of the Association, and that a statement of the whole receipt and expenditure of the Catholic rent be printed, and five thousand copies be distributed amongst the several parishes in Ireland.

Upon the motion of Mr M'Laughlan, it was unanimously resolved, that all claims upon the Association, up to the time of its dissolution, should, after being ascertained by the committee, be discharged.

The Rev. Mr L'Estrange moved the following resolution:—

"That this Association cannot separate without expressing its deep sense of the services rendered to the cause of Ireland, by the talent and

disinterested exertions of the gentlemen connected with the independent and liberal press; and we now, in bowing to the law, commit to their guardianship the support of the principles for which we have contended, and the preservation of the peace and unanimity which we have established."

Captain Bryan moved a resolution of confidence in Mr O'Connell.

Mr M'Dermott, in a very long and eloquent speech, seconded the motion, which was carried with three times three.

## APRIL.

### DINNER TO MR. BROUGHAM.

#### 8.—EDINBURGH.

Tuesday, the long talked of public dinner to Henry Brougham, Esq. M.P. was given in George Street Assembly Rooms. The Stewards and their friends were admitted at half-past four o'clock; and at five, the doors were opened for the general admission of the company. Within a few minutes the ball-room and small ball-room were completely occupied, the whole company amounting to upwards of 850; a portion of whom were crowded into the orchestra. As a consequence of this part of the arrangements, the musical band was stationed inside the door on each side of the entrance. The dinner (which was cold, excepting at the head) was tastefully served up by Messrs M'Lean and Cockburn of the British Hotel.

At half-past six o'clock, Mr Brougham, who had arrived from York only two or three hours previously, and in the interval had been presented with the Freedom of the City by the Lord Provost, entered the room, accompanied by Mr Henry Cockburn, and other distinguished individuals,

and was greeted with the loudest applause. The chair was taken by Mr Cockburn, who was supported on the right by Mr Brougham, Lord Charles Russell, Mr Thomas Thomson, Lord Glenorchy, Honourable C. Stuart, Captain Home Rig of Tarvit, and others; and, on the left, by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Sir A. M. Gibson, Mr Ferguson of Raith, and others. The Vice-President's chair was occupied by Mr Douglas Gordon Haliburton of Pitcur, supported by Mr Gibson Craig, Mr Horrocks, and Mr Laing Meason.

After the usual loyal and constitutional toasts had been given, the Chairman rose to propose the health of Mr Brougham, which he prefaced by a long and eloquent eulogium upon his transcendent talents, and extraordinary attainments, and the services which he had rendered to the cause of freedom, national instruction, and national happiness.

After the applause which followed the toast had subsided, Mr Brougham addressed the Company nearly as follows:—

Gentlemen, I own the impossibility of anything like a description of the deep sense which I feel of that very singular kindness with which I have been received among you in this city. I know that I owe it to two things:—one is, that title which I think is the highest, (all but the other), namely, that I am your fellow-citizen, born, bred, and educated in this place. How much I owe to that it would be vain for me to attempt to express. Suffice it to say, that I admit that I owe everything to it, and this I have never shrunk from saying in England as well as in Scotland. The other claim that I possess is to a higher title still, not that I take credit to myself for any, even of those panegyrics that have been devolved upon me by the kindness and

partiality of my friends; but I am proud that I am returned among my fellow-citizens, and stretched out those hands to shake them clean. (Loud cheers.) I am a person who is much in the habit of countenancing discussions, and am likely to be engaged in many of them this night; but were I to reply to the speech which my learned friend addressed to you, I think I could object to all of it; but without objecting to any but one expression which he made use of, that of the *trial* of the Queen, I must say, I never, in public or in private, heard so great a profanation of the word trial, as such an application of it. Trial it is none, where the accuser, who is interested, sits on the bench of justice and pretends to administer it (Hear, hear, hear).—None, where the defenceless victim is turned out, exposed to every shaft which the malice of her enemies can invent or point, and when wisdom and power unite with the powers of darkness. Trial it was none, where all the forms of justice were violated by those who had broken through them ere yet they could produce themselves in court. Talk to me of the *pechas*, the *deys*, and the *beys* of Africa, and call them, as they call themselves, judges! Talk to me of them with their ministers of vengeance, crouching under their frowns, and prepared obsequiously to do their masters' behests, against their own feelings, in violation of their own oaths and principles; and all because their master commands them! If you hold that a *trial*, then come and say that the Queen was *tried*. Six days did I stand in that place, which they sacrilegiously called a court of justice. I dared to tell them my mind, and I did it day by day. Were I to compare the place to anything I would say—that day, when I stood and saw their victim cast down, and trodden upon by one of

her judges, one especially who was bound by every honourable tie to protect her, but whom I will not name, for then they would fall upon me for thus speaking to you, and you for hearing me; and therefore I do not say a word upon that subject.—As has been well observed by the learned Chairman, it was in this town that I first received my education, and it is my duty that I should tell you that you cannot too highly prize your own city as a place of education. Though I seldom express my opinion, yet I have seen much of public systems of education, and have had great opportunities of observing the habits of teachers, and of hearing the expectations founded upon them, and of knowing the effects of various systems; and I certainly have never yet seen any one place, or any one system, so well adapted for training up good citizens, as well as learned and virtuous men, as the High School of Edinburgh and the Scottish Universities. I do not mean to depreciate any other system, because it happens to be new, or to institute any comparisons; but it is none of the least of their recommendations, that the establishments I am speaking of are capable of improving themselves. What, however, I admire in the High School of Edinburgh is this,—it aims at objects than that of the studying Greek verses—not that there is any harm in that; it is such an amusement as I myself am addicted to; though I must repeat, an academy should have other and higher objects. There is this other recommendation, that men of the lowest ranks send their children there, and thus exclude the patrician principle. He whom I should have highly rejoiced to see amongst us to-day, he and I, (I was a student certainly not in the most brilliant parts of life,) I remember, many of the earliest times, were at the

High School for many years. There were some in the same class with us equal with ourselves, and many others, sons of men in the lowest ranks of life; and there we all sat, and said, and took and yielded places without any difficulty, (some of them were sons of mechanics in the Cowgate,) and without the least impression on the minds of my noble friends that they were superior, or on the minds of these boys that they were inferior. This is my reason for preferring the good old school of Edinburgh to what is called the patrician school. As to the boys of Edinburgh, they enjoy a singular benefit, not only from the number of learned men and most original geniuses in the different departments of science who preside over their studies; but in it they have what appears superior, in my opinion, to any establishment of the kind formed originally on monastic models. While the youth enjoy the benefits of education, they live under their father's roof at night, in the middle of the family. So deeply am I penetrated with its vast superiority in every respect, that I consider it one of the first establishments in the kingdom. I certainly have taken a part recently, and I have very great happiness in announcing to you to-day what has been done on the subject of education; because I know you will be glad to hear that, upon the Scotch model, an establishment is likely to be formed in the metropolis of the sister-kingdom. A school, on the model of the old High School, is there about to be established, and there steps have been taken for the almost immediate establishment of a university, to bestow, upon the Scotch plan, the blessings of a scientific education on the countless inhabitants of that city. Suffer me, gentlemen, before I sit down, to express my regard of a meeting of this description as by no means one of

mere pastime or curiosity; I regard it as a great public meeting, in which men are met together, who hold the same principles in common, and who hold these principles quite safely. It would have been mockery to feast together, if it were not to commemorate those principles, and to show the firmness of our minds, and bind us together. What we do just now is only an outward symbol of what many may be called upon to suffer in our present, and have suffered in worse times for the good cause. And if a more and a higher sacrifice is required, they would not be found wanting to seal their attachment with their blood. His meeting sees what, but a few years ago, would hardly have been dreamed. We do not live in terror of dark night which drew down the vengeance of those in power upon every man who held an opinion of his own. When frowns did not do, as some of the most noted here present, one of whom I see close by the Vice-President, (Mr Gibson,) well knew, there was nothing left undone to harass the obnoxious individual; and had their power been equal to their desires, more effectual means would have been resorted to of crushing their cause; but, blessed be God, those times are now past. I see many here present who know the truth of this, I believe; but what things have we not seen, having lived through the different stages of only the few last years? It is not above three or four years since, and a dark time it was, when we saw Parliamentary privileges discouraged; and to some persons, any one word used in reprobation of the system acted upon by the despots of the Continent, was deemed an offence; but I have lived to see the principles acted upon in the same place, and by the same men who used to cry, *Jacobin, visionary, &c.* against every man who advocated,

however timidly, those principles, which were formally execrated by some, and condemned by all, with the same kind of morbid feeling with which they now extol them. But let us not question them; for, as their conversion is recent, and may now be combined with all the zeal which distinguishes new converts, let us not give them an opportunity of retreating, on the score of Jacobinism, upon their former policy; but let us extend our eye to the change that has taken place in our foreign policy, which is no less singular, and no less beneficial, to the character of the state. For how many long years was it painful and even degrading, to feel that one was an Englishman? England was foremost to offer every painful blow against the liberties of mankind; and some one of England's councillors was always to be found at the elbow of every tyrant who would deny his people their rights. What despot then could turn his eyes for support to this country, and turned them there in vain; or without experiencing a pathetic feeling—seeing the hand of fellowship stretched forth grasp his, though reeking with the blood of his own subjects?—Wherever we turned, we discovered some depraved and bloated despotism, in which adventitious and external circumstances had given more hideousness than arose from its own base heart, its own vile nature. We never found that despotism, if recommended by a detestable perseverance in profligacy and superstition, made it any appeal for support to the government of any tyrant country or court. It was a black and disgusting thing, and the cause of the change, which has been wrought in the policy of this country, for the sake of protection. In such a free nation as England, with the fair representation of



Scotland, (Hear, hear,) or even in  
 distressed, misgoverned, and persecu-  
 ted Ireland, what man is there who  
 will dare now to stand forth and say,  
 "Defend the Holy Alliance?" None,  
 says, and there is no man, I will not  
 say so wicked, but so foolish.—I will  
 not say so bent on destruction of free-  
 dom, so struck with judaical blind-  
 ness, but so hastening on his own de-  
 struction.—there is no man beyond the  
 precincts of bedlam, who will stand  
 up and say, "I am a friend to the  
 Holy Alliance." (Immense cheering.)  
 If there be any who admire that ac-  
 complished piece of perfidy who oc-  
 cupies the Czar's throne, or who  
 feels the slightest portion of respect  
 for that mean and ungrateful piece of  
 imbecility, which refuses to the honest  
 German the fulfilment of the pledges  
 and promises offered as a return for  
 their bleeding and dying to restore  
 it.—if there be any man who admires  
 that Prince's conduct—if there be any  
 man who approves of the scourge of  
 fair Italy, of Austria's tyrant—if there  
 be any man who admires or approves  
 of the most cruel and violent tyrant  
 who ever sat upon a throne in ancient  
 or modern days, that despot who has  
 lost South America by supineness,  
 and by the interested efforts of France  
 and dominions (though I trust for a  
 short time,) over Old Spain—if there  
 be such a person, I will hold him to  
 having an unnatural heart towards  
 man. If there are such beings exist-  
 ing, I at least cannot discover them;  
 there is at least this strange result,  
 that they confine themselves to the  
 region that holds them best and their  
 passions.—They must belong, I  
 should think, to some of the offices  
 among the crowd of darkness  
 where they may devote their spleen  
 and passions, or they may be look-  
 ing down the mass of courts, and  
 despotic courts, the Fredericks and  
 and Francis's, &c. &c.

and lizards, and toads, and, worse  
 than all, those who eat the toads.  
 (Continued cheering.) I never can get  
 them to confront me in Parliament;  
 I have longed to see them there; I  
 have variously applied and sought  
 them there; you would not know them  
 and the Holy Alliance, the one from  
 the other; but this is clear, that if  
 they are not better in their principles,  
 they are better in their demeanour,  
 and endeavour to hide themselves and  
 their detestable tenets from the rays  
 of that sun which would almost be  
 disgraced with shining upon them.—  
 (Loud cheering.) It would indeed be  
 presumption for me to address you  
 longer on this subject; but I want to  
 address myself to our younger friends  
 who hear it said, that the first object  
 of a public man is ambition. As to  
 the glory felt in the possession of high  
 places—there is glory, perhaps, but  
 pleasures there are none at all; nor  
 is it even true that places of that kind  
 give real power. In my experience  
 I have never seen it. Many a man  
 is made a slave by this ideal construc-  
 tion of power. Ambition, in my sense  
 of the word, means a life of real solid,  
 substantial, and independent power.  
 I confess I know no human being in  
 the course of my whole experience,  
 who has so little of that power as the  
 Ministry of this country. My friend  
 our worthy Chairman said something  
 about being a party man. I totally  
 differ with him in thinking, that there  
 is any thing higher in the estimation  
 of mankind, or our own country, than  
 that of a steady, consistent, honest  
 party man. I care not what miscon-  
 struction is put upon the word; I  
 know of none, and I have not been able  
 to discover any way in which an honest  
 man, except by connecting himself  
 with a great party, can serve his  
 country; but then, don't think I  
 am talking like a party man, in the  
 parience of a party man who is call-

ed to high office. They are supposed to command, but there is nothing of the matter, but of compromise; give up a little to this man, and a good deal to another, and then give up everything to a third; and to one man in the community, if he holds up his little finger, everything is given up; come a little my way, say a yard, and I will go 150 miles your way; let me have one half hour in the course of the year, and let me have my own way, and then you will have all the year to yourself; and this is the thing they call power; and having established power in this way, they say "sacrifice to my object, compromise the thing, and keep up my ambition." Power is the gratification of my desire, I glory in the foundation on which I build. (Hear, hear.) I, therefore, at once deny that he ought to be called an ambitious man, who seeks after this place called power. He who is said to sacrifice it, applies to the legitimate source of all power, and puts himself on his country, to make his knowledge serviceable to its interest, and does not flee after preferment, a place, or emolument. I truly believe some do not care so much for emolument; but those who care for patronage, and the pleasure of finding their wishes constantly covered with ten thousand applications of crav'ing suitors, who give you an opportunity, as a certain good artist in that way observed, of making one man grateful and twenty discontented; and of having their feet blockaded by thousands, whose object it is to sacrifice your goodness to their interest, who stand up upon the extent of their money, and then having fewer boats to sink to sea, than the man of power has reason to spare; and who, were they permitted to enter in the serpent's form, would have the last place at his disposal. This is what men in power call pa-

tronage; and he who sacrifices all this for the sake of enjoying the real power of man, is called an ambitious man.—Once more, I heartily return you my thanks for your kindness towards me. I consider it to be beyond my deserts, and I am happy in having seen so many persons, beyond any example of assemblage of persons that I ever saw met together on the like subject. It is gratifying to me, as an individual, beyond anything that words can express; and it is rendered infinitely more dear to me when I reflect, that it is the representation of the opinions of the pure and enlightened of my countrymen, which will finally secure a permanent blessing on it. I give "The Rising Prosperity of the City of Edinburgh," (Immense cheering.)

After a great number of toasts had been given, accompanied by appropriate speeches, the Chairman, at one o'clock, intimated to the meeting the propriety of their drinking good night, as Mr Brougham had just before their assembling completed a very fatiguing journey, and had to undertake another in the course of a few hours.

Mr Brougham rose to observe, that it was very hard the Chairman should lay upon him the blame of dissolving so excellent a meeting. He must certainly have supposed the abilities of his constitution to have been unimpaired since he left Edinburgh, by residing in a more salubrious climate. He could assure himself was grossly mistaken. He had only been up all the night, and the last of his sleep but two nights standing, and doing so nothing. When in Edinburgh, he was very fatigued, and when he was his usual state of vigour, he had much to do. He then rose, the Chairman had exhorted him to do so, and was obliged to remain so this expedient. But now that he was

upon his legs, (to use a phrase common in another house,) he would endeavour to supply the want; in doing which, he would have to pronounce a name, which never was uttered in that same house but with praise of the thing it signified; and then some dire mischief was sure to ensue to that same thing:—he meant, “the liberty of the press.” (Applause.) Whenever he heard that liberty vehemently praised by crown lawyers, or others in the house alluded to, then there was a moral certainty that some good stiff statute was forthcoming to shackle it. This meeting, however, he was persuaded, would drink the toast with perfect sincerity. (Much applause.)

Mr Cockburn left the chair, and the meeting immediately broke up.

#### THE KING AND THE CANADIAN CHIEFS.

*Windsor, April 9.*—The interesting Canadian chiefs, accompanied by Sir John Chapman and Mr Irving Brock, brother of the late gallant Sir Isaac Brock, who fell in Canada during the last American war, proceeded on Thursday, by invitation, to the Royal Lodge, and were introduced to his Majesty on the lawn. Immediately on seeing the King, they fell on their knees, when the medallion of the late King, with which they had been invested by Sir Isaac Brock, attracted his Majesty's attention, who, observing to them, that as they had the portrait of his late father, perhaps, they would have no objection to wearing his medallion hung a handsome gold round their necks, which he adorned with the utmost fervour. A chief then addressed him (in French) to the following effect:

“I am instructed not to speak in the royal presence unless in answer to

your Majesty's questions; but my feelings overpower me; my heart is full; I am amazed at such unexpected grace and condescension, and cannot doubt that I shall be pardoned for expressing our gratitude. The sun is shedding its genial rays upon our heads. It reminds me of the Great Creator of the universe—of him who can make alive, and who can kill. Oh! may that gracious and beneficent Being, who promises to answer the fervent prayers of his people, bless abundantly your Majesty! may he grant you much bodily health; and, for the sake of your happy subjects, may he prolong your valuable life. It is not alone the four individuals who now stand before your Majesty who will retain to the end of their lives a sense of this kind and touching reception; the whole of the nation, whose representatives we are, will ever love and be devoted to you—their good and great father.”

His Majesty's answer to their address was most gracious. It was in French also, and in substance as follows:—He observed that he had listened with great delight to their affecting and loyal address; that he had always respected the excellent people who formed the various tribes in his North American possessions, and that he would avail himself of every opportunity to promote their welfare, secure their happiness, and prove himself to be indeed their father.

His Majesty then conversed with them in the same language, in the most affable manner, for above a quarter of an hour. After seeing the interior of the Royal Lodge, the stables, the animals, and the birds, Sir Andrew Barnard conducted them to Cumberland Lodge, where a table, provided with refreshments, was prepared for them. On Thursday evening, they left Windsor for London, expressing their gratitude at having seen “their

great father, King George," and the manner in which they had been received. Besides the medallions hung round their necks, his Majesty presented each of them with a print from his full-length portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence. We understand the business which brought them to this country, was to recover possession of some lands that had been taken from them during the American war; and that a promise has been given them, that in case the same lands cannot be restored to them, they are to have a grant of another tract of land.

27.—LONDON.—His Majesty held a levee at his palace in Pall-mall, which was more numerously attended than the first; there being about a hundred more present. A guard of honour from the 3d regiment of foot guards attended, under the command of Colonel Drummond.

Amongst the earliest who arrived at the *entrée*, was the equipage of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, that of the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, and two splendid state carriages of the French Ambassador.

The deputation from the Roman Catholics of Ireland waited upon his Majesty, to present an address voted to his Majesty at the last aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics in Dublin, a few days ago. This deputation consisted of the Earl of Fingal, Lord Viscount Gormanstown, Lord Killeen, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr O'Connell, and other noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of 23. They were all in full court dresses, and having been introduced to his Majesty, the address was presented to his Majesty by the Earl of Fingal, and most graciously received. His Majesty was dressed in the blue Windsor uniform, and appeared in excellent health and spirits during the day.

## MAY.

3.—LONDON.—The King's honouring Drury-lane Theatre with his presence being expected for about a week past, Mr Elliston has been exerting himself in making the necessary preparations for the reception of the Sovereign.

At a quarter before seven o'clock, notice was given that his Majesty was approaching, when the King appeared in a full general's uniform of the royal artillery. The King was received by the assemblage in the streets and at the windows of the houses he passed, with loud cheering, and every mark of respect and rejoicing. At an early hour the house was crowded almost to suffocation. His Majesty was received with deafening shouts and plaudits, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and every demonstration of delight and attachment. "God save the King" was immediately commenced; but the agitation had not sufficiently subsided for the first verse to be audible. The song was rapturously encored. When at last the tumult of loyalty had subsided, the effects of the immense pressure in the pit commenced to be felt in a most serious manner. In the course of the evening, many gentlemen, totally overpowered by the heat and the pressure, were drawn out of the pit, with the assistance of the parties in the centre of the dress boxes. The wild scenes and majestic music of Der Freischutz were enjoyed in all their effect and grandeur. His Majesty frequently gave marks of approbation, which were echoed by the audience. After the fall of the curtain, "Rule Britannia" was played and sung by the whole company, the Monarch standing up again with his people. "God Save the King" was then repeated, with its accom-

paniment of enthusiastic cheers. The afterpiece of Simpson and Co. went off with spirit, and on the fall of the curtain "God Save the King" was once more sung. Universal acclamation and applause followed, and his Majesty, after bowing to all parts of the house, retired at a quarter before 12 o'clock.

EDINBURGH.—It having been publicly announced that a young lady, a native of Guernsey, intended preaching in the Caledonian Theatre, on Sunday evening, at half past six o'clock, an immense concourse of people were attracted thither by the novelty of the exhibition. So early as five o'clock the doors were besieged by a crowd sufficient to have filled a house ten times the size.—When the doors opened, the rush was tremendous; and in a few minutes every corner was crowded. Public worship commenced with a hymn and prayer; but many of the congregation showed no greater sense of decency than if they had been witnessing a theatrical performance. Hisses, plaudits, and vulgar witticisms, were heard in all parts of the house; and at length the young lady, whose sex certainly entitled her to more forbearance, came forward and stated, that if the uproar did not cease, she would stop the service. At this time, an idle report was industriously propagated, that the gallery was giving way—the audience were seized with panic, and simultaneously pressed towards the door. A scene of indescribable confusion and danger ensued. Many persons had their clothes torn, several females lost shoes and slippers, and two men and a woman actually leapt from a window on the first story into the street. So soon as it was ascertained that the alarm was unfounded, the theatre was again filled, but a strong party of police interfered, and cleared the

house. In justice to the young lady we must state, that she exerted herself to the utmost to preserve order, and seemed to suffer very keenly from the discreditable conduct of her congregation. When she found her efforts vain, she very properly retired. We understand, that in consequence of this being sacrament week, she has left town; but with an intention of returning next week,—when arrangements will be made to prevent a recurrence of the scene of Sunday evening.

18.—EDINBURGH MECHANICS' SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY.—This institution, which has been recently formed upon principles calculated to render it permanently and extensively useful, has met with much encouragement both from mechanics and from many enlightened and liberal-minded individuals. Donations of books have been received in addition to the splendid present from Messrs Constable and Co., from Mr A. Black, bookseller, Mr Abraham Thomson, bookbinder, — Ramsay, Esq., Northumberland Street, John G. Kinnear Esq., Forth Street, Mr Blyth, Hill Square, Mr J. Ruthven, and Messrs Ruthven and Son, printers, &c., besides several from the operative mechanics themselves. It is worthy of remark, that this library has originated with, and been formed solely by, persons coming under the denomination of tradesmen. The library can now boast of nearly 500 volumes, which, with hardly an exception, are standard works. Indeed we are not aware of any mode by which the higher classes may more easily or effectually promote the welfare of the labouring population, than by encouraging institutions of this description.

A numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith, and the vicinity, called

by public advertisement, took place in the large room, Waterloo Hotel, to consider of the propriety of establishing a new Infirmary in this city, or its vicinity. On the motion of Mr James Gibson Craig, Sir William Fettes, Bart., was called to the chair.

Mr Jeffrey, in rising to propose a series of resolutions, disclaimed all intention of throwing out reflections upon the management of the Royal Infirmary. He assured the meeting, that there was no hostile feeling towards that institution in the mind of any individual who had been accessory in bringing forward the present proposition. He could speak on this subject with more authority than some of his fellow-citizens, who were more active than himself in promoting the public charities of the place. It was well known, that many years ago he had taken an active share in certain inquiries into alleged neglects and abuses in the administration of that most useful institution; and he had no hesitation in saying, that he had the satisfaction of ultimately finding, that in regard to many of these supposed abuses he had been misinformed. He had now the pleasure of stating, that he was satisfied that where there did exist any grounds for complaint, they had been since removed by the zeal, diligence, and activity of those in the management of that establishment. But he contended, that the nature of the Royal Infirmary's charter limited the popularity, and, of course, the usefulness of the institution; that it could not nearly accommodate all the applicants for admission; and that, were there a rival establishment, which, from the present extent of the city and its suburbs, was really required, the one would stimulate the other to establish claims by excellence of management, to the support of the public. Mr Jeffrey then moved the following resolutions:

1st, That it is expedient and practicable to establish a new and additional Public Hospital or Infirmary, in Edinburgh, or its immediate neighbourhood.

2d, That the following persons, viz.,

The Right Honourable Alex. Henderson, Lord Provost.

Sir Wm. Fettes, Bart.

Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart.

Alex. Monro, Esq., Prince's Street.

Wm. Pagan, Esq.

Jas. Gibson Craig, Esq.

Thomas Kinnear, Esq.

Thomas Allan, Esq.

Henry Cockburn, Esq.

Francis Jeffrey, Esq.

James Wyld, Esq.

Adam White, Esq.

James Reoch, Esq.

Adam Maitland, Esq.

James Balfour, Esq.

R. B. Blyth, Esq.

John Whigham, Esq.

Lieutenant-Col. Hutchison.

Francis Walker, Esq.

James Nairne, Esq.

Leonard Horner, Esq.

James Spittal, Esq.

Dr John Thomson.

Dr Poole.

Dr Kelly.

John Turner, Esq.

Henry M. Low, Esq.

and such others, as they may choose to add to their number, be appointed an interim committee, to consider of the best means of carrying this measure into effect, and to make such inquiries and arrangements as they may think best calculated for that purpose.

3d, That the Committee be instructed to have its report in readiness, on or before Wednesday, the 25th day of June next, upon which another public meeting shall be called by advertisement, to receive the said report, and take such other





ly put out the launch, with a quantity of provisions, to convey on board the Dolphin—but in a moment she was stove to pieces against the ship's bow. Their situation now became truly alarming, as every moment they expected the vessel would founder, her timbers became so open. There only remained two boats, and those were launched, and in them they succeeded in getting on board the other vessel, the captain of which, finding he had not sufficient provisions and water for the entire, amounting to eighty-six, including his own crew, changed his course and sailed for England, with the intention of landing at Falmouth. In this attempt he was frustrated by the southern winds that prevailed; and after beating about for some time in great distress, being obliged to subsist on a biscuit and a pint of water each man, and four pounds of pork between twelve, per day, from the period of their shipwreck, they at last arrived in Cove, as above stated, where they received every possible attention from the gallant Admiral (Plampin) now on this station, who had the men sent on board (his flag ship) the *Semiramis*, until the men could be disposed of. Had they remained out three days longer, their situation would have been most deplorable, for the provisions and water ran so short that each man would of necessity have been limited to a single glass per diem, of the latter—and of the former there only remained of their entire stock about 60lbs.—*Cork paper.*

**RUSSIAN PUNISHMENTS.**—A subaltern officer of the guards having stabbed his captain in the back whilst at exercise, the murderer was sentenced by a court martial, to run the gauntlet twelve times through 1000 pikes. The punishment was inflicted the day before yesterday, and the delinquent expired immediately after.

A dreadful murder was committed at Port Spain, Trinidad, on the 28th of February last, by a Serjeant Sooky, of the military labourers, on the body of a private of the same corps, named Grant. The means Sooky adopted to put his diabolical intention into execution were too brutal to relate, and he added to his guilt by hanging himself.

## FRANCE.

### CORONATION OF KING CHARLES X.

(From the *Etoile* of May 30.)

*Rheims, May 28.*—This morning the King, accompanied by the Dauphin and his suite, left Fismes for Tinquex, where the Princesses of the Royal Family waited for his Majesty. In descending from Fismes, at the moment when the batteries of the artillery of the guard, which were placed in a valley on the left of the road, fired, the horses of the carriage, in which were the Dukes de Aumont and Damas, and Counts Coase and Curial, took fright and ran away. The carriage was dashed to pieces. Count Curial had his left shoulder-blade broken, and the right cut by the glass of the carriage. The Duke de Damas was dangerously wounded. They were conveyed to Fismes, and placed under the care of one of the physicians and of M. Dupuytren, his Majesty's surgeon. Count de Coase received a violent contusion in the head, but he continued his journey. His Majesty himself ran considerable danger. A very loud echo having doubled the noise of the cannon, the horses of his carriage were frightened, and it was with great difficulty that they were reined. At the entrance of Rheims were the civil authorities of the department. The Mayor presented the keys to the King, who took them, and delivered them to the captain of the guards. When his Majesty passed the city



triumphal arch at the gate of Tinquex, the Sub-Prefect addressed his Majesty. The civil and military authorities of Rheims likewise harangued the King. His Majesty proceeded from the entrance of the city to the cathedral. A salute of 101 guns was fired, and the bells of all the churches were ringing the whole time. The King immediately went to the cathedral, and was received under the canopy at the door of the church, by the Archbishop of Rheims, in pontificalibus, and accompanied by the Bishops of Soissons, Beauvais, Chalons, and Amiens, his Suffragans, and by all the chapters of his church. The Archbishop presented holy water and incense to the King, who knelt down on a cushion; he received from one of the Canons the New Testament, which he presented to the King to kiss. His Majesty having risen, after a short prayer, was complimented by the Archbishop in a courtly and elaborate speech. On entering the sanctuary, his Majesty placed himself in his pew, having all the persons in waiting around him. The Princes were placed around on the right and left, according to their rank: The High Almoner, the First Almoner, two of the Almoners, and the Ordinary Almoner of the King, were on the right, and in front of the King's pew. The Dauphiness, the Duchess of Berry, and the Princesses of the blood, occupied a gallery opposite to that of the diplomatic body. The Cardinals were on the left, and in front of the King's pew. The Archbishops and Bishops invited, were in the sanctuary to the right and left. The Ministers

immediately taking their places, the Archbishop of Rheims, directed the service, after which the Cardinal De La Roche-Aymon, the prelate and preacher, delivered the following sermon: *Quia Dominus unxit me* &c.

*quod Dominus unxit me.*—Isaiah, chap 61. After the sermon, the Archbishop chanted the *Te Deum* which his Majesty heard standing. During the *Te Deum* the King's Almoner, conducted by the master of the ceremonies, brought the King's presents and laid them on the altar, except the shrine (relic) of the true cross, which one of his Majesty's Almoners kept. The Bishops of Soissons and Beauvais led the King to the altar, which his Majesty kissed. The first gentleman in waiting received from the Almoner the shrine of the true cross, which he delivered to the Dauphin, who afterwards presented it to his Majesty. The King came and offered to God the shrine, laid it on the altar, and kissed it. After this ceremony, the King returned in the same manner as he entered, and went to the Archiepiscopal Palace, by the gallery built for that purpose. —The city was illuminated in the evening.

*Rheims, May 29.*—Before five o'clock, in the morning, the doors of the cathedral were besieged by the crowd. At six they were opened, and at half past six all the galleries in the body of the church, the choir, the sanctuary, &c., were filled. The galleries reserved for the Dauphiness, the Duchess of Berry, and the Princesses of the blood, were on the right of his Majesty's pew, and opposite the gallery of the Diplomatic Body. The Peers of France and great Officers of the Crown were placed on the steps of the choir: On the right, the Deputies, and Mayors of the great cities, the Prefects, and many other public functionaries, called to the occasion by sealed letters. The Royal Courts, the Tribunals, and a great number of general officers, occupied the steps in the body of the church, to the right and left. The galleries, erected on both sides, be-

tween the pillars, were filled with ladies, most of them presented. The Dauphiness had a robe embroidered with silver, on a gold ground, and a diadem sparkling with diamonds. The Duchess of Berry wore a crimson coloured robe bordered with silver lama; she wore in her hair a wreath of roses mixed with diamonds. The Princesses of the Blood wore white robes worked with silver.

At half past seven, the clergy repaired to the cathedral. The Archbishop of Rheims advanced towards the altar, preceded by the Bishops of Soissons and Rheims, acting as deacon and sub-deacon, and the Archbishops of Besançon and Bourges; and the Bishop of Autun and Evreux, appointed to chant the litanies. Cardinals Clermont-Tonnerre and La Fare, assisting his Majesty, went to fetch the King from his apartment, preceded by the Chapter. The Chapter having arrived at the door of his Majesty's chamber, with the Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Great Officers of the Crown, the Officers of the Household having functions to perform in the ceremony of the coronation, the principal Chapter of the cathedral knocked at the door. Prince Talleyrand, the High Chamberlain, said, in a loud voice—

"What do you desire?" The Cardinal Clermont-Tonnerre answered, "Charles X., whom God has given us for our King." The doors were then opened by his Majesty's porters, and the two Cardinals approached the King (who rose from his seat) and saluted his Majesty.

The Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, then proceeded to the church, conducted by the Master of the Ceremonies, and preceded and followed by their chief officers, who took their places in the sanctuary, except the Lieutenant of the King's gardes-de-corps, on duty

about the Dauphin, who remained with his Royal Highness. The first of the two Cardinals presented the holy water to the King, and repeated the prayer, *Omnipotens Sempiternus Deus, qui famulum tuum, &c.*, after which the two Cardinals conducted the King to the church.

[Here follow the details of the procession to the church, during which the anthem, *Ecce mitto Angelum meum, &c.* was chanted.]

The King wore a silver robe, his slippers were trimmed with silver, and he had a cap (*toque*) of black velvet, with two white aigrettes, separated in the middle by a diamond cross.

When the King arrived at the door of the church, Cardinal La Fare repeated the prayer, *Deus, qui scis genus humanum*; after which the psalm, *Domine, in virtute tuo letabitur Rex*, was chanted. During the psalm, the clergy took their places, and the King was conducted by the two Cardinals to the foot of the altar, where his Majesty knelt down. The Archbishop of Rheims, as soon as the King entered the choir, said over his Majesty the prayer *Omnipotens Deus, Coelestium Moderator*, after which his Majesty was conducted to the seat prepared for him in the middle of the sanctuary, under the high canopy. After the Princes, the Great Officers of State, &c., had taken their places, the Archbishop of Rheims presented holy water to his Majesty, who rose to receive it. His Grace afterwards gave holy water to the whole assembly, and then withdrew behind the high altar, to put on his pontifical robes; he then brought the holy oil (*crème onguent*). During this time the choir chanted *Sicut*. His Grace having related the altar and the King, commenced the *Veni Creator*. His Majesty remained kneeling during the first verse. After the *Veni Creator*, the Arch-

bishop advanced to the King, accompanied by his two assistant Cardinals, bearing, one the Book of the Evangelists, and the other the relic of the true cross; he took the book, on which he placed the relic, and held it open before his Majesty, to whom he presented the forms of the oaths placed thus on the Book of the Gospel. The King, seated and covered, with his hand placed on the book and on the true cross, pronounced the following oaths:—

*Oath of the Coronation.*

"In the presence of God, I promise to my faithful people to maintain and to honour our holy religion as becomes the Most Christian King, and the eldest son of the church—to do good justice to all my subjects, and to govern conformably to the laws of the kingdom and the constitutional charter, which I swear to observe faithfully. So help me God, and his holy Gospel."

*Oath of the King as Chief and Sovereign Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Ghost.*

"We swear to God, the Creator, to live and die in his holy faith and the Catholic apostolic Roman religion—to maintain the order of the Holy Ghost, without suffering it to lose its glorious prerogatives, to observe the statutes of the said order, and to cause them to be observed by all those who are or shall be members of it, reserving to ourselves, however, to regulate the conditions of admission according to the good of our service."

*Oath of the King as Grand Master of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, and of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour.*

"We solemnly swear to God to maintain for ever, without suffering them to lose their glorious prerogatives, the royal and military order of the Legion of Honour; to wear the cross

of the said orders; to cause their statutes to be observed. This we swear and promise on the holy cross and the holy Gospels."

After the oaths, the King being led to the altar by two Cardinals, put off his upper robe, which was taken by the First Gentleman of the Chamber, and delivered to the First Valet de Chambre. The King gave his cap to the First Gentleman Master of the Wardrobe, who delivered it to the Senior Valet de Chambre. The King, who had on only a *salon camoisolle*, embroidered with silver, and open at the places where the unction was to be performed, remained standing during the prayers. The High Chamberlain put on his Majesty the boots of purple velvet, embroidered with fleurs-de-lys in gold. The Dauphin put on his Majesty the golden spurs which were on the altar; the Duke of Cornegliano, acting as constable, laid aside his sword and advanced to the King, who rose and approached the altar, when the Archbishop blessed the sword of Charlemagne, saying the prayer—*Exaudi, quassamus, Domine, preces nostras, &c.* The Archbishop then girded the sword about the King, and immediately took it off, and drawing it from the scabbard, presented it to him, saying, *Accipe gladium tuum*, after which the King kissed the sword, and replaced it on the altar. After several other prayers, the Archbishop prepared for the sacred unction. The King, conducted by the two Cardinals, sat down. The Archbishop opened the reliquary, containing the holy phial; and, with the point of a golden needle, took out a portion, which he mixed with consecrated oil. The Choro chanted the anthem, *Gentem Francorum inclytam, &c.* The two Cardinals opened the places in the King's garment for the unction,

and led his Majesty to the altar, where he knelt down on cushions placed for the purpose. Then the four Prelates appointed to chant the litanies, advanced to the foot of the altar. After the litanies and prayers, the Archbishop took his place on the seat, with his back to the altar. The King was conducted by the two Cardinals to the Archbishop, and knelt down; the Archbishop, seated, with his mitre on his head, said the prayers *Omnipotens Sempiternus Deus, Gubernator Cœli*. The Bishop of Soissons took from the altar the holy oil, and presented it to the Archbishop, who took some with his thumb to anoint his Majesty on the usual places. 1, On the crown of the head, making the sign of the cross, and saying *Ungote in regem de oleo sanctificato*, &c.—2, On the breast.—3, Between the shoulders.—4 and 5, On the right and left shoulders.—6 and 7, On the back of the right and left arms, making each time the sign of the cross, and repeating *Ungote*, &c.

The High Chamberlain put on his Majesty the tunic and the dalmatica of crimson satin, embroidered with *fleurs de lis* of gold, and over this the royal mantle of purple velvet, with gold *fleurs de lis*, lined and trimmed with ermine. The King, being in his royal robes, knelt down. The Archbishop, seated, took the holy oil from the Bishop acting as deacon. After the prayers, the First Valet de Chambre presented to the Deacon a pair of gloves in a plate of silver gilt, which the Deacon held while the Archbishop blessed the gloves, saying *Omnipotens Creator*, and the Archbishop sprinkled the gloves with holy water, and put them on the King. The same ceremony took place for the ring, which his Grace put on his Majesty's fourth finger, saying, *Accipe anulum*. The delivery of the

sceptre and the rod of justice was performed in the same manner.

The Archbishop, with both hands, took from the altar the crown of Charlemagne, and placed it above, over the King's head, without its touching his Majesty. The Princes put their hands to it to support it. The Archbishop, holding it with his left hand, said, making the benediction with the right, *Coronet te Deus corona gloriæ atque justitiæ*. After which, alone, he placed the crown on the King's head. The Dauphin and the Princes, a second time, put their hands on it, as if to support, and he said, *Accipe coronam regni in nomine patris*, &c.

The ceremony of the coronation being finished, the Archbishop raised the King by the right arm, and his Majesty was conducted to his throne. His Majesty was attended in the same manner as on his entering the church, the Duke of Cornegiano bearing the sword of Charlemagne naked in his hand. Everybody standing, the Archbishops holding the King by the right arm, and turned towards the altar, said the prayer *Sta et retine a modo statum*. Then the King being seated, the Archbishop holding his Majesty by the hand, said, *In hoc regni solio confirmat te*, &c. The prayers being ended, the Archbishop put off his mitre, made a profound obeisance to the King, kissed him on the forehead, and said, *Vivat Rex in æternum*. The Dauphin and the Princes took off their crowns, which they placed on their seats; they advanced, and each of them received the embrace from the King, saying, *Vivat Rex in æternum*. At this moment the trumpet sounded, the people entered the church, the heralds distributed the medals, a thousand birds were let loose, all the bells were rung, and

three volleys of musketry fired by the infantry of the royal guard, were answered by the artillery of the ramparts of the city.

After these ceremonies, the Archbishop chanted *Te Deum*; then high mass was celebrated, during which the Dauphin and the Princes took off their crowns, and the cardinals their mitres. The Dauphin took the King's crown, and laid it on the desk of his Majesty's pew. After the Gospel, he replaced the crown on the King's head, and resumed his own, as did the Princes.

During the offertory, the King at arms, and three heralds, carried the offerings to four Knights of the Holy Ghost. These offerings are a vase of silver gilt, containing the wine, a silver loaf, a gold loaf, and a large dish of silver gilt, containing the medals struck on the coronation. After the elevation of the Host, the High Almoner, Prince de Croi, went to take the kiss of peace from the Archbishop; then, going up to the throne, he gave it to the King; the Dauphin and Princes of the blood came to receive it of his Majesty, when the Dauphin bent his knee. The Dauphin having received the King's embrace, (*accolade*,) bent his knee to his august father, who raised him, and held him long pressed in his arms. This affecting scene made a profound impression on the assembly, and tears, produced by the sweetest emotions, were mingled with unanimous cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive le Dauphin!* The enthusiasm of the spectators was without bound.

His Majesty afterwards took the sacrament of both kinds, after which the Dauphin approached the King, and delivered his crown to him again. His Majesty remained a few moments on his knees, in prayer, after which the Archbishop took from him the

crown of Charlemagne, and gave him a lighter one. He afterwards returned to his apartments, and he repaired to the royal entertainment in the great hall of the Archbishop's Palace.

4.—LONDON.—The Marquis of Hastings took the oaths and his seat in the House of Lords, on his return from Malta. He entered the House, according to the customary forms, with a Peer on each side of him, namely, the Marquis of Thomond and the Marquis of Aylesbury, and presented his patent, &c, to the Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Norfolk (a Catholic Peer) attended in the House of Lords in peer's robes, by virtue of his hereditary office of Earl Marshal of England. The Marquis of Hastings appeared to be in good health. The Lord Chancellor, and several other peers from both sides of the House, extended to him a most cordial reception. We need hardly repeat the rumoured cause of the Marquis's speedy return from Malta, namely, that it is preparatory to his being appointed, at no distant day, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

SOUTHAMPTON.—Marshall Macdonald, one of Buonaparte's favourite generals, landed here this morning, from the Camilla steam-packet, and passed through for Scotland.

#### LEITH DOCKS.

7.—EDINBURGH.—An extraordinary meeting of the Town Council was held, when the Lord Provost stated to the meeting, that he had, on Monday night, received, from London, a proposition of the first importance to the city, mentioning that Government was inclined to grant a loan of the whole sums borrowed by the city on account of the docks at Leith

at the rate of 3 per cent., on condition of a sinking fund being created for the redemption of the capital of 2 per cent. per annum, payable along with the interest. The sums borrowed on account of the docks are,

Three several sums of  
L.80,000 each, under  
different acts of Parlia-  
ment. . . . . L.240,000

From Government, under  
the 45th Geo. III. . . . . 25,000

L.265,000

To enable the Lords of the Treasury to carry this transaction into effect, his Lordship stated, that it was proposed immediately to bring a bill into Parliament, authorising the restriction of the interest on the second sum to 3 per cent., and the issue by way of loan of the first to be secured in the same manner as the L.25 000 upon the whole dues of the Port of Leith, including both harbour and dock dues.

That the operation of the sinking fund of 2 per cent., payable along with the interest, was to extinguish the capital sum in 31 years, at which period the whole fens would become the absolute property of the community, and the dock duties be restricted to such a sum as would be sufficient for the maintenance of the works. In the meantime, the sums the City of Edinburgh will have annually to provide, would be the following:—

The restricted interest of the  
L.25,000, at 3 per cent. . . . . L.750  
Interest of L.240,000, at 3  
per cent. . . . . 7200  
Sinking fund 2 per cent. on do. 4800

L.12,750

over and above maintaining the works. So soon as the rates shall have increased, his Lordship remarked, to a sum equal to the above payment of L.12,750, and all the charges, the

surplus, whatever it might be, would be applied, in the first place, in replacing such advances as the city might have made from the date of the loan on account of the expenses of management and repairs, and also on account of the stipulated sinking fund, and such farther surplus as there might be, would be applied also towards the reduction of the debt.

The benefit held out to Government for granting this accommodation, his Lordship observed, was, that the city of Edinburgh should make over to the public the ground required for the Naval Yard, and build as much of the West Pier, proposed by Mr Chapman, engineer, as may be requisite for the purpose of that establishment.

His Lordship, after making the above statement, said, that he considered the measure as one of the highest importance both to the city and the town of Leith, and should the Council approve of it, he would immediately proceed to London, in order to endeavour to get the same carried through.

— Official intelligence has reached this city, that the man Murray, who was lately tried before the High Court of Justiciary, for robbing the Stirling mail at Kirkliston, but acquitted, was, after being removed from the Calton Hill jail, conveyed directly to the Hulks, where he was identified as a felon returned from transportation without lawful cause, and immediately reshipped for Botany Bay.

7.—PARIS.—This day the King of France was invested with the order of the Garter. The king pronounced the oath with the modifications required by the difference of religion. Sir George Naylor took from his Majesty the sword he wore to deliver to him that of the order, which, with

the star in diamonds, the garter on which the words "Honi soit qui mal y pense," also in diamonds, and the mantle, are estimated at 1,500,000 francs. The ceremony occupied an hour and a half. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the King's household were present.

General Count de Segur, author of the History of Napoleon; M. Guy Lussac, the celebrated chemist, and M. Arago, the celebrated mathematician and astronomer, have been, with several other persons, appointed officers of the Legion of Honour.—*Constitutionnel*.

14.—LONDON.—Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, accompanied by Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, appeared the other night in the House of Lords on the steps of the throne, and attracted much attention. He is a rather slim, middle-sized man, with a round, quiet, and but little expressive countenance, and does not seem more than fifty years old. He was simply dressed in black, without any orders. Viscount Melville and Lord Beresford went over to him, and conversed with him for a considerable time.

17.—EDINBURGH.—The members of the Town Council have been waited upon by the agent of the Right Honourable W. Dundas, present member for the city, and solicited for their support of that gentleman at the next general election. Sir John Marjoribanks also has stated his intention of becoming a candidate for the honour of representing the city, in a circular addressed to the members of the Town Council.

17.—EDINBURGH NEW COURTS' BILL.—The bill to provide for the erection of new buildings for the Courts in Edinburgh has been printed. It refers to the 46, 48, and 56, George III. and states that the object is to provide suitable accommodation for the Jury Court, the offices con-

nected with the Court of Exchequer, for the preservation of the records he longing thereto, as also for the High Court of Admiralty, and for the Court of Commissaries, and for the farther accommodation of the Courts of Session and Justiciary, and to improve and widen the access to the said courts, and to remove certain houses in the vicinity of the same. The Chief Commissioner and one Baron of Exchequer are added to the existing body of trustees. These persons, with the approbation of the Treasury, are empowered to erect such buildings as may be necessary for these purposes. The expense is to be paid out of the duties and revenues assigned by the acts of 7th and 17th Anne, for keeping up the Court of Session. The trustees may buy up such areas and houses on the south and east sides of the Parliament Square as they deem requisite, except the banking office of Sir W. Forbes and Co. Authority is given to make the present Exchequer Court the Jury Court, and to erect new buildings for the latter. It is provided, that if the Advocates' Library is made over to the Writers to the Signet, the former may be permitted to erect a new library on the area west of the Parliament House. All contracts made by trustees, guardians, corporations, &c. in furtherance of these objects, are to be valid, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding. If the purchase of property wanted cannot be effected by private agreement, it may be submitted to the award of a jury. The act authorises the shutting up of the passage called the Back Stairs, and other passages leading from the south or east into the Square.

CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE NEW LONDON BRIDGE.

LONDON.—Great preparations were

made by the committee for the accommodation of spectators. Tickets of admission to the coffer-dam were emitted. At the bottom of each ticket there was a notice to signify that the hours of admission were between twelve and two, and not a few of the fortunate holders were extremely punctual in attending at the first mentioned hour, for the purpose of securing the best places that were to be had. They were admitted at either end of the old bridge, where the most judicious arrangements were made to keep off the crowd as much as possible, and passed on till they came to an opening that had been made in the balustrade, leading to the platform that surrounded the arena of the proposed ceremony. The whole of this arena was, of course, formed in the bed of the river, being the spot on which it is proposed to build the first pier, on the southern side of the river. The greatest care had been taken in driving the piles to render them water-tight, and there was the farther precaution of a double row of piles with a broad embankment of clay well rammed between. The exertions that had been used for this purpose, had so far ensured success, that during the whole of the day, from twelve till six, it was scarcely found necessary to work the steam engine a single stroke. On passing the aperture in the balustrade, which has already been mentioned, the company immediately arrived on a most extensive platform, from which two staircases divided—the one for the pink tickets, which introduced the possessor to the lower stage of the works, and the other for the white ones, of less privilege, and therefore more numerous. The coffer-dam altogether contained four floors, calculated to accommodate about 2000 spectators, and there was certainly that number present. The

whole of the interior of these works was of materials, and fixed in a manner, highly creditable to the committee who had the management of the business. Not only were the timbers, whether horizontal or upright, of an immense thickness, but they were so securely and judiciously bolted and pinned together, that the liability to any danger or accident was entirely done away with. The very awning which covered the whole coffer-dam, to protect from the sun or rain, had there been any, was raised on a little forest of scaffolding poles, which, anywhere but by the side of the huge blocks of timber which were introduced immediately beneath, would have appeared of an unusual stability. In fact, the whole of the interior of the coffer-dam was arranged as securely and as comfortably as though it were intended to serve the time of all the Lord Mayors for the next century to come, while on the outside, in the river, every necessary precaution was taken to prevent any boats approaching so near as to meddle with the works. With the exception of the lower floor, which, as has already been mentioned, was only attainable by the possession of pink tickets, and a small portion of the floor next above it, the whole was without reservation, and every one, on coming in, took possession of the unoccupied place he liked best. The seats were all covered with crimson cloth, and the main timbers covered with flags, brought from the Woolwich dock-yard, so that, with the exception of the railways and some of the uprights, the place looked more like a drawing-room than the receptacle of company for a day. The size of the place altogether was 95 feet long and 35 feet broad, and the lower floor exactly 40 feet below high water. The design of the new bridge, with which the head of the admis-



sion tickets was ornamented, is striking for its contrast with the present gothic edifice, whose place it is so soon to supply ; it consists of but five elliptical arches, which embrace the whole span of the river, with the exception of a double pier on either side, and between each arch a single pier of corresponding design : the whole is more remarkable for its simplicity than its magnificence ; so much, indeed, does the former quality appear to have been consulted, that it has not a single balustrade from beginning to end.

The stone having been moved into its place by a pully and levers, the Lord Mayor adjusted it with the usual masonic forms. The sword and mace were placed crosswise on it, and the foundation of the new bridge was declared to be then laid down, about five minutes before five o'clock. The band instantly struck up *God save the King*, of which the company and the children sang the usual verses. His Royal Highness the Duke of York also joined in the national anthem. At the conclusion of the song, the company gave three cheers for the New London Bridge ; and the guns of the Honourable Artillery Company, on a given signal, fired a salute. The several members of the corporation exchanged mutual congratulations on the happy event, and every face wore a smile of pleasure at its consummation.

The company gave three cheers for his Royal Highness the Duke of York ; three for Old England ; and three for the architect. The company then dispersed, and the civic procession returned in an order the reverse of that in which they had arrived.

20.—LONDON—EXECUTION.—This morning, Probert, the noted associate in murder of Thurtell and Hunt, suffered the last sentence of the law in front of the Old Bailey for the

crime of horse-stealing. The order for his execution was received on Tuesday. When the awful news were communicated to him, he betrayed much disappointment and anguish, but sat down to write to his aged mother and wife, praying them to visit him. They did not bid him a final farewell until Sunday afternoon. The wife appeared to be bereft of reason. The wretched man, who had been pertinaciously clinging to life to the last, is said, in the course of the evening, to have discovered some disposition to attend to the admonitions of the reverend ordinary, who most fervently exhorted him to abandon all hope of human mercy, and direct his thoughts to a preparation for a future state. He passed a night of feverish anxiety and alarm. His mind seemed suspended betwixt hope and despair. To all who approached, he put the same question as to the hope of a reprieve, and indulged in the same lamentations at the rigour of his fate. He was dressed in a black coat and waistcoat, corduroy breeches, and white cotton stockings. His portly and well-formed figure stood six feet three or four inches. He looked many years older than when seen at Hertford. His hair had turned from black to grey ; his eyes, which are large and full, but incapable of any varying expression, did not indicate the disturbed state of his mind ; but there were deep traces of grief and care upon his visage. His lips were parched, and despair had already spread the hue of death-like paleness over his face. His first care upon entering was to enquire of Mr Sheriff Brown, if there was not yet hope ? The worthy sheriff solemnly assured him that the period of hope had passed ; and that he had not the slightest ground to expect that aught would intervene betwixt him and the awful fate to which he was summoned.

ed. Mr Baker seconded the efforts of the sheriff to induce Probert to abandon all worldly hope. The wretched man seemed incapable of resolution to meet his end—he had still, to all appearance, a lingering thought of life. His countenance, however, underwent a visible alteration as the cords were being tightened round his arms and body. The reality of the preparations, of which he was the object, seemed now first to strike with the force of conviction on his mind. He faintly moved his lips, but without utterance, as though giving vent to the silent ejaculations of despair. In passing the narrow passage open to the air, which leads from the condemned cells to the debtors' side of the building, the prison bell tolled the death knell, and the reverend clergyman commenced in a loud voice to read the funeral service. Probert was observed upon this to falter in his step; he appeared, indeed, scarcely able to support himself. It was only, however, in the last stage of the procession, in the room into which the wooden steps to the scaffold enter by the debtors' door, that hope seemed to become extinct within him. Here, seated whilst his companions were taken one by one to the drop, for the purpose of having the fatal noose adjusted, all fortitude seemed to forsake him. Mr Baker read a part of the church service: Probert inarticulately joined in prayer; he was unable to keep his eyes open; and as the clamour of the multitude assailed his ears from without, his head fell back against the wall. In this state he remained, apparently incapable of motion or utterance, till the last moment was expired, and he was summoned to mount the scaffold. In a few moments more the cap was drawn over his eyes, his lips were still seen to move, and his voice was now heard

above the noise of the crowd, in accents of despair, and supplications for mercy from the Divine avenger of evil. The crowd lingered, although it was less dense, until the last observance of the law was complied with.

## JULY.

1.—**INVERNESS.**—Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, arrived at the Caledonian Hotel here, on Sunday last, to dinner. Previously to his arrival here, the Marshal visited the field of Culloden, in this neighbourhood, where, it is said, his father fought in the army of the Pretender. In the course of the evening, he rode out in a carriage to the Caledonian Canal, and early next morning proceeded on his journey to the West Highlands, by the Comet steamboat, intending to go by the canal to Fort-William, and from thence to Arisaig, Oban, &c. where it is reported a revenue cutter waits to take him on to South Uist, the birth-place of his father. He will afterwards visit Staffa, Iona, and other celebrated places in that neighbourhood. When on the field of Culloden, he expressed his surprise at the imbecility which dictated the choice of that spot for the position of the Pretender's army. No spot could be worse chosen for the position of an irregular body of men acting on the defensive against regular troops; and the wonder was increased, the General observed, when the neighbouring high grounds behind the water of Nairn afforded as fine a position as could be wished for, to obtain the objects, and suit the circumstances, of the Jacobite forces.

8.—This day, Marshal Macdonald landed from the Swift revenue cruiser, at Armadale Castle, Isle of Sky, about seven in the evening, and was

met on the shore by many gentlemen. At this time, a salute was fired from the cutter, which was returned from the castle. The party then proceeded by the beautiful walks which lead through the woods of Armadale, preceded by Lord Macdonald's piper. On coming near the castle, two hundred men of Lord Macdonald's tenantry, who were drawn up on an eminence, gave the Marshal three cheers, waving their bonnets in the air. The Marshal, much pleased with their appearance, went amongst them, and requested Macdonald of Staffa to address them in Gaelic, stating his delight at being amongst them. He told them that he had the warmest feelings of attachment to the Highlands, for, independently of its being the birth-place of his father, it was the nurse of heroes, and the grave of tyrannizing foes. The Marshal called for a glass, and drank, in mountain spirits, the health of their noble landlord, with all the honours, which was warmly pledged by the whole group. The party then adjourned to the castle, where a sumptuous entertainment was prepared for them.

#### EDINBURGH NEW HIGH SCHOOL.

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh, patrons of the High School, having, in consequence of various representations made to them, contemplated, for some time, the removal of that institution from its present site to one more convenient for the inhabitants of those districts of the town from which it is found that there have been, for many years, by far the greatest number of pupils attending it, have now fixed upon a situation, for the erection of a new building for this metropolitan and national object, on the south bank of the Calton Hill, adjoining to and north of the Regent Road, and immediately east of the

rock called the Miller's Knowe, a space containing about two English acres, having the advantages of easy access and good air, and, besides the inclosure to be made round the building, the use of the whole of the hill for play-ground to the pupils.

BRAZIL.—The following is an interesting account of the execution of three individuals, concerned in a late revolt at Pernambuco:—"You may remember, in one of my letters, I mentioned an American, by name Rodgers, of New York, who was condemned to death, and recommended to the mercy of the Emperor. The answer arrived on the 2d instant, ordering that all that were condemned should be executed, which sealed the fate of this young man and his two companions. The 12th inst. at eight A.M. was the time appointed for their execution, and on that morning I went to see the execution. They passed within a few yards of me towards their seats, dressed in white gowns, and unbound. Rodgers took the middle chair, Nicolon the right, and Le Mont the left. After sitting a few minutes, they rose, and Nicolon began and made a long speech, after which, Rodgers and his companion also addressed the multitude. While one was speaking, the others bowed their heads in affirmation, and, after thus speaking about half an hour, they took their seats. The executioner then tied their hands and ankles with a small cord, and drew caps over their eyes. Twenty-four soldiers were then called out, and halted within thirty yards. Rodgers then gave the signal to fire by dropping his handkerchief. They fired, and Nicolon fell. The sight was dreadful. Rodgers, springing on his feet, cried out, "For God's sake, kill me quickly!" and taking hold of his gown, he held it up to show the multitude the bullet holes through it.

The Mont kept his seat. The soldiers then fired a second round, and Rodgers fell. Le Mont fell immediately afterwards. The soldiers then ran up to the bodies, and discharged the third round into them. Their speeches were never published; they related principally to their love of freedom, advising the Pernambucans to endeavour for freedom once more, and conjuring them to beware of the Emperor.

13.—An aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics was held in Clarendon Street Chapel, Dublin—Lord Gormanstown in the chair. The report was read of the committee appointed to consider whether there can be framed, without any violation of the existing law, a permanent body to assist in the conducting or management of such portion of Catholic affairs, as it may be by law permitted to have managed, without resorting to the too frequent holding of aggregate meetings, and, in particular, without any way infringing on a recent statute.

The report contained a plan of a new Catholic Association. The intended body is to be open to the members of all the religious forms of faith allowed by law; no oath is to be taken, or declaration made. The new Catholic Association shall not assume, or, in any manner, or by any means or contrivances, exercise the power of acting for the purpose, or under the pretence of procuring the redress of grievances in church or state, or the alteration of any matters by law established, in church or state; or for the purpose, or under the pretence, of carrying on or assisting in the prosecution or defence of causes, civil or criminal.

It shall not be composed of different divisions or branches, or different parts acting in any manner separate or distinct from each other; and

there shall be no separate or distinct secretary or delegate, or other officer selected or appointed by or for any particular part, or authorized to act for any particular part; neither shall the New Catholic Association communicate or correspond; neither shall its constitution contain any provision for communication or correspondence with any other society, committee, or body of persons; neither shall it, in any respect, act in any manner inconsistently with the statute of the 6th George IV. chap. 4.

The Association is formed merely for the purpose of public and private charity—to promote public peace and tranquillity, private harmony and concord—encourage a liberal, enlightened, and religious system of education—ascertain the number of the population of Ireland, and the relative number of the members of the various Christian persuasions in the country, and the number of children in the course of education; to devise the means of erecting suitable Catholic churches, and establishing Catholic burial grounds—to promote improvements in science and manufactures—to encourage a liberal and enlightened press—to circulate works calculated to promote just principles, kindness, and toleration, and to vindicate the principles of the Catholics against slanderous attacks—to procure and refute detailed statements of the charges made against the Catholics in the petitions presented to Parliament in the recent session.

15.—PARIS.—General Count Segur, feeling himself offended by the personalities contained in the work of General Gourgaud, has demanded satisfaction of him. Yesterday, the gendarmes prevented the duel, but it has taken place to-day. General Gourgaud had for his seconds General Count Pajol and Colonel Duchamp. Those who accompanied

Count Segur, were General Count Lobau, and General Count Dejian, formerly both aides-de-camp to Buonaparte. M. de Segur first received a slight wound in the arm. M. Gourgaud then received one in the body. The seconds then decided unanimously that the combat was finished, and that the affair should not be carried any further.

#### FIGHT BETWEEN THE LION NERO AND SIX DOGS, AT WARWICK.

26.—WARWICK.—The place chosen for this extraordinary combat, was the factory-yard in which the first stage was erected for the fight between Ward and Caannon. Two sides of the yard were formed by high buildings, the windows of which looked upon the area, and the vacant spaces left were filled up by Mr Wombwell's collection of wild beasts, which were exhibited in their respective cages, on the one side, and by paintings and canvass on the other, so that, in fact, a compact square was formed, which was securely hidden from external observation.

The centre of the square was occupied by the den—a large iron cage, the bars of which were sufficiently far asunder to permit the dogs to pass in and out, while the caravan in which Nero was usually confined, was drawn up close to it.

The dogs, six in number, were thus distinguished by names—1. Turk, a brown coloured dog; 2. Captain, a fallow and white dog, with a skewbald face; 3. Tiger, a brown dog, with white legs; 4. Nettle, a little brindled bitch, with black head; 5. Rose, brindle-pied bitch; 6. Nelson, a white dog, with brindled spots.

The following were the conditions under which it was agreed the combat was to be decided:—

1st, Three dogs at once to be slipped at Nero.

2d, If one or any of them turn tail, he or they to be considered as beaten, and no one of the other remaining three to be allowed to attack him until twenty minutes shall have expired, in order to give the lion rest; for he must be allowed to beat the first three, one by one, or as he may choose, before the remaining three shall be started.

3d, After the expiration of the stipulated time, the remaining three dogs to start according to the foregoing rules, and be regulated as the umpires shall adjudge.

At seven o'clock, Mr Wombwell announced his intention to begin, and immediately proceeded to enter the den, which he was enabled to do with perfect facility through the railings. His appearance was hailed with applause. The shutters which had been put in front of Nero's caravan were then removed, and discovered a man confined with him. The noble animal threw a sort of placid and inquiring look around, but seemed quite unconscious of the scene in which he was about to form so prominent an actor. The bars which separated the caravan from the den, were then lifted up, and Nero went into the latter, to join his master, who, like a second Daniel, walked about with great gravity, armed only with a small switch. Mr Edwards was then desired to bring forth his dogs, and he immediately came forward with the three which were to make the first assault. They were all confined with collars and iron chains. Edwards himself held Turk, a brown coloured dog, weighing about 36 lbs. This was the animal which had been fighting another dog, and its head was severely lacerated and much swelled. Wedgbury held Captain, the fallow white dog, which weighed about 50 lbs., and Davis handled Tiger, the brown dog with white legs, which weighed near

ly 60 lbs. Turk was a thorough-bred bull, and the other two were half-bred, between a bull and a mastiff.

The words "Let go" were given, and the dogs were brought half way up the platform, while Nero crouched at full length with his face towards them, and his paws straight before him; but there was nothing of hostility in his look, nor did he seem to apprehend any danger. At last Turk was let slip, and with the rapidity of lightning he rushed up the platform, through the bars, and directly into the lion's mouth, which was opened to receive him. Captain and Tiger were instantly with him, and seizing Nero by the nose, forced him to rise, and thus extricated Turk, who did not seem to have received any injury. Nero now turned round to evade his assailants, and for a moment freed his head from their attack; but Turk rushed to his front, and dashing at his under lip, seized it with a firm grasp. Captain and Tiger came up to his assistance and followed his example; but Nero pawed them off, and struck his talons into their hides; and then making another desperate effort, once more extricated himself, roaring with asfright and pain. Turk, however, was not to be shook off, and with the most dauntless courage, he darted at Nero's nose, and succeeded in making a pin, while Captain caught his lip. Tiger also made a rush; but he caught rather at the shaggy mane of Nero than at the nose; and while in this situation he received a severe slap on the head from Nero's paw, which made a deep incision; he instantly retired to a respectful distance, and contented himself with loud barking, while his more courageous companions continued the attack. Nero broke away, and got to the corner of the den; and if he could have escaped, he no doubt would; for it was

clear he was acting only on the defensive. He never once attempted to bite his assailants, or he must have instantly rendered them powerless. Turk returned to display his uncommon game, and repeatedly pinned the lion. He was well seconded by Captain, but both received severe scratches on the heads and shoulders; and it frequently happened that while one was held by the crook of Nero's claw, which fastened in his ear or skin, the other continued bravely to attack. In vain did Nero endeavour to free himself from his assailants; they continued their attack till at last Turk got into such a position, that Nero actually lay upon him, and held him down with his paw, while he paused for wind. The dogs were also wind-ed, and Captain stood at bay for a few seconds; while Tiger, who proved to be a complete cur, was pulled off the stage. Captain was now encouraged to renew the attack, and he once more darted at Nero's nose. Nero jumped up, and roared with pain, and Turk was set free, and again rushed to the assault. Nero retreated, but was pursued, and, as he sat on his haunches, he was repeatedly bitten by Turk and Captain, in spite of his exertions to put them off with his paws, in which exertion he frequently struck his claws into their skin, and inflicted deep wounds. Nero once more broke away, but was still closely pursued, and more especially by Turk, who, although reduced to a shocking state from the opening of the wounds in his head, and the infliction of new scratches, rushed to his antagonist's nose, and repeatedly held his under-lip in his teeth. Captain was also engaged with great courage; but at this period of the battle, he received such a scratch on the side of the head, that he made up his mind to retreat; and bolting through the railings, was caught by

Wedgbury ; and having turned tail, he was not permitted to return. Turk was now quite alone with Nero, and was still undismayed ; he followed him from corner to corner, and renewed the attack, till at length Nero again got him under his paw on the stage, and held him for some time in a quiescent state. Mr Wombwell, who seemed greatly agitated, now mounted the side of the den to encourage Nero, who regarded him, as we might almost say, with an upbraiding look. Turk at this instant extricated himself from his confined position, and, mangled as he was, renewed the assault, while the spectators cried "Shame ; take him away." Nero, still unconscious of his power, retreated on the defensive, and roared with pain ; and at last Edwards, watching an opportunity, seized Turk by the leg and drew him out, although still disposed to continue the fight, and immediately claimed the victory for the dogs in consequence of the lion having "turned tail." The majority, however, was against so quick a conclusion of the cruel sport, and Nero was destined to sustain another and more ferocious attack, while every care was taken of Turk, who certainly displayed unparalleled bravery from first to last. The assault lasted eleven minutes.

Poor Nero enjoyed a cessation of hostilities : his lips and nose exhibited several marks of the teeth of his assailants, and he was a little distressed ; but still there was nothing of anger in his looks—no lashing of his sides with his tail—nothing of that loud roaring which natural history describes as indicative of the rage of his species.

At a general cry of "Time, time," Mr Edwards received instructions to bring forward the second set of dogs.

The dogs were immediately brought forth. Nettle, a brindled bull bitch,

weighing 32 lbs. ; Rose, a brindle-pied bull bitch, with only one eye, weighing 34 lbs. ; and Nelson, a large white dog, between a bull and a mastiff, weighing 70 lbs. All these dogs were allowed to be better than the first set ; and it was therefore pretty certain that Nero, contrary to the sanguine expectations of Mr Wombwell, would be conquered.

**SECOND ASSAULT.**—Shortly before eight, the new assailants were placed on the platform, held as before by iron chains, till the words "Let go," were given. They manifested the greatest impatience to commence the attack ; while Nero, roused by their howlings, stood in the centre of the den, regarding them with a stedfast look. Nelson was first let loose, and in a second he caught poor Nero by the nose. Nettle and Rose followed, and as quickly made for the same point. Nero roared terrifically, and, as before, endeavoured to paw them off. He succeeded, with some little difficulty, inflicting some severe scratches. He then ran round the bars, as if endeavouring to find an avenue for escape ; but the dogs followed him, and, rushing to his front again, seized him in the tender place ; Rose endeavoured to catch him by the tongue, but only seized his lip. Once more did Nero shake them off, inflicting sundry wounds with his talons ; and the dogs were bleeding in various parts of their heads and bodies. Nero pursued his retreating system, and ran round the den, amidst cries of "He's beaten ; he's beaten !" At this moment he was bleeding profusely from the nose and mouth ; and the seconds of the dogs, watching an opportunity, drew them out, and insisted that they had won. Mr Wombwell denied that his lion was beaten ; and an appeal was made to the umpires ; but there appeared to be only

one in attendance. A good deal of mock and real altercation followed; and at last it was agreed that there should be a

**THIRD ASSAULT.**—And the dogs were for the last time led to the platform, all eager for the affray, and in no respect dismayed by Nero, who, in fact, had only continued his defensive system, making no use whatever of his teeth, and using his paws only to push off his determined assailants.

The dogs, at the signal given, made a simultaneous rush, and at the same instant seized the unhappy Nero by the nose, pinning him at once to the floor. Nero succeeded for a moment in shaking them off, but this tended only to increase his own punishment; for they returned to the assault with renewed ferocity, again pinned him at the same instant, and dragged him, in an exhausted state, close to the railings, where he roared with agony. The victory of the dogs was now evident to all; and Mr Wombwell admitted himself that his lion had no chance. The moment this admission was made, the dogs were taken away, and Nero was left alone. The poor fellow stood up, evidently worn out in spirit and body; the blood flowed copiously from his wounds, and, as he paced slowly backwards and forwards, he seemed to be in terror every moment, lest the attack should be renewed. The last two assaults did not occupy more than five minutes.

## AUGUST.

**2.—SECOND LION FIGHT.**—On Saturday evening, the fight (which was for 100 sovereigns a-side) took place in the Factory-yard, Warwick, in the presence of about 1500 persons.

At a few minutes past seven in the evening, Wallace's caravan was placed beside the iron cage, and he entered it with great majesty. At half past seven, the two dogs, Ball and Tinker, were brought to the scratch; the former a tawny and white dog, 2½ years old, and weighing 41lbs., and the latter a red dog, 4 years old, and 46lbs. weight. The dogs mounted the stage with great spirit. Wallace, who was at this time crouching down, on hearing the cry of the dogs, instantly sprang to the side of the cage whence the noise proceeded. Both dogs, although excited to the highest pitch of fury by the persons who handled them, appeared overawed by the terrific appearance of the royal beast, and remained for four or five minutes upon the platform, without making any attempt to enter the cage; at length Ball going too near the bars, he was forced into it by the lion's paw. The dog had scarcely got upon his legs ere the lion caught him in his mouth, and carried him round the arena for several minutes, as a cat would do a mouse. Tinker, who, during the whole of this period, was kept at bay by the lion's paw, made many ineffectual attempts to seize Wallace by the lip; at length becoming more annoying, he succeeded in attracting the attention of the kingly beast, who, laying down poor Ball, then nearly dead, in one corner of the cage, directed his fury upon his other antagonist. Wallace furiously grasped him between the neck and the shoulder, and but for the timely assistance of one of the keepers, who held out a piece of raw meat to entice him from his prey, would have killed him on the spot. This attack did not occupy more than ten minutes. Notwithstanding the result of the last combat, the lion was freely backed at 5 to 1 at the begin-



ning of this attack, and at its close many bets were offered at 50 to 1, but there were no takers.

**SECOND ATTACK.**—Twenty minutes having elapsed, the next two dogs, Turpin and Sweep (the former 63lbs., and the latter nearly 40lbs. weight,) were brought to the platform. Wallace instantly rose upon his legs, eager for the contest. Both dogs rushed in in gallant style. Sweep boldly attacked the lion in front, and hung by his mane, the other dog griping one of his hind legs. Wallace threw Sweep away from him with considerable violence, and turning round to Turpin, seized him by the throat. Turpin having regained his liberty, made the quickest use of it, by running away to his kennel, leaving his companion to finish the combat in the best way he could. Wallace grasped Sweep over the loins, and would have killed him in a few minutes, had the dog not been drawn out by stratagem. This attack lasted about five minutes.

**THIRD ATTACK.**—This attack did not take place till ten minutes after the stipulated time, (viz. twenty minutes,) in consequence of an attempt made on the part of the populace to gain admission into the inclosure without paying. During the cessation of hostilities, Wallace walked round his cage for some minutes in surly silence, and then couched upon his fore-paws, none of the keepers daring to approach him. The remaining dogs, Billy and Tiger, were then brought to the stage. Both of them at first seemed terrified, and were a long time before they would enter the cage. Tiger, having received some little punishment in the late contest with Nero, went in first, but as soon as the lion approached him, he made a precipitate retreat. Billy, who had only got half way through the bars, also retraced

his steps on the platform. Wallace, disappointed of his prey, became furious, and attempted to drag them through the bars with his paws. After a few seconds, (notwithstanding it was contrary to the conditions,) the dogs were again put into the cage. Tiger made an attempt to seize the lion by the nose, but receiving a severe repulse from one of his fore-paws, barked, and then made his exit. Billy singly maintained the combat for a short time with great spirit, but Wallace at length seized him by the loins, and kept him within the grasp of his jaws, till the keeper threw a piece of raw flesh into the den, which tempting him, he loosed hold of his antagonist, and allowed him to escape with life.

As soon as the cage was cleared of his opponents, Wallace, disappointed of his prey, betrayed his anger by lashing his sides with his tail, and roaring tremendously. His jaws were covered with crimson foam, and he continued to stride the arena from one end to the other for several minutes. He appeared not in the least exhausted, and, in the opinion of many present, was in a condition to have coped with at least as many dogs more, without difficulty. Ball died a few seconds after he was taken out of the cage, and Tinker expired next morning. Tiger and Turpin are but little hurt; but Sweep is in a very dangerous state. Billy is expected to recover. Nelson and Captain, who were engaged with Nero, are not expected to live. The whole receipts (on Tuesday and Saturday) amounted to between L.500 and L.600, out of which Mr Wombwell will have to pay for the use of the buildings, yard, &c. L.50, and the amount of any damage sustained. The expences connected with the fight will amount altogether to about L.400.

Wallace was whelped at Edinburgh

about six years ago. He lost his mother when he was two days old, and was suckled and reared by a bull bitch. The sire and dam of Nero died at the age of ten years old. They were caught together, when somewhat more than a year old, in a trap, made in a wood, on the coast of Barbary. They were considered the finest animals of their kind ever imported from the wilds of Africa, being the first specimens of the black-maned species that were introduced into this country.

Wombwell, the proprietor of the lions, finding that such a general abhorrence has arisen against him, or more probably that the remuneration has fallen short of his expectations, in a letter to a public journal, declares that "another exhibition of such a scene shall never be encouraged or promoted" by him.

6.—MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.—The Marquis and Marchioness of Hastings arrived at their ancient seat, Loudon Castle. At Cumnock, Auchinleck, and Mauchline, through which they passed on their way to the castle, the inhabitants hailed them with every demonstration of respect. On leaving Cumnock, his Lordship and suite were escorted by a detachment of the 2d regiment of Ayrshire yeomanry cavalry, which was relieved at Mauchline by a detachment of the 1st regiment. The 2d regiment, and part of the 1st regiment, together with the Kilmarnock volunteer infantry under Major Parker, formed in the park at Loudon Castle, and, after a discharge of cannon had announced his Lordship's approach, saluted him in turn as he passed. His Lordship and Lady Hastings were greeted on their arrival by several gentlemen of the county, and an immense concourse of people, who had crowded to the spot to testify their joy.

KILLARNEY.—Sir Walter Scott

arrived here yesterday about the middle of the day. In the afternoon he visited the venerable ruins of Muc-russ Abbey, accompanied by his two daughters, Mrs Lockhart and Miss Scott, the celebrated Miss Edgeworth, Mr Edgeworth, Mr Lockhart, and Captain Scott. It is said that Sir Walter expressed himself much pleased with the scenes which this ancient and romantic spot affords. The Poet was early on the lakes this morning, the same friends accompanying him as yesterday, except Mrs Lockhart, who was alarmed at the roughness of the waters. Indeed there blew a stiff north-westerly breeze nearly all the day, but otherwise the weather was very favourable. The party visited the Upper Lake, waking the slumbering echo in her native rocks by the tones of the bugle, or by the less harmonious, though more grand sounds occasioned by the explosion of gunpowder.

There were several parties on the lake, all anxious to catch a sight of the "Great Unknown." Sir Walter dined upon that beautiful gem of the lake called Dina's Island.

9.—CORK.—This justly celebrated character arrived this day at the Imperial hotel, on his way from Killarney. He was accompanied by his son, Captain Scott, of the 15th hussars, and lady; Mr Lockhart, (Sir Walter's son-in-law,) Miss Scott, Miss Edgeworth and sister. After partaking of some refreshment, Sir Walter, with his fair and accomplished fellow-travellers, proceeded to Blarney, the celebrated groves of which he was anxious to see. We understand the party leave this city in the course of the afternoon.—*Southern Reporter*.

In the Royal Court at Guernsey on the 6th instant, a circumstance came on which kept the Court in a roar. It was an action by Sophy

Martin against Miss Anne Oliver, for the care and maintenance of three cats for near nine months. Miss Oliver being obliged to go to London for some time, engaged Sophy to take care of her cats and feed them properly, for which she agreed to pay her two shillings per week. On her return in May last, Sophy brought in her account, amounting to L.3, 13s. 3d. which Miss Oliver disputed, on the ground that Sophy had neglected the cats so much, that two of them had died a long time before her return, and that she had also attempted to impose upon her, by substituting another cat instead of one of her own that died, and that this strange cat had been maintained at her expense, and that she had some trouble to get rid of it after she came back. The bailiff and two of the Judges were in favour of the plaintiff, and allowed her demand.

A Dutch Jew, named Samuel Bondny, lately died at Amsterdam, leaving funds to build and equip six ships of the line of 74 guns each. There were found in his house 44 casks full of coins of all the Princes in the world. A month was occupied in taking out and arranging these coins, and eight days in counting them. This man had for a long time followed the armies of France, visited all Europe, Africa, and America, and some of the establishments of Asia. He was ninety-six years of age.

#### DESPERATE ATTACK ON A REVENUE PARTY.

On the morning of the 21st Aug. Mr Goff, supervisor of Ramelton, having received information of a still at work in the townland of Kilmacrenan, proceeded thence, with Ensign M'Coy, of the 2d royal veteran battalion, and a party, consisting of a serjeant and 15 men. Having seized the still, and

while in the act of destroying the potale and vessels, a numerous mob surrounded the party, and demanded the seizure to be given up, with which demand Mr Goff peremptorily refused to comply, when they immediately began to manifest a disposition to attack and disarm the party. Mr M'Coy ordered his men to retreat, which they did, for a short distance from the distillery, where they were assailed in the most furious manner with showers of stones and other missiles. Mr M'Coy was twice knocked down with stones, and received a violent blow with a spade. The soldiers were then ordered to fire, when three of the most daring and hardened offenders fell, two of them being killed on the spot, and the third dreadfully wounded. Of the soldiers, one had his arm broken by a stone, and seven were severely beaten; however, the assailants dispersed, and the seizure was brought into Ramelton without further opposition. Had it not been for the steadiness and cool intrepidity of Mr M'Coy, the officer commanding the party, together with the discipline evinced by the men on this occasion, the entire party would have been disarmed and murdered on the spot.—*Belfast Chronicle*.

22.—WINDERMERE.—About noon to-day, our lake began to exhibit symptoms of gaiety, much surpassing anything that has been witnessed here during the lapse of many years. About thirty boats, sailing and towing, mustered in the Bay of Bowness, and the command being taken by Professor Wilson, they proceeded in line to Storrs, where Mrs Bolton, and her distinguished party, were ready to join the fleet in her splendid barge. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs was hailed by a universal burst of cheering, nor was the reception of the Great Northern genius less enthusiastic. As the flotilla entered

Bowness Bay, the church bells rung a joyful peal, and the firing of cannon from shore and on the lake awoke the mountain echoes. Mr Canning and Sir Walter Scott sat opposite to each other in the barge, and the variety of evolutions performed by the flotilla, gave opportunity to many hundred eager eyes, to catch a glimpse of the illustrious strangers. The spectacle altogether was most beautiful, and possessed an indescribable charm over the feelings and imagination. In the course of an hour, almost every boat on the lake had joined this unexpected regatta, and, on Mrs Bolton's barge taking final farewell of the festivities, nine cheers were given, in good nautical style, by the whole fleet. Sir Walter Scott, it is said, leaves our lake to-morrow, in company with our own celebrated poet, Mr Wordsworth, for Keswick, on a visit to Mr Southey; Mr Canning remains for a fortnight longer at Storrs.

MADRID.—The famous Empecinado has been executed at Koa, in old Castile. It will be remembered that the Empecinado was the general who first conceived and followed up with such admirable success, the *Guerilla* system, to which the destruction of Buonaparte's armies in Spain was so materially owing. *Capape*, who was confined in the ancient seminary of nobles, now one of the quarters of the royal guard, has been transferred to the public prison.

#### PARTICULARS OF THE ARREST AND EXECUTION OF BESSIERES.

28. — MADRID. — Our Gazette publishes this day the following dispatch, addressed to the Minister of War:—

“I have the honour to announce to your Excellency, that on the 23d, at noon, the traitor Bessieres and his associates were arrested in the village

of Zafrilla, by a detachment of horse grenadiers belonging to the Royal Guard, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Don Saturnino Albuin, whom I had ordered, as I apprised you in my former dispatches, to pursue them till they were exterminated. Lient.-Col. Albuin has this moment arrived with the criminals at my head-quarters, where I had taken by anticipation the necessary measures to carry into full effect the orders of the King, our Master, communicated to me by your Excellency, the entire execution of which I shall report to-morrow, in order that you may transmit the same for the information of his Majesty.

“God preserve you many years.

“Head-Quarters, Molina de Arragona, Aug. 25, 1825, at 9 o'clock in the evening.

(Signed) “D'ESPAGNE.”

#### SECOND DISPATCH.

“The sovereign decrees of his Majesty of the 17th and 20th of this month, and the orders communicated to me by your excellency, dated the 25th, have already been executed. As soon as Don Georges Bessieres, and the men in his suite, had been taken by the troops under my command, which had been in pursuit of them, they brought them to my head-quarters, where they had arrived yesterday at nine in the evening, as I have already had the honour to announce to you by my dispatch of yesterday. The decree of his Majesty was immediately made known to the chief, and the seven accomplices of his crime. All the spiritual aids of our holy and consoling religion were administered to them, and when they had confessed the frightful crime of which they had been guilty, they were shot. The execution took place this day, 26th, at half past eight in the morning. They died like Chris-

tians, repenting their high treason, and praying to God, that their punishment might serve as an example, and prevent the recurrence of a similar attempt. The troops of the royal Guard, infantry and cavalry, and a squadron of the 1st regiment of the line (formerly Santiago,) which was at my head-quarters, have been witnesses of this execution, and have defiled before the dead bodies.

(Signed) "Count D'ESPAGNE.  
"Molina D'Arragon, Aug. 26, 1825."

Bessieres had published a list of proscriptions of seventeen persons whom they were to use all possible means to make away with, and the name of M. Zea Bermudez was the first. Arragon seems to be the province on which this General and his party had more particularly fixed their views. The Captain General has acted with as much firmness as prudence; and this part of the country, after a momentary ferment, has returned to a state of the most perfect tranquillity.

The death of Paul Iglesias has produced among the people of Madrid opposite sensations. When they saw arrive, drawn on a hurdle, a man whom they had known as one of the most flourishing citizens of the capital, a general sentiment of pity was manifested. But Iglesias mounted the scaffold, and having already the cord round his neck, asked to speak. 'Spaniards, my brothers,' said he, 'I have been devoted to liberty; I die like a Christian; I have received the aids of religion; pray for me. I die for my country—for you all; learn from me to die with courage.' Here the executioner threw himself off with him, and Iglesias, already suspended, cried with a loud voice, 'Liberty or Death.' At this unexpected incident, cries of 'Long live the King,' burst from all parts. In the midst of these shouts an exclamation of an opposite character was

heard. It was with difficulty that the individual from whom it proceeded was saved from the hands of the people.

#### DINNER BY THE COUNTY OF AYR TO THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

31. — AYR. — This occasion has given rise to a greater sensation than any of a similar nature we remember within the county; and this feeling could not possibly fail to be excited when the combination of circumstances with which it was attended is considered. The distinguished character of the venerable nobleman entertained—the high station in the county of the entertainers—and the great preparations for the entertainment—all united to attract the attention of the public.—The splendid public rooms in the county buildings were fitted up in an elegant manner some days before. The stewards were sedulous in discharging their duty, and no cost or trouble was spared in procuring the most sumptuous banquet.

About five o'clock yesterday afternoon, the Marquis and suite arrived at the King's Arms inn. The populace, collected to an immense extent on the street, greeted his arrival with enthusiastic cheers. He was waited on by the Provost and Magistrates of the town, who had the honour of presenting him with an address, expressive of their attachment to his person and their respect for his merits. On a former occasion, the Marquis had been presented with the freedom of the burgh—and this additional mark of regard was received with affability and condescension. From the inn he proceeded about six o'clock to the county rooms, reiterated cheers attending his course. Shortly afterwards, Lord Glasgow, the Lord Lieutenant took the chair, the Mar

quis of Hastings, the Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Andrew Cathcart, and other distinguished characters sitting on his left hand; and the Duke of Portland, Lord James Stewart, the Provost of Ayr, Sir James Montgomerie Cunningham, &c. on the right. Sir D. H. Blair officiated as croupier, the young nobleman, Lord Rawdon, and the Earl of Eglinton, being seated on his right and left hands. More than one hundred noblemen and gentlemen, of the highest rank and distinction in the county, filled the seats surrounding the tables.

On the removal of the cloth, "Non nobis, Domine," was sung, after which the toasts of the King, the Royal Family, the Duke of York and the army, the Duke of Clarence and the navy, were given from the chair, the first prefaced by a brief but energetic eulogy on his Majesty, and each followed by the music peculiarly adapted to it.

In proposing the health of the Marquis of Hastings, the Chairman eulogized the public services of the noble Marquis, whose health having been drank with enthusiasm, he returned thanks in a most eloquent speech.

The harmony of the company was kept up till a late hour.

## SEPTEMBER.

1.—**EDINBURGH.**—His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, attended by Baron Bulow and Captain Bowles, arrived at the Royal Hotel, from England. He leaves town to-day for the Highlands, where he will probably join his brother Prince William. His Serene Highness has remained quite private during his stay in this city.

Prince Schwartzenberg visited Lochlomond on the 25th ult. with a party from Buchanan House.

**LORD COCHRANE.**—This distinguished nobleman, accompanied by his lady, arrived at the British Hotel, in a travelling carriage and four.

2.—This forenoon, Lord and Lady Cochrane, attended by Mr Robert Scott Moncrieff, drove to the Castle in an open carriage. The carriage remained on the esplanade while they walked round the fortification. On the party returning, the crowd assembled at the barrier gate gave them a hearty cheer, which his lordship acknowledged by a grave but affable inclination of the head. They afterwards proceeded to the Parliament House, and the Advocates' and Writers to the Signet's Libraries, where a similar testimony of respect was shown by the populace; and subsequently visited Holyroodhouse and the Calton Hill. His Lordship has apparently suffered no constitutional injury from his long exposure to a foreign climate and every species of danger to which his profession is liable. His frame is athletic, and, but for a slight bend in the neck, would be erect. His complexion is hale, and by no means indicative of a long residence under a tropical sun. Lady Cochrane is an elegant petite figure, with a considerable share of beauty. Her features are highly expressive; and an olive tinge in her complexion, together with very black hair and eyes, give her a Spanish cast of countenance. His Lordship and Lady Cochrane leave town to-day for Valleyfield, the seat of Sir Robert Preston.

15.—**PORTSMOUTH.**—Thursday was the day appointed for launching his Majesty's ship Princess Charlotte. A finer launch was never witnessed; but the melancholy accident we are

about to record caused a dejection that will not easily be effaced. To approach the dock wherein the Charlotte lay, it was necessary to cross a foot-bridge swung on the top of flood-gates, which separated a basin from another dock; that in which the Charlotte was built was dry; but the basin, which is of large dimensions, (being capable of holding two or three ships,) was full of water. A few minutes before the launch took place, the flood-gates, from the heavy pressure of water against them, broke away with a tremendous crash; and the bridge, sixty feet long, crammed with persons eager to get forward, being left suspended, gave way in the middle, and the whole mass of individuals were precipitated instantly to a depth of 30 feet, and the rush of a body of water, in height not less than 20 feet, engulfed the miserable sufferers. Their cries were but indistinctly heard; for the whole were precipitated in one mass, while the rush of water caused such a vortex that nearly the whole disappeared, and in a few moments, save the struggling of the few that floated, all was hushed! Astonishment, despair, and agony, were depicted in the countenances of all who witnessed this dreadful but momentary scene of horror. The praiseworthy exertions of individuals were, however, in a few moments displayed, particularly by some officers, who dived repeatedly, and in one or two instances were successful in bringing bodies to the surface. These were instantly carried to the surgeon—where hot baths and warm bedding were in readiness; and, by the prompt exertions of Dr Porter, and Mr Martell, surgeons, assisted by many others of the faculty, the lives of six individuals were preserved. No need of praise can do these individuals justice, particularly the two medical gentlemen. Those

restored to life were—Mr Sabine of Portsea, Mrs Mitchell and her daughter, a soldier's wife, his sister, and child. The names of the persons whose bodies have been as yet found are—Mr Hart, Miss Hart, his daughter; Mr Hart's nephew; Miss Froggett, aged 20; Miss Knight, aged 18; Miss Knight, aged 14; Stanfield, a man belonging to the customs; a man named Showers; Nincham, a boy, aged 14; another boy, aged 14; Mr Hawse, aged 13; a son of Mr Taylor the painter, aged 15; a child named Bull, aged two; a boy named Leal, aged 12; a servant in livery, belonging to Mrs Osburn of Bloomfield.

22. — ABERDEEN. — BARBAROUS OUTRAGE.—Alexander Mackay, a respectable man, about 60 years of age, belonging to the parish of Farr, in Sutherlandshire, who had been in the south country, in the way of his business, which was that of a drover, in returning northwards lately, fell in with one William Allan, who resides at Cuminstown, Aberdeenshire. They travelled together over the Cairn O'Mount; and on Friday last had come as far as Kirktown of Daviot. Mackay having expressed an intention of attending Tarves market on Tuesday, Allan made him an insidious offer of accommodation at his house in Cuminstown, until the market took place; and for that purpose they set out from Daviot on Saturday morning. He had previously excited some unpleasant suspicions in the mind of Mackay, by urging him to take a bye-road; and had also, by exhibiting and counting his own money, as they went along, induced this unsuspecting individual to communicate the amount that was in his pocket at the time, and which, it now appears, consisted of the paltry sum of five-and-thirty shillings; but which proved too powerful a stimu-

lant to the cupidity of his fellow traveller. Watching a favourable opportunity, at a lone part of the foot-path, about half a mile from the toll-bar of Fyvie, he levelled a blow with the butt end of his whip at the head of the unfortunate man, which laid him prostrate at his feet; and when down, it would appear that he had struck him repeated blows on the head, face, and other parts of the body, by which his skull was dreadfully fractured, and one of his ribs broken. In this pitiable condition he left him, having previously rifled his pockets. Mackay was able to crawl, feeble and bleeding as he was, to Lewes of Fyvie, where medical assistance was immediately procured. His skull had to undergo the operation of the trepan, in the course of which large portions of the brain were brought away; and although still alive, by the last accounts, very faint hopes are entertained of his recovery. The presence of a magistrate having been procured, he distinctly related all the particulars of the assault, and his perfect recollection, that the person who committed the barbarous deed, had called himself William Allan, and had mentioned that he was a witness in a case of forgery to be tried at the ensuing Aberdeen circuit. Immediate search was made for the culprit by the sheriff-officers in the neighbourhood; and information at the same time sent to Aberdeen, from whence Mr John Fyfe, messenger, set off, and succeeded, along with Mr Urquhart, messenger, Fyvie, in apprehending Allan, within a short distance of his own house. Being carried to Lewes of Fyvie, he was fully identified by the unfortunate sufferer. Mr Simpson, the Procurator Fiscal of the county, having opportunely arrived at Fyvie, upon other official business, promptly entered upon a recognition of the

whole circumstance; and Allan has since been brought to town in charge of Mr Fyfe, and committed to jail. He is a young man, apparently not more than 20 years of age.

LONDON.—THE LATE MRS LONG WELLESLEY.—The death of this lamented lady excites a great degree of interest in the fashionable world. There were many visitors to see her remains on Saturday last, which were exhibited in the coffin. We understand that the L.7000 a-year awarded by the decree of the creditors, will go to the support of the children; in this case Mr Long Wellesley will lose the L.4000 per annum his late wife made over to him. The property, on the day of marriage, exceeded in value L.40,000 a-year. On Monday morning last, at the hour of nine o'clock, the remains of this amiable, unfortunate, and much-lamented lady, were removed from Richmond where she died, on their way to Draycot, in Wiltshire, the seat of Lady Tilney, there to be deposited in the family vault. The melancholy procession consisted of the hearse, in which the coffin was borne, drawn by six horses, and three mourning coaches, drawn by four horses each. The first coach contained Mr Scarborough and Mr Wright, and in the two following were the nurse, three maid servants, coachman, and footman, of the late lamented lady. The two Misses Long, and Mr Bicknel, the late unhappy lady's steward, set off for Draycot post yesterday. His Grace the Duke of Wellington is to join the mournful procession on Thursday, at Chippenham, within five miles of Draycot.

## OCTOBER.

11.—DREADFUL ACCIDENT.—On Sunday last, a very alarming accident



took place in the parish of Culter, Fifeshire. About one o'clock, a loud and alarming explosion was heard upon Lime-hill, accompanied by a sudden ascent of a dark cloud of smoke. A rush of the neighbouring inhabitants immediately took place to the spot, when it was ascertained that a house at present inhabited by a labourer of the name of Inglis, had been completely unroofed, the window glass forced out, and thrown to a distance, and all the doors shattered to pieces. The first object of attention and sympathy was, of course, Mrs Inglis herself with her three young children, who were found in the open air, and, with the exception of the mother, altogether uninjured. Her case was, however, well calculated to excite sympathy. In her anxiety to rescue her children from a danger which in fact was over ere she could comprehend its nature, she had rushed into the open air with the two youngest in her arms, whilst the oldest boy had effected his escape through a shattered window; after accomplishing this convulsive effort, she had sunk down exhausted and almost lifeless upon the green turf, whilst some parts of her dress were in flames. The unfortunate mother was conveyed to an adjoining house, where she lies at present under the medical advice of Dr Scott of Cupar, and though dreadfully scorched, is likely to do well. The explosion was owing to a shovel being cast "ben the house" by Mrs Inglis, which alighting upon the hearthstone, struck fire, by which an open cask, containing upwards of 20lbs. of gunpowder, was immediately ignited.

12.—At a Michaelmas head court for the county of Ross, held at Tain, a proposition from Sir William Fettes, Bart. proposing the establishment of a steam boat at Kessock, was agreed

to, and the thanks of the meeting unanimously voted to Sir William for his public-spirited and liberal conduct.

THE BARON OF RENFREW.—This enormous vessel arrived last week; but on her passage to the river unfortunately grounded on what is called the Longsand. The following is a copy of a letter from the agent to Lloyd's at Deal, dated October 16, on board the steam-ship James Watt, proceeding for Harwich:—

"SIR,—For general information, I beg to state the following particulars of the ship Baron Renfrew, from Quebec, unfortunately getting on shore on the Longsand, and of the measures adopting for her preservation. On the morning of the 13th instant, I left the Downs in the steam-ship Tourist, in company with the James Watt, and boarded the Baron Renfrew, near mid-channel, off Folkstone; one of the Cinque pilots, named Underdoun, being on board from the pilot cutter, and another named Brett, having come off from Dover, offered to take charge as second pilot. Both pilots, on being consulted as to the ship's course for the Thames, were decidedly of opinion that the South Channel could not be attempted, but that the course round the Knock and Longsand, and up the Severn, was the proper course, from the great quantity of water the ship drew; and on being questioned as to their knowledge and competency, they both declared they were well acquainted therewith, being experienced in taking men-of-war and other large ships up and down the Severn. They were consequently put in charge, and we proceeded round the South Foreland, and through the Downs, with the wind from the SW. towed by the two steam-ships, making the Beacon buoy of the Kentish

Knock before dark, and afterwards the Galloper Light. At about half past seven P. M. we made the Sunk Light, with a light breeze, still from the SW., steering a N. by E. course. About nine P. M. the water shoaled to nine fathoms, the flood tide running with great violence, which it appeared the pilots in charge did not allow for, although it was remarked to them the ship was evidently drifting towards the sand. The best bower was then let go, when she swung round and grounded by the stern; every possible exertion was then used by the steam-ships, and the crew on board the ship, in carrying out other anchors, and adopting every practicable measure to get her into deep water, but without avail. Similar exertions to get her afloat have been used since, and this day being fine, one of her bower anchors is carrying out to keep her from forcing higher on the sand. Several gentlemen connected with the ship are proceeding with me to Harwich and the neighbouring ports, to procure vessels to lighten the ship. She is now quite upright, the Sunk Light bearing NW. about five miles. Should the weather continue moderate, great hopes are entertained she may float next spring tides. The City of Edinburgh steam-ship remains to afford assistance, and to take advantage of any favourable circumstance which may arise. The wind is westerly at present, and the weather fine.

(Signed)

"EDWARD SPENCER CURLING.

To John Bennett, Esq. Lloyd's."

**HARWICH, Oct. 17, 6 P. M.**—The Baron of Renfrew still remains on the Longsand, notwithstanding the exertions of several steam-vessels to get her off; part of the cargo has been brought here. The boatmen affirm, there is no probability of floating her. It now blows fresh from the west-

ward, with the appearance of a stormy night.

**18.—LAMENTABLE ACCIDENT AT PORTPATRICK.**—On Thursday, the 13th instant, between five and six o'clock in the evening, a bullock-boat, having on board eight men, one woman, and a child, besides a number of cattle, which was on its passage from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, went suddenly down when about a mile and a half off the latter place, and all on board perished. The sea was quite calm, and the weather favourable; and under these circumstances conjecture has yet been unable to assign any other plausible cause for the misfortune than that some of the cattle, as the bullock-boats are frequently in a crazed and rotten state, may have thrust a foot through the bottom of the vessel, or a horn through her side, and thus occasioned the water to rush in suddenly and irresistibly.

— Abstract of "An act for restricting the punishment of leasing-making, sedition, and blasphemy, in Scotland," passed 22d of June 1825, (6th George IV. cap. 47.):

The preamble recites it to be "expedient that the punishment of the crimes of leasing-making, sedition, and blasphemy, as known in the law of Scotland, should be restricted, and these crimes should be punished in the same manner as such crimes would be punished, if committed in England." Therefore, section 1. enacts, that any person hereafter convicted of any of these crimes shall be punished only by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court. Section 2. That, on a second conviction, he shall, at the discretion of the court, be punished either by fine or imprisonment, or both, or by banishment from the United Kingdom, and all other parts of his Majesty's dominions, for such

term of years as the court shall order. Section 3. That if he shall not depart from the United Kingdom within thirty days after sentence of banishment, the King may convey him to such parts, out of the dominions of his Majesty, as his Majesty, by the advice of his Privy Council, may direct. And, Section 4. That, if at large within any part of the United Kingdom, or any other part of his Majesty's dominions, without some lawful cause, after the end of forty days from the time of sentence, and before expiration of the term of banishment, he shall be transported for a term not exceeding fourteen years. Lastly, Section 5 repeals so much of the act 39th George III. cap. 49, as authorizes the Court of Justiciary to extend the bail beyond the sums therein specified, when any person is imprisoned on a charge of sedition.

#### LOSS OF THE COMET STEAM PACKET.

25.—GLASGOW.—It is with feelings of deep regret and sorrow that we have to communicate to our readers the account of an accident of the most melancholy kind. The details are as yet few—the result most fatal. Yesterday morning (Friday) the steam boat Comet, with passengers from Inverness and Fort William, was run down off Kempoch Point, between Gourrock and the Clough Light-house, by the steam boat Ayr, outward-bound. In rounding the point the vessels came in contact with such force and violence, that the Comet went down almost instantaneously, when above 70 persons were, in a moment, precipitated into the deep—into eternity! Ten only are saved out of above 80, who were believed to be on board.—Amongst those escaped is the master, who was got on shore, but in such an exhausted state, that, at the date of our latest accounts, he was unable to give any account of what

had taken place, or of the passengers on board. There is much reason to believe, that the greater number of those who have perished are persons in the superior ranks of life. During the whole of yesterday the anxiety and sensation created in this city by the intelligence was very great. The alarm was greatly heightened by the knowledge of the fact, that another steam boat was to leave the same quarter about the same time, and many individuals remained ignorant in which of the boats the friends whom they expected might have taken their passage. The Ayr, we learn, had a light out upon her bow, but the Comet had none. As the night, however, was clear, it is obvious that a bad look-out had been kept up, and most reprehensible neglect shown on both sides. The Ayr received such a shock, and was so much damaged, that she reached Greenock with much difficulty, in a sinking state. It was blowing fresh, with a heavy sea. It was also exceedingly cold, and at the moment the accident took place, those on the deck of the Comet were, it is said, engaged in dancing, to which amusement they were probably induced to resort in order to keep themselves warm, there not being sufficient accommodation below for the number of passengers on board. Much valuable property had floated ashore yesterday. Every exertion was making to save and to lodge it in a place of security. Our respected townsman, Mr Andrew Rankine, was particularly active on the occasion; and, at an early hour in the morning, Mr Marshall, sheriff, from Greenock, had reached the spot, to give his advice and assistance on the distressing occasion. Twelve dead bodies had been washed ashore by an early hour yesterday morning; amongst these were two genteelly dressed females, two

black servants, and Mrs Wright, the widow of the late Archibald Wright, druggist of this city. In the pockets of the body of a gentleman washed ashore, £70 was found. Amongst those who perished, and whose names we can state from good authority, is Mr Graham of Corpach; Mr Macallister, W.S. Edinburgh; and Captain Sutherland of the 33d Regiment, and his lady, who were only five weeks married. The body of Captain Sutherland and another passenger were found in the yawl this morning. It is supposed she upset after they had got into her. Mrs Sutherland caught hold of Mr Colin Alexander Anderson, from Appin, (the only cabin passenger who is saved,) and for some time clung round him, but in the struggle with the waves she lost her hold and perished. While swimming, much exhausted, and not knowing well in what direction the shore lay, Mr Anderson was seized closely by the engine-man, from whom he found it impossible to disengage himself, and just as they were upon the point of sinking, they fortunately came in contact with the boat's yawl, which they immediately caught hold of, and, in doing so, she fortunately righted, when they both clung to her, and reached the shore in safety, but much exhausted. It is reported, that amongst the sufferers, is the lady of a colonel of the army, with a family of seven children, from Inverness; a Mr Campbell of this city, with a young gentleman, the only son of Mr M'Braine, also of this city.

## NOVEMBER.

7.—WHITEHAVEN.—A boat arrived here yesterday evening, about eight o'clock, express from Douglas,

which place she left that morning, with letters on board, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which were immediately delivered at the post-office, and were forwarded to London by express. We have made inquiry of the boat's crew respecting the nature of the disturbance in the island, and have obtained the following particulars:—For some time part of the agricultural population, in different parts of the island, have manifested a decided aversion to comply with all legal customs, which, in any degree, affected their own interest. The present disturbance originated, we understand, in consequence of some individuals, who had resisted the potatoe tithe-gatherers of the Lord Bishop of that diocese, having been committed to Castle Rushen. On Wednesday, nearly the whole population of the parishes of Kirkchrist, Rushen, Kirkarbury, and Kirkpatrick, amounting to near one thousand men, having armed themselves with scythes and other similar dangerous implements, proceeded in a body to Castle Rushen, where their refractory companions were confined, whom they immediately liberated, the garrison not daring to interfere, in consequence of their great disparity in point of numerical strength, and the dangerous and formidable manner in which their opponents were armed. After this point had been gained without resistance, they set fire to several corn stacks belonging to the bishop, which contained the whole of the tithe-grain collected in the above parishes. The next scene of destruction was at Kirkmalew, where the residence of Mr John Collier, late coroner, (an office somewhat similar to that of our constable,) was entirely demolished. Finally, they proceeded to the brewery of

Mr Edward Gawne, at Port St Mary, where the owner, for the preservation of his property, was obliged to comply with their demand, and supply the rabble with ale as long as they thought fit to drink. Property, to a great extent, has been entirely destroyed, and several persons have been seriously injured. A man, named Lanny, clerk to Mr McCrone, the bishop's proctor, had one of his ears cut off with a scythe! His lordship, the bishop, deeming it prudent for his own safety, has left his palace in Kirkmichael, and is at present in Douglas. The disturbance, it seems, was chiefly confined to the parishes we have mentioned.

13.—PARIS.—Yesterday an attempt was made to assassinate Emanuel De Las Cases, son of Count Las Cases, as he was returning from his father's plantation to Paris, about eight o'clock in the evening. When about twenty paces from the house, he was attacked by an individual, who stabbed him with a dagger in the left side. His card-case, filled with visiting tickets, fortunately averted the blow, which, however, inflicted a slight wound that bled profusely. He seized the assassin by the collar, and knocked him down, when another villain struck him a deeper wound on the left thigh, and then escaped, while M. Las Cases cried in vain for assistance. The latter proceeded towards his father's residence, but fell on the way from loss of blood. The servants found him a few paces from the door, and carried him in. Neither of the wounds, however, is dangerous. M. Las Cases says, that one of the men spoke French imperfectly. A patrol extraordinary was immediately ordered to the house, and though diligent search has been

made by the national guard, the assassins are not yet detected.

15.—EDINBURGH.—A meeting took place on Tuesday, at 11 o'clock, in the Council Chamber, of the General Committee named by the citizens of Edinburgh to manage the subscriptions in aid of the sufferers at the great fires in last November. A great deal of interesting discussion took place; and it was gratifying, in no small degree, to observe, from the luminous reports submitted, that, after all due care and compassion had been evinced for the sufferers and their families, a considerable balance, arising out of the great liberality of the public, remained at the disposal of the subscribers. This was alluded to by the Lord Provost, from the chair, as a proud instance of good feeling on the part of our countrymen; and, on his Lordship's motion, a committee was named to consider and to report on the most desirable mode of appropriating the balance. According to the report of the committee, there were destroyed, in the High Street, four lands of six stories; in the Parliament Square, four lands, from seven to eleven stories; in the Old Assembly Close, four lands of six or seven stories; in Con's Close, two wooden lands; and six small tenements in Borthwick's Close. The property destroyed "has been estimated at L.200,000 and upwards." Ten individuals were either killed on the spot by the falling of the ruins, or died in consequence of the bruises they received. Many others were seriously injured; and the number of families rendered houseless by these disasters was between *four and five hundred*. The following is the abstract of the treasurer's account.

RECEIVED.			
From public companies, &c.		L.1981	19 7
Collections at Churches in Edinburgh		1849	14 3
Do. Do. in the country		204	4 8
Subscriptions in London		948	2 0
Do. in Leith		634	0 0
Do. in Greenock		41	5 0
Individual Subscriptions in Edinburgh	L.4462	4 6	
Anonymous and others	440	16 0	
		4903	0 6
Subscriptions collected in the wards of Police		1034	0 9
Total		L. 11,596	6 9
Interest received from Bankers		105	17 7
		L.11,702	4 4
PAID.			
To the Committee for Queensberry House		L.147	19 7
In remunerating services performed		1283	7 1
For relief of the maimed, and for relief of the families of the killed		2109	16 11
For remunerating loss in property sustained by the fires		2460	12 0
For various other purposes		322	17 8
For the sufferers by the fire in Black-friars' Wynd in March		400	0 0
		L.6724	13 3
Balance of the last item still in Mr Stenhouse's hands		25	5 9
		L.6699	7 6
Balance,		L.5002	16 4

18.—A public dinner was given to Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P., in the Waterloo Hotel, which was attended by above four hundred and thirty gentlemen. The great room, which was completely filled by five o'clock, was not capable of containing, during dinner, the whole company. From sixty to eighty gentlemen, therefore, were obliged to dine in another room. When Leonard Horner, Esq., the chairman, and Mr Hume, entered the great room, they were received with cheers, which continued for several minutes. On the right side of the Chairman, were the Marquis de Bossy, the Chevalier del Pozzo, the celebrated jurisconsult, Mr Horner, senior, C. S. Monteith,

Esq., of Closeburn, John McFarlane, Esq., advocate, and Sir A. M. Gibson, Bart., of Cliftonhall; and upon the left were Sir James Naesmith, Bart., of New Posso, Professor Leslie, Mr Maberly, jun., son of the member of Parliament, William Murray, Esq., of Henderland, John A. Murray, Esq., advocate, James Gibson-Craig, Esq., of Riccarton, and John Macfie, Esq., merchant, Leith. The Croupier's chair was occupied by Robert Fergusson, Esq., of Raith, who was supported on his right by James Stuart, Esq., younger of Dunearn, and Thomas Allan, Esq., banker; and on his left by George Russel, Esq., W. S., and John Cuninghame, Esq., advocate.

After the usual loyal and constitutional toasts were given, the Chairman, in a long and eloquent speech, addressed to the company, extolled the many great services rendered by Mr Hume to the public, particularly in promoting economy in the expenditure of the public money; and concluded by proposing Mr Hume's health, which was drank with enthusiasm.

Mr Hume returned thanks in a speech of considerable length.

Many other toasts were given, and speeches delivered; and the company retired at a late hour, highly gratified.

**DREADFUL SHIPWRECK.—TWENTY-TWO PERSONS DROWNED.**—During the dreadful gale on Thursday, the 10th instant, *Le Curieux*, Captain Videll, was entirely lost, off Renneville, and every soul perished. She had about 22 persons on board, 15 of whom were passengers; and amongst these was an English family of the name of Pousset, residents of Jersey, who had been a few months in France. The family consisted of Mr Pousset, his wife, three daughters, and a female servant. The wife of Mr Auley, one of the Jurats of Jersey, was also on board. *Le Curieux*, in company with several other vessels, was proceeding from Granville to Jersey, and was the only one which attempted to proceed while the hurricane was raging. The others put back, and reached Granville in safety. They made on the following day for Jersey, where they arrived on Sunday, and communicated the above dreadful intelligence. Captain Bazin, to whom we are indebted for the particulars, informs us that the *Ariadne* arrived at Jersey at four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, and just escaped the destructive gale which soon after followed.

## DECEMBER.

5.—A most barbarous murder has been committed in the town of Hillsborough. On Monday night last, Mrs Stott, a most respectable Quaker lady, and her servant, were murdered by some persons unknown. The neighbours knew nothing of the horrible transaction until Wednesday, when, it is said, the plaintive lowings of a cow attracted the attention of some people, who got into the house, and there found Mrs Stott lying dead at the parlour door, mangled in a most merciless manner, and the servant maid lying dead in the kitchen, with all the marks of the most barbarous treatment. It would seem as if the poor maid had made a great struggle with the murderer. Her hair was torn and strewed over the kitchen. The dwelling-house was considerably in the rear of the shop, which accounts for the silence with which the horrid enormity was perpetrated. We understand there are three persons apprehended on suspicion. A coroner's inquest was held on the bodies, and a verdict returned of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

8.—**GLASGOW.—BARBAROUS MURDER.**—On Monday night, a young woman, Sally M'Vicar, who lived about Barrowfield Road, was stabbed in the neck in a public company, and expired in about half an hour afterwards. There was a raffle and a dance in a public house in her neighbourhood, and she was induced to join the company. On coming into the room, she was recognized by Charles Campbell, a cotton-spinner, to whom she was married, but seldom lived with him. They both joined in a dance. Campbell patted her on the cheek in a familiar manner, and without any appearance of

animosity. After the dance had finished, Campbell observed the deceased sitting on the knee of her partner, for which he reproved her, and desired her to leave her partner's company, observing it would be more becoming if she had been with himself. This she refused to do, and remarked, he ought to be with his wife at Johnston—alluding to a connexion he is said to have formed there—whereupon he took up a small breakfast knife, and attempted to strike her about the face, but was prevented by the persons present from doing any injury. He made a second attempt, however, and succeeded in inflicting a deep wound in her neck. She then ran out of the room, but fell down after getting through the kitchen, in an attempt, it is supposed, to leave the house. She bled profusely, and fifteen minutes having elapsed before a surgeon could be got, his endeavours to save her were unavailing. Campbell, the culprit, was, we hear, clerk or secretary to the committee of cotton-spinners; and as such, exceedingly active in collecting materials to furnish correspondence to London upon the repeal of the combination laws, and discussions arising out of their repeal. He was much intoxicated when he committed the fatal deed.

#### RIOT AT THE PARK THEATRE.

*From the New York Gazette of November 15.*

Mr Kean made his first appearance, since his return from England, last evening, in the character of Richard. Great crowds had collected in front of the theatre previous to the hour of admission; on the opening of the doors they poured in in streams, and in a very few minutes the house was filled throughout. On the ring-

ing of the bell for the commencement of the performance, the clamour and shouting among the friends and foes of this individual began. The curtain rose, and two of the minor characters of the play appeared, and commenced reciting their parts, but the confusion was too great to allow them to be heard. Kean, who was loudly called for, speedily appeared, bowed, and prepared to address the audience. The noise, however, did not abate, and after standing on the stage full a quarter of an hour, finding that the audience were unwilling to listen to him, he retired, when Mr Simpson, the manager, presented himself, and claimed to be heard. He respectfully requested that the audience would grant Mr Kean the liberty of addressing them: he was sure that it was not the practice of Americans to condemn without a hearing; and he trusted what Mr Kean had to say was such, as would prove perfectly satisfactory. On his leaving the stage, Mr Kean re-entered, and intimated by gesture, his wish to be heard, but the uproar was renewed, and he was refused the liberty. After waiting upon the stage about ten minutes, he again retired and the play was resumed, the first three acts of which were entirely pantomimic—not a word could be heard. In the fourth and fifth acts, in some of the scenes where Kean was not on the stage, some passages were audible, but the part of Richard was, throughout, conducted in dumb show. During the wooing scene, in the second act, one of the many missiles that were thrown upon the stage passed directly over the heads of Mrs Hilson (who represented Lady Anne) and Mr Kean, nearly striking the latter. Mr Hilson, who was in one of the boxes in front of the pit, being alarmed for the safety of his wife,



immediately leapt upon the stage, and conducted her off. Mr Simpson then appeared, and with an expression of countenance indicative of sorrow and indignation, seemed to implore that the audience would act with more decorum, and display a little more respect for themselves. After some delay, Mrs Hilson again appeared, and the piece proceeded; but, as before, the din of mingled applause and hisses rendered the dialogue inaudible. In the following act, an orange, thrown from the gallery, struck Mr Kean on the breast. He immediately picked it up, displayed it to the audience a few minutes, with looks of indignation, and finally threw it behind the scenes. After this, there were few intermissions of the uproar; and the falling of the curtain was attended with the same tumult that accompanied its rising. After the termination of the play, Mr Kean was announced to perform Othello to-morrow evening, which annunciation had the effect of renewing the confusion. On the conclusion of the afterpiece, Kean was loudly called for, when Mr Simpson appeared, and stated, that he had left the house. On the receipt of this information, a part of the audience displayed a disposition to commit violence, and we understand some damage was done to the benches, fixtures, &c. The street in front of the theatre, during the whole of the evening, was thronged with a number of turbulent individuals, who betrayed much anxiety to make a forcible entrance into the building, and at one time had nearly effected their object, but were prevented by the active exertions of a strong police.

**LONDON.—BANK FAILURES.**—The

following stoppages have occurred in London within the last four days:—Sir Claude Scott and Co; Messrs Sikes, Snaith, and Co.; and Sir Walter Stirling and Hodsoll, of the Strand. Though the accounts from the country respecting the renewal of confidence in the local banks are favourable, yet the list of failures of such establishments is numerous. Among the catalogue the following firms have been mentioned:—The Hinckley bank of Sansom and Co.; the bank of Jervis and Co. of the same place, being the only establishments in that town; the Southampton bank of Kellow and Co.; the Peterborough bank of Sampson and White; the Wisbeach bank of James Hill and Son; the Kingston (Surrey) bank, the only one in the town; at Cambridge, it is said, that four out of the six banks in that town have stopped, viz. that of T. Fisher and Son, that of J. Mortlock, Esq. and Sons, that of Hollick and Co., and that of R. and E. K. Foster. The letters from Cambridge state that the graduates and heads of colleges, so far from adding to the alarm on the occasion, as is said to have been recently the case as regards the members of another learned body, interfered in the most prompt manner, and tendered their assistance in a very large sum, provided that by such means the evil could be averted; but the assistance was declined, because there was no prospect of its proving effectual. At Saffron Walden, two banks carried on under the firms of Searle, Son, and Co., and of Searle and Co., have suspended payments, but there is said to be a union of interests in the two concerns. At Romford, in Essex, both the banks have failed.

No. IV.

## BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE

OR,

ACCOUNT OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED  
DURING THE YEAR.

## MRS BARBAULD.

THE following is almost literally excerpted from a memoir of this excellent and justly-celebrated woman, prefixed to the exceedingly interesting edition of her works (in two volumes, octavo), recently published by her amiable and accomplished niece, Miss Lucy Aikin; so well qualified, not less by congeniality of feeling and talent, than by consanguinity and intimate knowledge of the subject, to be the biographer of her venerable and beloved relation.

Anna Lætitia Barbauld, a name long dear to the admirers of genius and the lovers of virtue, was born at the village of Kibworth Harcourt, in Leicester-shire, on June 28th, 1743, the eldest child and only daughter of John Aikin, D.D., and Jane his wife, daughter of the Rev. John Jennings of Kibworth, and descended by her mother from the ancient family of Wingate, of Harlington, in Bedfordshire.

That quickness of apprehension by which she was eminently distinguished, manifested itself from her earliest infancy. Her education was entirely domestic, and principally conducted by her excellent mother; whilst her mind had been cultivated and her principles formed, partly by the instructions of religious and enlightened parents, partly by the society of the celebrated Dr Doddridge, who was for some years domesticated under her parental roof.

With her father's assistance she enabled herself to read the Latin authors with pleasure and advantage; nor did she rest satisfied without gaining some acquaintance with the Greek.

The obscure village of Kibworth was unable to afford her a single suitable companion of her own sex: her brother, the late Dr Aikin, was more than three years her junior; and as her father was at this period the master of a school for boys, it might have been apprehended that conformity of pursuits, as well as age, would tend too nearly

to assimilate her with the youth of the ruder sex, by whom she found herself encompassed. But maternal vigilance effectually obviated this danger, by instilling into her a double portion of bashfulness and maidenly reserve; and she was accustomed to ascribe an uneasy sense of constraint in mixed society, which she could never entirely shake off, to the strictness and seclusion in which it had thus become her fate to be educated. The love of rural nature sunk deep into her heart; her vivid fancy exerted itself to colour, to animate, and to diversify all the objects which surrounded her: the few but choice authors of her father's library, which she read and re-read, had leisure to make their full impression—to mould her sentiments, and to form her taste; the spirit of devotion, early inculcated upon her as a duty, opened to her by degrees an exhaustless source of tender and sublime delight; and while yet a child, she was surprised to find herself a poet.

Just at this period, an invitation given to her father to undertake the office of classical tutor in a highly respectable dissenting academy at Warrington, in Lancashire, was the fortunate means of transplanting her to a more varied and animating scene. This removal took place in 1758, when Miss Aikin had just attained the age of fifteen; and the fifteen succeeding years passed by her at Warrington comprehended probably the happiest, as well as the most brilliant portion of her existence. She was at this time possessed of great beauty, distinct traces of which she retained to the latest period of life. Her person was slender, her complexion exquisitely fair, with the bloom of perfect health; her features were regular and elegant, and her dark blue eyes beamed with the light of wit and fancy.

Warrington academy included among its tutors names eminent both in science

and in literature: with several of these, and especially with Dr Priestley and Dr Enfield and their families, she formed sincere and lasting friendships. The elder and more accomplished among the students composed an agreeable part of the same society; and its animation was increased by a mixture of young ladies, either resident in the town or occasional visitors, several of whom were equally distinguished for personal charms, for amiable manners, and cultivated minds. The rising institution, which flourished for several years in high reputation, diffused a classic air over all connected with it. Miss Aikin, as was natural, took a warm interest in its success; and no academic has ever celebrated his *alma mater* in nobler strains, or with a more filial affection, than she has manifested in that portion of her early and beautiful poem, 'The Invitation, where her theme is this 'nursery of men for future years.'

About the close of the year 1771, her brother, after several years of absence, returned to establish himself in his profession at Warrington: an event equally welcome to her feelings, and propitious to her literary progress. By his persuasion and assistance her poems were selected, revised, and arranged for publication: and when all these preparations were completed, finding that she still hesitated and lingered—like the parent bird who pushes off its young to their first flight, he procured the paper, and set the press to work on his own authority. The result more than justified his confidence of her success: four editions of the work (the first in 4to, the succeeding ones in 8vo) were called for within the year of publication, 1773; compliments and congratulations poured in from all quarters; and even the periodical critics greeted her Muse with nearly unmixed applause.

She was not permitted to repose upon her laurels: her brother, who

possessed all the activity and spirit of literary enterprise in which she was deficient, now urged her to collect her prose pieces, and to join him in forming a small volume, which appeared, also in the year 1773, under the title of 'Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose, by J. and A. L. Aikin.' These likewise met with much notice and admiration, and have been several times reprinted.

Having thus laid the foundation of a lasting reputation in literature, Miss Aikin might have been expected to proceed with vigour in rearing the superstructure; and the world awaited with impatience the result of her further efforts. But an event, the most important of her life, was about to subject her to new influence, new duties—to alter her station, her course of life, and to modify even the bent of her mind. This event was her marriage, which took place in May 1774.

The Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, whom she honoured with her hand, was descended from a family of French Protestants. During the persecutions of Louis XIV., his grandfather, then a boy, was carried on board a ship inclosed in a cask, and conveyed to England. Here he settled, and had a son who became a clergyman of the Establishment, and on the marriage of one of the daughters of George II. to the elector of Hesse, was appointed her chaplain, and attended her to Cassel. At this place his son Rochemont was born and passed his childhood: on the breaking up of the household of the electress he spent a year at Paris, and then accompanied his father to England, who destined him for the church, but, somewhat unadvisedly, sent him for previous instruction to the dissenting seminary of Warrington. The principles which he here imbibed, impelled him to renounce all his expectations from the Establishment. Whilst the prospects of the young couple were still full of uncertainty, some distinguished

persons were induced to propose to her to establish, under their auspices, what might almost have been called a College for young ladies. On a distant view, the idea had something noble and striking, but it was not calculated to bear a close examination; and was rejected by Mrs Barbauld, for reasons which at once evince the acuteness and solidity of her understanding and the humility of her temper.

Her arguments, forcibly urged, appear to have convinced all parties concerned, that she was right in declining the proposal. Mr Barbauld soon after accepted the charge of a dissenting congregation at Palgrave near Diss, and immediately before his marriage, announced his intention of opening a boarding-school at the neighbouring village of Palgrave in Suffolk.

The rapid and uninterrupted success which crowned this undertaking, was doubtless in a great measure owing to the literary celebrity attached to the name of Mrs Barbauld, and to her active participation with her husband in the task of instruction. It fortunately happened, that two of the eight pupils with which Palgrave school commenced, were endowed with abilities worthy of the culture which such an instructress could alone bestow. One of these, William Taylor, Esq. of Norwich, known by his "English Synonymes," his exquisite "Iphigenia in Tauris," from the German, his "Leonora," from Bürger, and many other fruits of genius and extensive learning, has constantly acknowledged her, with pride and affection, for the "mother of his mind;" and in a biographical notice prefixed to "The collected Works of Frank Sayers, M.D." of the same city, author of the "Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology," he has recorded the congenial sentiments of his friend.

The department of geography was also undertaken by Mrs Barbauld; and

she relieved the dryness of a study seldom rendered interesting to children, by so many lively strokes of description, and such luminous and attractive views of the connexion of this branch of knowledge with the revolutions of empires, with national manners, and with the natural history of animals, that these impressive lectures were always remembered by her auditors less among their tasks than their pleasures.

A public examination of the boys was always held at the close of the winter session : at the termination of the summer one they performed a play ; and upon Mrs Barbauld principally devolved—together with the contrivance of dresses and decorations, and the composition of prologues, epilogues, and interludes—the instruction of the young exhibitors in the art of declamation. In this branch she likewise excelled ; and the neglected, though delightful, arts of good reading and graceful speaking were nowhere taught with more assiduity and success.

In 1775 Mrs Barbauld committed to the press a small volume, entitled “*Devotional Pieces, compiled from the Psalms of David, with Thoughts on the Devotional Taste, and on Sects and Establishments.*” As a selection, it did not meet with great success ; nor did the essay escape without some animadversion.

The union of Mr and Mrs Barbauld proved unfruitful, and they sought to fill the void, of which in the midst of their busy avocations they were still sensible, by the adoption of a son out of the family of Dr Aikin. They received the child when somewhat under two years of age, and his education became thenceforth a leading object of Mrs Barbauld’s attention. For the use of her little Charles, she composed “*Early Lessons,*” a work which may be asserted to have formed an era in the art of early instruction.

The solicitations of parents anxious

to obtain for their sons what they regarded as the best tuition, now induced her to receive, as her own peculiar pupils, several little boys, to whom she condescended to teach the first rudiments of literature. Thomas Denman, Esq., now a distinguished member of the legal profession and of the House of Commons, was committed to her care before he had accomplished his fourth year. Sir William Gell, the zealous explorer of the plain of Troy, was another of her almost infant scholars ; and it was for the benefit of this younger class that her “*Hymns in Prose for Children*” were written, in which it was her peculiar object (to use her own words in the preface) ‘to impress devotional feelings as early as possible on the infant mind,’—‘to impress them, by connecting religion with a variety of sensible objects, with all that he sees, all that he hears, all that affects his young mind with wonder or delight ; and thus, by deep, strong, and permanent associations, to lay the best foundation for practical devotion in future life.’

Meantime Palgrave school was progressively increasing in numbers and reputation, and several sons of noble families were sent to share in its advantages ; of whom may be named, Basil Lord Daer (a favourite pupil) and three of his brothers, including the last Earl of Selkirk ; two sons of Lord Templetown, Lord More, Lord Aghrim, and the Honourable Augustus Phipps.

A course of honourable and prosperous exertion must always be productive of satisfaction to a well-constituted mind ; and in this view Mrs Barbauld might regard with complacency her situation at Palgrave. Its cares and its monotony were also relieved by vacations, which she and Mr Barbauld usually passed either in agreeable visits to their friends in different parts of the country, or in the more animated delights of London society. As their con-

nexions were extensive, they were now enabled to procure themselves a considerable share of that amusing and instructive variety of scenes and characters which forms the peculiar charm of the metropolis. At the splendid mansion of her early and constant admirer Mrs Montague, Mrs Barbauld beheld in perfection the imposing union of literature and fashion;—under the humbler roof of her friend and publisher, the late worthy Joseph Johnson of St Paul's Church-yard, she tasted, perhaps with higher relish, 'the feast of reason and the flow of soul,' in a chosen knot of lettered equals. Her own connexions introduced her to leading characters among the dissenters and persons of opposition-politics;—those of Mr Barbauld led her among courtiers and supporters of the establishment. Her own candid spirit, and courteous though retiring manners, with the varied graces of her conversation, recommended her alike to all.

The business of tuition, however, to those by whom it is faithfully and zealously exercised, must ever be fatiguing beyond almost any other occupation; and Mr and Mrs Barbauld found their health and spirits so much impaired by their exertions, that at the end of eleven years they determined upon quitting Palgrave, and allowing themselves an interval of complete relaxation before they should again embark in any scheme of active life. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1785 they embarked for Calais; and after extending their travels as far as Geneva, returned to winter in the south of France. In the spring they again bent their course northwards, and after a leisurely survey of Paris returned to England in the month of June 1786. The remainder of that year they passed chiefly in London, undecided with respect to a future place of residence; but early in the following one, Mr Barbauld having been elected their pastor by a small

dissenting congregation at Hampstead, they fixed themselves in that agreeable village, where for several years Mr Barbauld received a few young gentlemen as his pupils, while Mrs Barbauld gave daily instructions to a young lady whose mother took up her residence at Hampstead for the benefit of this tuition:—some years after, she accepted another pupil on a similar plan.

In 1790, the rejection of a bill for the repeal of the corporation and test acts called forth her eloquent and indignant address to the opposers of this repeal: her poetical epistle to Mr Wilberforce on the rejection of the bill for abolishing the Slave Trade was written in 1791. The next year produced her "Remarks on Mr Gilbert Wakefield's Inquiry into the expediency and propriety of public or social Worship;" and her "Sins of Government Sins of the Nation, or a Discourse for the Fast," appeared in 1793. She also supplied some valuable contributions to Dr Aikin's popular book for children, "Evenings at Home," the first volume of which appeared in 1792; but her share in this work has generally been supposed much greater than in fact it was; of the ninety-nine pieces of which it consisted, fourteen only are hers.

By this time, the effervescence caused by the French revolution had nearly subsided; and Mrs Barbauld gave nothing more to the public for a considerable number of years, with the exception of two critical essays; one prefixed to an ornamented edition of "Aken-side's Pleasures of Imagination," the other to a similar one of the "Odes of Collins:" of which the first appeared in 1795, the second in 1797.

No event worthy of mention occurred till 1802, when Mr Barbauld accepted an invitation to become pastor of the congregation (formerly Dr Price's) at Newington Green; and, quitting Hampstead, they took up their abode in the village of Stoke Newington. The

sole motive for this removal, which separated them from a residence which they liked, and friends to whom they were cordially attached, was the mutual desire of Dr Aikin and Mrs Barbauld to pass the closing period of their lives in that near neighbourhood which admits of the daily and almost hourly intercourses of affection.

A warm attachment to the authors of what has been called the Augustan age of English literature, was observable in the conversation of Mrs Barbauld, and often in her writings; and she gratified this sentiment by offering to the public, in 1804, a selection from the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and *Freeholder*, with a Preliminary Essay, to which she gave her name. This delightful piece may, perhaps, be regarded as the most successful of her efforts in literary criticism.

During the same year (1804) Mrs Barbauld was prevailed upon to undertake the task of examining and making a selection from the letters of Richardson, the novelist, and his correspondents, of which a vast collection had remained in the hands of his last surviving daughter; after whose death they were purchased of his grand-children. It must be confessed that, on the whole, these letters were less deserving of public attention than she had probably expected to find them.

It is probable that Mrs Barbauld consented to employ herself in these humbler offices of literature, chiefly as a solace under the pressure of anxieties and apprehensions of a peculiar and most distressing nature, which had been increasing in urgency during a long course of time, and which found their final completion on the 11th of November, 1806, in the event by which she became a widow. She has touchingly alluded, in her poem of "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven," to

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ath whence most affection bleeds,  
ss, only of the soul, precedes.

And though the escape of a sufferer from the most melancholy of human maladies could not, in itself, be a subject of rational regret, her spirits were deeply wounded, both by the severe trials through which she had previously passed, and by the mournful void which always succeeds the removal of an object of long and deep, however painful, interest. An affecting dirge will be found among her poems, which records her feelings on this occasion. She also communicated to the *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*, a memoir of Mr Barbauld.

Mrs Barbauld had the fortitude to seek relief from dejection in literary occupation; and incapable as yet of any stronger efforts, she consented to edit a collection of the *British Novelists*, which issued from the press in 1810.

In the following year she compiled for the use of young ladies an agreeable collection of verse and prose, in one volume 12mo, entitled "The Female Speaker." Having thus braced her mind, as it were, to the tone of original composition, she produced that beautiful offspring of her genius, "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven,"—the longest, and perhaps the most highly finished, of all her poems.

This was the last of Mrs Barbauld's separate publications.

No incident worthy of mention henceforth occurred to break the uniformity of her existence. She gave up all distant journeys; and, confined at home to a narrow circle of connexions and acquaintance, she suffered life to slide away, as it were, at its own pace, Nor shook the outlasting sands, nor bid them stay.

An asthmatic complaint, which was slowly undermining her excellent constitution, more and more indisposed her, for any considerable exertion either of mind or body: but the arrival of a visitor had always the power to rouse her from a state of languor. Her powers

of conversation suffered little declension to the last, although her memory of recent circumstances became somewhat impaired. Her disposition,—of which sensibility was not in earlier life the leading feature,—now, mellowed into softness, pleasingly exhibited

Those tender tints that only time can give.

Her manners, never tainted by pride, which, with the baser but congenial affection of envy, was a total stranger to her bosom,—were now remarkable for their extreme humility: she spoke of every one not merely with the candour and forbearance which she had long practised; but with interest, with kindness, with an indulgence which sometimes appeared but too comprehensive; she seemed reluctant to allow, or believe, that any of her fellow-creatures had a failing, while she gave them credit gratuitously for many virtues. This state of mind, which, with her native acuteness of discernment, it must apparently have cost her some struggles to attain, had at least the advantage of causing her easily to admit of such substitutes as occurred for those contemporary and truly congenial friendships which, in the course of nature, were now fast failing her. She lost her early and affectionate friend Mrs Kenrick in 1819. In December 1822 her brother sunk under a long decline, which had served as a painful preparation to the final parting. A few months later she lost, in the excellent Mrs John Taylor of Norwich, perhaps the most intimate and most highly valued of all her distant friends.

A gentle and scarcely perceptible decline was now sloping for herself the passage to the tomb:—she felt and hailed its progress as a release from languor and infirmity,—a passport to another and a higher state of being. Her friends, however, flattered themselves that they might continue to enjoy her yet a little longer; and she had consented to re-

move under the roof of her adopted son, that his affectionate attentions and those of his family might be the solace of every remaining hour. But Providence had ordained it otherwise:—she quitted indeed her own house, but whilst on a visit at the neighbouring one of her sister-in-law Mrs Aikin, the constant and beloved friend of nearly her whole life, her bodily powers gave way almost suddenly; and after lingering a few days, on the morning of March the 9th, 1825, she expired without a struggle, in the eighty-second year of her age.

#### THE REV. CHARLES WOLFE, A. B.

CURATE OF DONOUGHMORE, DIOCESE  
OF ARMAGH, IRELAND.

Charles Wolfe was the youngest son of Theobald Wolfe, Esq. of Blackhall, in the county of Kildare. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Peter Lombard. He was born in Dublin, on the 14th December 1791. At an early age he lost his father, not long after whose death the family removed to England, where they resided for some years. In the year 1801, Charles was sent to a school at Bath, from which, in a few months, he was obliged to return home in consequence of the delicacy of his health, which interrupted his education for twelve months. Upon his recovery, he was placed under the tuition of Dr Evans, in Salisbury; but was removed in the year 1805, and soon after was sent as a boarder to Hyde Abbey School, Winchester, of which Mr Richards, senior, was then the able master. "There," observes Mr Russell, "he soon distinguished himself by his great proficiency in classical knowledge, and by his early powers of Latin and Greek versification, and displayed the dawnings of a genius which promised to set him



amidst that bright constellation of British poets which adorns the literature of the present age. The many high testimonies to his amiable disposition and superior talents, which are supplied by the affectionate letters of his schoolmasters, show that he was not overvalued by his own family, with every member of which he seems to have been the special favourite. I cannot better describe the manner in which his character as a boy was appreciated at school and at home, and how deservedly it was so prized, than in the following simple language of a very near relative, to whom I am indebted for some of the particulars of his life already mentioned :—“The letters I inclose you bear testimony to the amiable character of my dear, dear Charles, such as I ever remember it. Those from Mr Richards I can better estimate than any one else, from knowing that he was not easily pleased in a pupil, or apt to flatter. He was greatly attracted by superior talents; but you will see, that he speaks of qualities of more value. He never received even a slight punishment or reprimand at any school to which he ever went; and in nearly twelve years that he was under my mother's care, I cannot recollect that he ever acted contrary to her wishes, or caused her a moment's pain, except parting with her when he went to school. I do not know whether he ever told you that he had, when a boy, a wish to enter the army, which was acquired by being in the way of military scenes; but, when he found it would give his mother pain, he totally gave up the idea, which, I am sure, all his life he thanked God that he had done. In 1808, he left Winchester, (where he had been three years,) owing to our coming to Ireland, as my mother could not think of leaving him behind. His company was her first earthly comfort, and she could not relinquish it; indeed we used to count

the hours when the time drew near that he was expected. We were often told that we would spoil him, but you know whether it was so. When we arrived in Ireland, it was intended that he should go to some other school, but he did not go to any, nor had he any one to read with him, so that he entered college with much less previous instruction than most others. I believe you knew him soon after; and I need not tell you of him since, or what he has been, even if I could. I have never heard of a school-fellow or a college acquaintance who did not respect or love him; but I will not say more to you.” The pleasing testimony to his character and abilities contained in this extract, is indeed fully borne out by the accounts which some of his school-fellows have given of him to the writer. They spoke of him with the strongest affection, and represented him as the pride of Winchester school.”

In the year 1809, he entered the University of Dublin, and became the pupil of the late Rev. Dr Davenport, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, who immediately conceived the highest esteem for him, and did everything in his power to cultivate his talents. Of this gentleman, and of his kindness, Mr Wolfe ever spoke in terms of the most grateful recollection.

Thus assisted and encouraged, Mr Wolfe soon distinguished himself, and was rewarded by various academical honours. In the very first year of his college course he wrote, upon “The Prison Scene of Jugurtha,” (a subject proposed by the head of the University,) an English poem, which, if not equal to some of his subsequent productions, certainly “evinces,” to use Mr Russell's words, “boldness of thought, vigour of expression, and somewhat of a dramatic spirit.”

“Towards the close of the same year,” says Mr Russell, “he had to sustain a severe domestic affliction, in

the death of his mother—an event which wrought upon his affectionate heart an impression of the deepest regret. As soon as he was enabled to resume his studies, he entered upon them with diligence.”

Mr Wolfe was at this period of his life far from being in affluent circumstances. An intimate friend and fellow student of his, who, on coming of age, had acquired possession of a little property of four or five hundred pounds in value, warmly and anxiously pressed him to accept a moiety of it, for the purpose of facilitating his progress in life; but this generous offer Wolfe gratefully but steadily declined. With a chivalry of feeling which always distinguished him, he determined to endeavour to win his way by the exertion of his own talents. With this view he undertook the duties of a college tutor, and, as Mr Russell observes, “discharged the task with such singular devotedness, and disinterested anxiety, as materially to intrench upon his own particular studies. He was, indeed, so prodigal of his labour and of his time to each pupil, that he reserved little leisure for his own pursuits or relaxations. At the usual period, he obtained a scholarship, with the highest honour, upon which he immediately became a resident in college. A new theatre of literary honour was opened to him, at the commencement of the same year, where his genius for composition in prose and verse, and his natural powers of oratorical excellence, had more ample sphere for exercise and cultivation. In the Historical Society, of which he was now admitted a member, they were encouraged and expanded by the stimulus of generous competition, and by constant mental collision with the most accomplished and enlightened of his fellow-students. He soon obtained medals for oratory, and for compositions in prose and verse; and was early appointed to the honour-

able office of opening the sessions, after the summer recess, by a speech from the chair; the grand post of distinction to which the most successful speakers in the society continually aspired.”

On this occasion, however, the indolence and procrastination which at times accompany and impede great talents, prevented Mr Wolfe from achieving all that he might otherwise have accomplished. Although he had three months in which to collect and arrange his materials, he deferred doing so until the very last moment. Passages of his speech, indeed, he composed, and committed to memory; intending to fill up the chasms before the time when he would be called upon to make the expected display; but that time arrived, and found him still imperfectly prepared. His intimate associates, who were aware of his neglect, trembled for him. He himself, when he took the chair, was evidently in a state of great trepidation. Excited, however, by the stimulus of having to address so numerous and intellectual an assembly, he soon convinced his wellwishers that their apprehensions were in a great measure groundless. Although his speech was necessarily somewhat deficient in unity and connexion, parts of it were exceedingly eloquent; and it was received with the highest applause, and obtained the gold medal. A gentleman who was present observed, that it reminded him of those fine fragments of Phidias or Praxiteles, the beauty of which made the spectator lament the loss of the entire statue.

It was about this period, also, that among other poems of considerable beauty, Mr Wolfe wrote his “Ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore;” the simplicity, pathos, and sublimity of which, place it in the highest rank of lyrical compositions, and insure immortality to its author. The history of this exquisite little production is extraordi-

nary; and proves how much accident has sometimes to do not merely in eliciting works of genius, but in establishing their subsequent fame. In Captain Medwin's "Conversations of Lord Byron," published in October 1824, the following passage occurs:

"The conversation turned, after dinner, on the lyrical poetry of the day, and a question arose as to which was the most perfect ode that had been produced. Shelley contended for Coleridge's on Switzerland, beginning, 'Ye clouds,' &c.; others named some of Moore's Irish Melodies, and Campbell's Hohenlinden; and had Lord Byron not been present, his own Invocation in Manfred, or the Ode to Napoleon, or on Prometheus, might have been cited.

" 'Like Gray,' said he, 'Campbell smells too much of the oil: he is never satisfied with what he does: his finest things have been spoiled by over-polish. Like paintings, poems may be too highly finished. The great art is effect; no matter how produced. I will show you an ode you have never seen, that I consider little inferior to the best which the present prolific age has brought forth.'

"With this he left the table, almost before the cloth was removed, and returned with a Magazine, from which he read the following lines on Sir John Moore's Burial:—"

(The Ode, as quoted by Captain Medwin, being very inaccurate, is omitted here.)

"The feeling with which he recited these admirable stanzas I shall never forget. After he had come to an end, he repeated the third, and said it was *perfect*, particularly the lines—

'But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him.'

" 'I should have taken the whole,' said Shelley, 'for a rough sketch of Campbell's.' 'No,' replied Lord Byron, 'Campbell would have claimed it, if it had been his.'

"I afterwards had reason to think that the Ode was Lord Byron's;\* that he was piqued at none of his own being mentioned; and, after he had praised the verses so highly, could not own them. No other reason can be assigned for his not acknowledging himself the author; particularly as he was a great Admirer of General Moore."

This passage produced a very able and animated letter, inserted in the Morning Chronicle of the 29th of October 1824, from John Sydney Taylor, Esq. one of Mr Wolfe's "earliest and dearest friends;" in which that gentleman, justly observing, that "if the fame of men of genius be worth anything in a public point of view, it is of some consequence that it should be rightly appropriated," successfully asserts the right of Mr Wolfe to the celebrity which the beautiful poetical effusion in question is so well calculated to confer. The following is an extract from Mr Taylor's letter:

"The Ode which the Captain so hastily ascribes to the noble bard, and which Shelley was willing to appropriate to Campbell, was the production of no poet known to fame. Never did an instance occur in which the influence of the idolatry that men pay to established reputations was more conspicuous. The first poet of the day reads an anonymous poem, in which he detects a genius kindred to his own. He recites it with enthusiasm to his friends—one of them names another distinguished poet as the author—he rejects the presumption, and the admiring circle instantly discover its writer in him—

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\* "I am corroborated in this opinion lately by a lady whose brother received them many years ago from Lord Byron, in his Lordship's own hand-writing."

self. If it be not Campbell, it must be Byron ;

‘ ‘Tis Phœbus’ self, or else the Mantuan swain.’

“In this manner is this unclaimed poem ascribed to Byron, although he could have no possible grounds for concealing his name ; but, on the contrary, every reason that ought to induce him to avow it. The poem is one replete with condensed pathos and grandeur, and breathing all the fire of lyrical inspiration. It is, besides, evidently written under the generous impulse of redeeming from sordid obloquy the memory of a great man, the benefactor of his country, and the victim of a faction. It is the tribute of a true poet at the grave of departed worth ; not ashamed to perform the obsequies of a fallen hero, which the intrigue of party prevented the nation from rendering to one of her bravest and most accomplished soldiers. Here was every inducement why Byron should acknowledge himself the author of this Ode, had it indeed emanated from his pen. He was proud of vindicating the character of men whom ‘ the vulgar great ’ traduced, and whom their country ought not to have forgotten. Whether he gratified a generous ardour in so doing, or whether an impatience of authority impelled him, it matters not. Whatever his motive was for scorning the decrees of power, or the sentiments of illiberality, he had none to induce him to resort to subterfuge or concealment. Whether right or wrong, he took his stand openly in the face of his enemies, and threw down the gauntlet with the sternest action of defiance.

“This being the case, supposing the writer of the poem for ever unknown, it would not be reasonable to presume Lord Byron was its author ; not even although as many ladies as would equal the number of the muses and the graces conjoined, had each seen a copy of it in his Lordship’s own hand-writing.

But how would the literary conclave have been astonished had Byron been enabled to inform them that this poem, so long unclaimed, so much admired, was the production of one who was totally unknown to fame—one who had never been talked of in any periodical, whose name had not even been whispered in Albemarle Street or the Row ? This person was Charles Wolfe. His talents were known only to the private circle of his associates. He was one of my earliest and dearest friends. We were contemporaries of equal standing in the University of Dublin. Similarity of pursuit created intimacy. Though sometimes competitors for the same academic honours, it impaired not our sense of mutual esteem. Wolfe was equally distinguished in the severe sciences and in polite literature. Emulation, I believe, led him to excel in the former ; but the latter had all his intellectual affection. I well recollect the expression of mingled diffidence and enthusiasm with which he communicated to me his tribute to the memory of Sir John Moore. He had then written but the first and last verses, and had no intention of adding any others. The thought was inspired while reading an account of the death of the Marcellus of Cornuna in some periodical work ; the approbation which these two verses received from the few fellow-students to whom he showed them, among whom were the Rev. J. Sullivan, now vicar of St Catherine’s, Dublin, the Rev. Mr Dickenson, and, I believe, Mr Grierson, of the Irish bar, and one or two more, induced him to extend the design, and finish the ode in the form, though not exactly worded, as it came from Lord Byron’s hands. When he showed it to me completed, which, I think, was some time in the year 1814, I did not take a copy of it, but the verses impressed themselves indelibly on my recollection. I heard, a few years afterwards, when we sepa-

rated for different pursuits in life, that a copy of them, without the participation of Wolfe, had got into an Irish newspaper, whence they were copied into a magazine. I did not see them published until they re-appeared, within the last year, in the *Devizes Gazette*, under the title of 'The Dead Soldier.' They had, I presume, been all this time circulating about from one journal to another; and the author never took the pains of correcting the errors which have been perpetuated from the first imperfect copy to that which Captain Medwin has given to the public. These errors detract greatly from the spirit and beauty of the original. I shall correct them, and restore the ode to the state in which it came from the hands of the author; as my memory has always been tenacious of every syllable of it. The fame of Sappho is realized by a solitary fragment. The existence of Wolfe will be remembered by one of the shortest, but one of the most impressive odes in the language. It would be matter of regret if a work, though so small, yet bearing the impress of immortality, should not go down to future times with all the excellence which the genius of the author conferred on it. When volumes of verses that enjoy the popularity of a season shall have disappeared, this little ode, which its author never ventured to publish, will take its place among whatever is classic and enduring in the literature of our day."

A subsequent letter to Mr Taylor, from the Rev. J. Sullivan, with a sight of which we have been favoured, thus describes the circumstances which led to the composition of the ode.

"The poem was commenced in my company. The occasion was as follows: Wolfe came into my room one evening while I was reading the Edin-

burgh Annual Register; I think it was the volume for 1809,\* and which concluded with an account of the battle of Corunna, and the death of Sir John Moore. It appeared to me to be admirably written; and although the writer might not be classed amongst the *very* warmest admirers of that lamented general, yet he cordially appreciated his many great and amiable qualities; and eagerly seized upon every opportunity of doing him generous and ample justice. In college, we do not always lay down our books when visited by our friends; at least *you* know, to your cost, that such is not *my* practice. I made our dear departed friend listen to me while I read the account which the admirable writer (I conjectured that he must be Mr Southey) made to assume a classical interest; and we both felt kindled and elevated by a recital which was calculated to concentrate whatever of glory or interest attached in our young imaginations to Chæronæa or Marathon, upon the spotless valour of a British soldier. When I had done, Wolfe and I walked into the country; and I observed that he was totally inattentive to the objects around him; and in conversation absent and self-involved. He was, in fact, silently composing; and, in a short time, he repeated for me (without writing them down) the first and last stanzas of this beautiful ode, which, as you have truly stated in the *Morning Chronicle*, were all that he at first intended. I was exceedingly pleased by them; and I believe the admiration I expressed partly induced him to supply the other stanzas. Every one of the corrections which you have suggested is right. Your memory has served you admirably to restore the ode to the state in which it was left by its lamented author."

Mr Wolfe's character, which was that of preferring an easy and desultory exercise to a severe taxing of his mental faculties, was soon to experience a total change from the admission of a new principle into his nature. "Happening to become acquainted with an interesting and highly respectable family, who resided in the most picturesque part of the county of Dublin, he frequently visited them, sharing in all the refined pleasures of their domestic circle, and partaking with them in the exhilarating enjoyment of the rural and romantic scenery around them. With every member of the family he soon became cordially intimate; but, with one, this intimacy gradually and almost unconsciously grew into a decided attachment. The attainment of a fellowship would indeed have afforded him means sufficient to realize his hopes; but unhappily, the statute which rendered marriage incompatible with that honourable station, had been lately revived. His prospects of obtaining a competency in any other pursuit were so distant and uncertain, that the family of the young lady deemed it prudent at once to break off all further intercourse, before a mutual engagement had actually taken place." The effect which so severe a disappointment must have produced on such a being as Wolfe, may be easily conceived. It pressed upon both mind and body. Until this unfortunate epoch of his life, he had been in the enjoyment of the most robust health; but the sickness at his heart soon communicated itself to his whole frame. Even his general deportment was quite altered.

A few days previous to his ordination, his feelings received another shock by the death of the Rev. Hercules Henry Graves, who had been his fellow student, and one of his most valued and intimate friends.

Mr Wolfe's first curacy was a temporary one at Ballyclog, in Tyrone.

Of the extraordinary change in his situation, as compared with the luxury of the metropolis he had quitted, the following extract of a letter from him to one of his college friends, dated December 11, 1817, will give some idea:

"I am now sitting by myself opposite my turf fire, with my bible beside me, in the only furnished room of the glebe-house—surrounded by mountains, frost, and snow, and with a set of people with whom I am totally unacquainted, except a disbanded artilleryman, his wife, and two children, who attend me—the churchwarden, and the clerk of the parish."

Soon after, Mr Wolfe removed to Castle Caulfield, the principal village of the parish of Donoughmore, in the diocese of Armagh. His journey thither was thus whimsically described by himself:

"One waggon contained my whole fortune and family (with the exception of a cow, which was driven along-side of the waggon;) and its contents were two large trunks, a bed and its appendages; and on the top of these, which were piled up so as to make a very commanding appearance, sat a woman (my future housekeeper) and her three children; and by their side stood a calf of three weeks old, which has lately become an inmate in my family."

This, alas! was but assumed gaiety. Justly might he have said, in the words of Desdemona,

"I am not merry; but I do beguile  
The thing I am, by seeming otherwise."

His virtuous and manly mind, however, suggested to him the only efficacious mode of diminishing the mental distress which he endured; and he endeavoured, in alleviating the sufferings of others, to forget his own. Among other instances of his benevolent self-devotion, it is recorded, that on finding a poor family, in a distant hovel of his parish, shivering and famished, he not only afforded them the immediate re-

lief which his purse could supply, but on his return home, sent them the blankets from his own bed for their covering.

Of some of the concluding scenes of the life of this amiable but ill-fated son of genius, the following detached extracts from Mr Russell's more full and detailed narrative, present a picture at once gratifying and melancholy.

"The sphere of duty in which Mr Wolfe was engaged, was extensive and laborious. A large portion of the parish was situated in a wild hilly country, abounding in bogs and trackless wastes; and the population was so scattered, that it was a work of no ordinary difficulty to keep up that intercourse with his flock, upon which the success of a Christian minister so much depends. When he entered upon his work, he found the church rather thinly attended: but, in a short time, the effects of his constant zeal, his impressive style of preaching, and his daily and affectionate converse with his parishioners, were visible in the crowded and attentive congregations which began to gather round him.

"The success of a Christian pastor depends almost as much on the *manner* as the *matter* of his instruction. In this respect, Mr Wolfe was peculiarly happy, especially with the lower classes of the people, who were much engaged by the affectionate cordiality and the simple earnestness of his deportment towards them. In his conversations with the plain farmer or humble labourer, he usually laid his hands upon their shoulder or caught them by the arm; and, while he was insinuating his arguments, or enforcing his appeals, with all the variety of simple illustrations which a prolific fancy could supply, he fastened an anxious eye upon the countenance

of the person he was addressing, as if eagerly awaiting some gleam of intelligence, to show that he was understood and felt.

"During the year that the typhus fever raged most violently in the north of Ireland, his neighbourhood was much afflicted with the disease; and thus the important duty of visiting the sick (which to him was always a work of most anxious solicitude,) was vastly increased; and he accordingly applied himself with indefatigable zeal in every quarter of his extended parish, in administering temporal and spiritual aid to his poor flock. In the discharge of such duties, he exposed himself to frequent colds; and his disregard of all precaution, and of the ordinary comforts of life to which he had been accustomed, soon, unhappily, confirmed a consumptive tendency in his constitution, of which some symptoms appeared when in college.\* His frame was robust, and his general health usually strong; but an habitual cough, of which he himself seemed almost unconscious, often excited the apprehensions of his friends, and at length, in the spring of 1821, the complaint, of which it seemed the forerunner, began to make manifest inroads upon his constitution. No arguments, however, could for a long time dissuade him from his usual work. So little did he himself regard the fatal symptoms, that he could not be prevailed upon to relax his parochial labours. At length, however, his altered looks, and other unfavourable symptoms, appeared so alarming, that some of his most respectable parishioners wrote to his friends in Dublin, to urge them to use their influence in persuading him to retire for a while from his arduous duties; and to have the best medical ad-

\* Several of Mr Wolfe's most intimate college friends have no recollection of any such symptoms; but, on the contrary, speak of his singular health when at the University.

vice for him without further delay. But such was the anxiety he felt for his parish, and so little conscious did he seem of the declining state of his health, that no entreaties could avail. The repeated accounts of his sinking health at last impelled the friend who now feebly attempts this humble record of his worth, to set off at once to visit him, and to use all his influence to induce him to submit to what appeared so plainly the will of Providence, and to suspend his labours, until his strength was sufficiently recruited to resume them with renewed vigour. In the meantime, (about the middle of May 1821,) he had been hurried off to Scotland by the importunate intreaties of a kind and respected brother-clergyman, in his neighbourhood, in order to consult a physician, celebrated for his skill in such cases. On his way to Edinburgh, he happened to fall in with a deputation from the Irish Tract Society, who were going to that city to hold a meeting for the promotion of their important objects. Notwithstanding the languor of his frame, and the irritation of a harassing cough, he was prevailed upon to exert his eloquence in this interesting cause. In some of the speeches made upon that occasion, he thought that the dark side of the character of his countrymen had been strongly exhibited, while the brighter part was almost entirely kept out of view. With characteristic feeling, he stood up to present the whole image with all its beauties as well as its defects.

"On his return from Scotland, the writer met him at a friend's house within a few miles of his own residence; and, on the following Sunday, accompanied him through the principal part of his parish to the church; and never can he forget the scene he witnessed as they drove together along the road, and through the village. It must give a more lively idea of his character and

conduct as a parish clergyman than any other laboured delineation, or than a mere detail of particular facts. As he quickly passed by, all the poor people and children ran out at their cabin doors to welcome him with looks and expressions of the most ardent affection, and with all that wild devotion of gratitude so characteristic of the Irish peasantry. Many fell upon their knees, invoking blessings upon him; and long after they were out of hearing, they remained in the same attitude, showing by their gestures that they were still offering up prayers for him; and some even followed the carriage a long distance, making the most anxious inquiries about his health. He was sensibly moved by this manifestation of feeling, and met it with all that heartiness of expression, and that affectionate simplicity of manner, which made him as much an object of love, as his exalted virtues rendered him an object of respect.

"It can scarcely be a matter of surprise that he should feel much reluctance in leaving a station where his ministry appeared to be so useful and acceptable; and accordingly, though peremptorily required by the physician he had just consulted, to retire for some time from all clerical duties, it was with difficulty he could be dislodged from his post, and forced away to Dublin, where most of his friends resided.

"It was hoped that timely relaxation from duty, and a change in his mode of living to what he had been originally accustomed, and suitable to the present delicate state of his health, might avert the fatal disease with which he was threatened. The habits of his life, while he resided on his cure, were in every respect calculated to confirm his constitutional tendency to consumption. He seldom thought of providing a regular meal; and his humble cottage exhibited every ap-



pearance of the neglect of the ordinary comforts of life. A few straggling rush-bottomed chairs, piled up with his books—a small rickety table before the fire-place, covered with parish memoranda; and two trunks containing all his papers,—serving, at the same time, to cover the broken parts of the floor, constituted all the furniture of his sitting-room. The mouldy walls of the closet in which he slept, were hanging with loose folds of damp paper; and between this wretched cell and his parlour, was the kitchen, which was occupied by the disbanded soldier, his wife, and their numerous brood of children, who had migrated with him from his first quarters, and seemed now in full possession of the whole concern, entertaining him merely as a lodger, and usurping the entire disposal of his small plot of ground, as the absolute lords of the soil.

“After he left this comfortless home, he resigned himself entirely to the disposal of his family. Though his malady seemed to increase, and his frame to become more emaciated, still his natural spirits and mental elasticity continued unimpaired; so much so, that he continued to preach occasionally in Dublin with his usual energy, until the friendly physician to whom he had now submitted his case, absolutely forbade all present exercise of clerical duties.

“His anxiety about the provision for his duties in his parish, seemed for a long time materially to interrupt every enjoyment which might tend to his recovery. Indeed his feelings were so alive to the subject, that he could scarcely be satisfied with any arrangement which his kind clerical friends could make for him, under conviction that no occasional deputy can fully fill the place of the regular minister of the parish; and, unhappily, the advanced age and infirmities of his rector

rendered any exertions on his part impracticable.

“For some months after his removal from his parish, his health appeared to fluctuate, as is sometimes the case at the commencement of such complaints as his; and it was considered necessary, towards the approach of winter, that he should go to the south of France, as the most probable means of averting from him the threatened malady. In his attempt to reach Bourdeaux, he was twice driven back to Holyhead, by violent and adverse gales, and suffered so much from the effects, that it was deemed prudent to abandon the plan, and settle near Exeter during the winter and ensuing spring.

“After his return from Exeter, he remained during the summer with his friends in and near Dublin. His general health appeared not to have undergone any material change in the meantime; but his cough continued so violent and distressing, that he was ordered to go to Bourdeaux and back, for the benefit of the voyage.

“In less than a month he returned from Bourdeaux, and seemed to have derived some benefit from the voyage; but this was of short continuance. The fatal disease which had been long apprehended, proved to have taken full hold of his constitution: his strength appeared to sink fast, and his spirits to flag. The bounding step which expressed a constant buoyancy of mind, now became slow and feeble; his robust and upright figure, began to droop; his marked and prominent features acquired a sharpness of form, and his complexion, naturally fair, assumed the pallid cast of wasting disease; and all the other symptoms of consumption soon discovered themselves; and,

• Ev'n when his serious eyes were lighted up  
With kindling mirth; and from his lips distill'd

Words soft as dew, and cheerful as the dawn,  
Then, too, I could have wept : for on his face,  
Eye, voice, and smile ; nor less, his bending frame,—  
By other cause impaired than length of years,  
Lay something that still turn'd the thoughtful heart  
To melancholy dreams,—dreams of decay,  
Of death, and burial, and the silent tomb.

“ About the end of November, it was thought advisable, as the last remaining hope, that he should guard against the severity of the winter, by removing to the Cove of Cork, which, by its peculiar situation, is sheltered on all sides from the harsh and prevailing winds. Thither he was accompanied by the writer, and a near relative to whom he was fondly attached. For a short time he appeared to revive a little ; and sometimes entered into conversation with almost his usual animation : but the first unfavourable change of weather shattered his remaining strength : his cough now became nearly incessant, and a distressing languor weighed down his frame. In this state he continued until the 21st of February 1823, upon the morning of which day he expired,—in the 32d year of his age.”

#### THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES WHITWORTH,

Earl Whitworth of Adbaston, County of Stafford, Baron Adbaston ; Lord Whitworth of Newport Pratt, County of Galway, G.C.B. ; a Privy-Councillor ; Lord of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations ; High Steward of Stratford-upon-Avon ; and D. C. L.

His Lordship, who was born at Leybourne Grange, Kent, in 1754, was the eldest son of Sir Charles Whitworth, M.P. Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, &c.—the representative of a very ancient family. He was educated at Tunbridge-school, under Mr Cawthorne, the poet, and

Mr Towers, the translator of *Cæsar* and other Latin classics. Soon after leaving this academy, Mr Whitworth became an officer in the Guards. The successful example, however, of one of his predecessors, Lord Whitworth, appearing to point out diplomacy as the happiest road to celebrity and preferment, it was determined that he should commence that career, which eventually led him to honour and distinction.

After an initiatory trial in a subordinate situation, Mr Whitworth's first mission was to the court of Stanislaus Augustus, of Poland, where he appeared, in 1786, in the character of minister plenipotentiary.

After residing two years in Poland, Mr Whitworth was recalled ; and, in September 1788, was nominated envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. At this time St Petersburg exhibited a heroine possessed of a masculine mind, adored by her own subjects, holding Poland in chains, and threatening to render the Greek cross triumphant on the shores of the Hellespont. But Catharine was surrounded by French philosophers and statesmen ; and this circumstance, in addition to some recent events of a disagreeable nature, had created somewhat of an aversion in the bosom of this princess to the British cabinet, if not to the nation. From this feeling, consequences unfavourable to the commerce of England might have been anticipated, but that the French Revolution forewarned her of her own danger.

In 1793, when the English ministers determined to take part in the confederacy against France, it was thought proper to invest the ambassador at St Petersburg with the Order of the Bath, to add dignity to his mission. A more intimate connexion than had hitherto subsisted became an object of mutual desire ; a subsidiary

treaty began to be hinted, and the death of the empress alone prevented its completion.

The zeal of her son and successor, Peter III., required but little stimulus to induce him to make a common cause with the chief potentates of Europe; and Sir Charles Whitworth concluded a provisional treaty at St Petersburg in 1798, by which it was agreed, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, "that in case the King of Prussia could be induced to take an active part in the war against the common enemy, the Emperor of all the Russias was ready to afford him a succour of land forces, and he destined for that purpose forty-five thousand men, infantry and cavalry, with the necessary artillery." But this plan, "the pecuniary succours for which were to be supplied by his Britannic Majesty," was completely defeated by the obstinacy of the monarch in question, who firmly persisted in his adherence to a system of rigorous neutrality. It was, however, resolved, notwithstanding this adverse occurrence, that so considerable a body of troops should not remain idle; and Sir Charles Whitworth, knowing how much and how deeply England was interested in the overthrow of the Batavian republic, concluded a convention, dated June 22d, (11) 1799, for the express purpose of employing a portion of them "for the expulsion of the French from the Seven United Provinces, and the deliverance of the latter from the yoke under which they had so long groaned."

But although Peter III. entered into the contest with a degree of enthusiasm worthy of the days of chivalry, and although his general, the celebrated Suwarrow, at the head of a chosen body of troops, conferred new lustre on the Russian arms, the sudden reverse that occurred in Switzerland, added to some misunderstanding

relative to Holland, and a coolness that took place between the two Imperial Courts, were calculated to effect an alteration in the aspect of public affairs. This was completed by a domestic incident, for the introduction of an obscure actress produced a complete change in the politics of Russia, and all that had been achieved by the talents of our minister there was overturned by the arts of a cunning and intriguing female. The name of this personage was Madame Le Chevalier, and she is said to have been originally the mistress of the imperial barber, a Greek domestic who possessed great influence with his sovereign. The British factory offered to advance a large sum of money to Sir Charles Whitworth to produce a counter-action on the lady; but what were ten or fifteen thousand pounds to a rapacious woman, who had an absolute monarch, the autocrat of all the Russias, at her feet?

On the return of the English ambassador, he was created, March 21, 1800, an Irish peer, by the title of Baron Whitworth, of Newport Pratt, in the county of Galway.

The situation of this country soon after became very critical in respect to the northern states. They complained that their neutrality was no longer respected, that their shores and harbours were violated by the British cruizers, and that even their men-of-war were not permitted to afford protection to convoys intrusted to their charge. They urged, at the same time, as a matter of right, that their neutrality protected their merchantmen against being searched by the cruizers of either of the belligerent powers.

In this posture of public affairs, it was resolved in the British cabinet, to select a diplomatist equally eminent for his talents and for his moderation; and accordingly Lord Whitworth was

hominated for the purpose. He repaired to Copenhagen in the character of Plenipotentiary Extraordinary; Mr Merry, our resident minister, remaining, as usual, to discharge the customary official business of his department. While his lordship commenced a treaty with the Count de Bernstorff, his mission was backed, and his arguments were supported by a strong squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb-ketches, and five gun-boats, which entered the Sound under the command of Admiral Dickson. After a considerable time spent in discussion, an adjustment took place on the 29th August, 1800. The Emperor had actually laid an embargo on all the English ships and property within his dominions; but no sooner did he learn the signature of the convention of Copenhagen, than he withdrew the orders for sequestration, and restored whatever had been seized.

No blame is imputable to Lord Whitworth because an amicable treaty did not immediately follow this temporary convention. It is well known, that a few months after the English plenipotentiary quitted Copenhagen, a convention was concluded for a new armed neutrality in which Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark joined, under the sanction of his Imperial Majesty. One of those powers seized on Hamburgh, another on Hanover, and a third wished to avenge the loss of the grand-mastership of Malta by a declaration in behalf of France. These proceedings gave birth to a new expedition of eighteen sail of the line up the Baltic: and every subject in dispute was finally terminated by the battle of Copenhagen, the secession of the Swedes, the sudden death of Paul, and the armistice agreed to between the Prince of Denmark and Lord Nelson, on the 9th April, 1801.

On his return to England, Lord Whitworth, on April 7th, 1801, mar-

ried Arabella Diana, widow of John Frederick, third Duke of Dorset, and eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Charles Cope, second baronet of Brewhorn, county of Oxford, by Catharine, youngest daughter of Sir Cecil Bishop, fifth Baronet of Parham, Sussex (and afterwards second wife of the first Earl of Liverpool).

In the meantime new and unforeseen occurrences had taken place. By a sudden change at home, Mr Pitt had been divested of the management of public affairs, while Mr Addington exchanged the Speaker's chair for a less easy seat on the Treasury bench; and the new ministry, anxious to conciliate public opinion, eagerly met the well-known wishes of Buonaparte for the re-establishment of peace between Britain and France. Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, after a long but secret negotiation with M. Otto, suddenly announced the signature of preliminaries of peace between Britain on the one part, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other. After the lapse of nearly six months, during which the public expectation was greatly excited by alternate hopes and fears, the long expected treaty was signed, ratified, and promulgated according to the established forms.

The Treaty of Amiens, concluded March 27, 1802, was considered by some politicians rather as a cessation of hostilities than a definitive pacification; and the event proved that too many objects of importance were left open for future discussion. Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding this, returned from the congress welcomed by the well-merited applause of his countrymen. He was succeeded first by Mr Jackson, then by Mr Merry, and finally by Lord Whitworth; who, having been made a privy-councillor, was sent to Paris towards the latter end of 1802, as ambassador extraordinary and ple-

nipotentiary. On his Lordship's arrival at Paris he found himself, like his predecessors, surrounded by difficulties. A rivalry in commerce had succeeded to a rivalry in arms, and the custom-houses of the respective nations were in a state of direct hostility. A variety of circumstances tended to render this negotiation delicate in the extreme; such as the renunciation of Parma; the mission of Sebastiani; the occupation of Holland by a considerable army; the violation of the rights of the Swiss Cantons; and, above all, the aggrandizement of France by means of fresh acquisitions. These, and a variety of other objects of equal importance, seemed to embitter this embassy, and to render it disagreeable to all engaged in it. On the other hand, the First Consul complained of the personalities with which the newspapers in London were filled, particularly one published in French by the emigrant De Peltier; of the countenance given to the ex-bishops and refugees, especially Georges, afterwards executed at Paris; of the book published by Sir Robert Wilson; and of a variety of other real or supposed injuries. But it was the retention of Malta that appears to have been the chief object of dispute, and the ostensible cause of the war, that ensued.

After a number of previous conferences with Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, Buonaparte at length sent for the English ambassador, in the beginning of 1803, and a long and important interview took place, which led to no results. Buonaparte chiefly insisted upon the evacuation of Malta by the English, which Lord Whitworth was not prepared to accede to.

The English ministry, however, persisted in the resolution of not evacuating Malta, although a categorical answer was, in the meantime, demanded by General Andréossy, the French ambassa-

dor at London. On this, a rupture appearing to be inevitable, his Majesty, in March, 1803, sent a message to both houses of Parliament, stating the preparations making in the ports of France and Holland, and recommending the adoption of such measures as might be consistent with the honour of his crown and the security of his dominions. A subsequent interview between Lord Whitworth and Buonaparte, instead of healing, appears to have widened the breach; and his Lordship's prompt and dignified repression of the usurper's intemperate address before a full court, and all the foreign ministers, is celebrated throughout Europe.

Lord Whitworth, on his first interview with M. Talleyrand, remonstrated against the insult offered to him, as alike offensive "to his public and private feelings." Similar remonstrances were also made in the King's name, by order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but Malta again became the bone of contention, and *projets* innumerable were formed, presented, and debated, relative to the possession of that important island. A length the English minister, in consequence of positive orders from his court, delivered in his *ultimatum*; and declared that if no convention on this basis was signed within a week, he had received instructions to terminate his mission, and return to London. As the Court of the Tuilleries would not accede to this, it was proposed by Talleyrand, as a *mezzo termino*, to relinquish Malta to Russia; but difficulties occurred in respect to this plan, and Lord Whitworth demanded the necessary passports for his departure. These were at length obtained, although not without great difficulty, and after three successive messages; on which his Lordship left Paris, May 13, 1803. From this moment every idea of peace vanished; and in

the course of three days an order of council was issued for reprisals, which, of course, produced a new war.

After an interview with the Cabinet Ministers in London, Lord Whitworth repaired to Knowle, where for some years his Lordship chiefly resided, rendering himself exceedingly popular by his attention and politeness to all descriptions of persons. His native country, in the course of the war, furnished large bodies of volunteers and yeomanry, and he himself was not wanting in his exertions to encourage their patriotic efforts. No sooner was the country menaced with a descent, than he raised and clothed, at his own expense, the Holmesdale battalion of infantry, composed of 600 men; and he frequently repaired to their headquarters at Maidstone to inspect their condition.

On March 2, 1813, Lord Whitworth was made a lord of the King's bed-chamber; on the 14th of June following, he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Whitworth, of Adbaston, in the county of Stafford; and in August succeeded the Duke of Richmond as Viceroy of Ireland. At the enlargement of the Order of the Bath in January, 1815, he was made one of the twelve Civil Knights Grand Crosses; and November 25, that year, was advanced to the dignities of Baron Adbaston and Earl Whitworth. He resigned the Lieutenancy of Ireland in September, 1817, when Lord Talbot was appointed to succeed him.

The Noble Earl's decease took place at Knowle, after only three days' illness, on the 13th of May 1825.

#### THE REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL. D.

The profound erudition, inflexible integrity, and unaffected benevolence of  
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the late Dr Parr, were so universally acknowledged, and so eminently venerated, that, whatever difference of opinion may exist with respect to the soundness of some of his opinions, he will ever rank highly among the many excellent and admirable persons who have in the present age conferred honour upon their country, and reflected lustre upon letters. Equalled, perhaps, by some of his contemporaries in the art of verbal criticism, in rare and elegant classical knowledge he was unquestionably pre-eminent in the learned world. His vast and varied literary resources were acquired, too, not in the ease and leisure of affluence, but under the pressure of haste and poverty; in a situation subject to many mortifications, and wholly unsupported and uncheered by any adventitious advantage or encouragement.

Dr Samuel Parr was born at Harrow, January 15, 1746-7. His great-grandfather was rector of Kirby Malory, in Leicestershire, and his grandfather was vicar of Hinckley, in the same county. His father, to use Dr Parr's own words, in a letter to Dr Percival, was "an apothecary and surgeon at Harrow, a man of a very robust and vigorous intellect." The family (of which a pedigree is printed in Nichol's Leicestershire, iv. 725), was of the highest respectability, and produced many divines; but was greatly reduced through persevering Jacobitism, and Mr Parr himself advanced nearly his whole property (£800) in aid of the Pretender. The son, therefore, was brought up a Tory; but Dr Parr has said, that his father, by giving him Rapin to read when very young, first loosened his early political sentiments. He was considered a boy of very precocious talents, and had attained extraordinary grammatical knowledge of Latin at four years of age.

When between nine and ten years old, he lost a tender mother, for whom he ever felt and avowed a strong affec-

tion; and on his father marrying again before the expiration of twelve months, the son refused to exchange his mourning weeds for the new coat with lap-pets, ordered for him on occasion of the new wedding.

At Easter, 1756, young Parr was admitted on the foundation of Harrow School, where he became head boy in January 1761, at the early age of fourteen; at that time particularly attracting the notice of the head-master, Dr Sumner. Here he was contemporary with Mr Halhed, Sir William Jones, and Dr Bennet, late Bishop of Cloyne; with the two latter of whom he devised a political play. With those personages his friendship was ardent and constant through life. The first literary attempt of Dr Parr was reported by himself to have been a drama founded on the Book of Ruth; and possibly, had he been born in Milton's age, he would have been a poet. It is to be regretted that all the youthful exercises of this singular republic of boys were subsequently stolen and taken to Holland. Sermons are in existence, written by Dr Parr at the early age of fourteen.

Soon after the above-mentioned date, Dr Parr left school, his father wishing to educate him in his own profession, and "for two or three years," says he, "I attended to his business."

In 1765 he entered Emanuel College, Cambridge; but his pecuniary necessities soon became pressing, and he determined to leave the University rather than to borrow. On balancing his accounts, he found, to his extreme surprise, that he had L.3, 17s. over and above the full payment of his debts.

Dr Sumner soon recalled him to Harrow, where he was appointed first assistant in January 1767; and, during Dr Sumner's life, he met with the most flattering personal attachment from that distinguished scholar.

At Christmas, 1769, Dr Parr was ordained to the curacies of Wilsdon and

Kingsbury, Middlesex, which he resigned at Easter, 1770. In 1771, he was created M.A. *per litteras Regias*, and in the same year, on the death of Dr Sumner, he became a candidate for the head-mastership of Harrow, with the late master's strong recommendation. Although sanguine hopes were entertained by his friends of his success, his youth, and other influence, prevailed against his nomination, to the great disappointment of the scholars, by whom he was sincerely beloved. The election fell upon Dr Heath.

It is well known, that the dissatisfaction of the school was manifested in Dr Parr's favour in some overt acts of insubordination, which he was unjustly accused of having fomented. The most violent clamours were raised against him, and circulated in the public papers. Ultimately he resigned the place of assistant, and established a private academy at Stanmore, with forty-five boys, of whom all but one followed him from Harrow. It then became desirable, and even necessary, that he should be married: he, therefore, allied himself to Jane, daughter of Zachariah Marsengale, Esq. of Carleton, Yorkshire, and niece to Thomas Mauleverer, Esq. of Arncliffe, in that county; of an ancient and respectable family. Dr Parr married Miss Marsengale, because he wanted a housekeeper; Miss Marsengale married Dr Parr, because she wanted a house. She was an only child, bred up by three maiden aunts, as she said of herself, "in rigidity and frigidity," and she always described Dr Parr as "born in a whirlwind, and bred a tyrant." Such discordant elements were not likely to produce harmony. The lady lost few opportunities of annoying her spouse; an object, which a strong understanding and caustic powers of language afforded her more than ordinary facilities of accomplishing; and she always preferred exposing his foibles and ridiculing his peculiari-

ties in the presence of others. His mind and temper were kept in continual irritation; and he was driven to the resources of visiting, and to the excitement of that table talk which unfortunately superseded efforts of more lasting character. Porson used to say—"Parr would have been a great man but for three things,—his trade, his wife, and his politics!" By this his first wife, who died at Teignmouth, April 16, 1810, (and was buried at Hatton,) Dr Parr had several children, who died in their infancy; and two daughters who grew up. Of these, the younger, Catherine, died unmarried; the elder, Sarah, was united, in 1797, to John, the eldest son of Colonel Wynne, of Plasnewydd, near Denbigh, and died at Hatton, in 1810, having given birth to three daughters, two of whom, Caroline and Augusta, are now living, the former being the wife of the Rev. John Lynes, rector of Elmley Lovett, Worcestershire; one of the Doctor's executors.

The period of Dr Parr's continuance at Stanmore, was five years. "The boys who accompanied him," to use the words of one of his pupils, "were in general the flower of Harrow school, in the zenith of its glory, when a Summer presided in its academic bowers. Many were young men of considerable talents and matured intellect, and detested alike a Persian, a Grecian, or an English tyrant."

The advantages of the Stanmore establishment were not, however, equal to the Doctor's expectations. His expenses were excessive, his labours most oppressive, and he found the impossibility of supporting his situation against the influence and credit of a great public school, and the well-founded reputation of his competitor, Dr Heath. He therefore, in 1776, was induced to accept the mastership of Colchester school, and thither a considerable part of his Stanmore scholars followed him.

He was ordained priest in 1777, and held the cures of the parishes of Trinity and the Highe, Colchester. In 1778, he obtained the mastership of Norwich school, where Mr Beloe was for three years his under-master, and the Rev. T. Munro his scholar; and in 1779, he undertook the care of two curacies at Norwich; these he resigned in 1780, in which year he received his first ecclesiastical preferment, the rectory of Asterby, in Lincolnshire. In the summer of this year he commenced his career as an author, by the publication of "Two Sermons on Education."

In 1781, he was admitted to the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge, but without any particular marks of distinction.

In the summer of 1781, appeared "A Discourse on the late Fast, by Phileleutherus Norfolciensis," 4to. This sermon has been considered the best of Dr Parr's productions, and had a corresponding success. In the spring of 1783, Lady Trafford, whose son he had educated, presented him with the perpetual curacy of Hatton, then worth about £80 per annum; and in April 1783, he removed to that seat of hospitality, where he spent the remainder of his days. After this preferment, he resigned Asterby. In the same year, he obtained from Bishop Lowth, the prebend of Wenlock Barns, in the Cathedral of St Paul. In 1785, he resumed his former subject, in "A Discourse on Education, and on the Plans pursued in Charity Schools," and about a thousand copies were sold in a very short time.

In 1787, Dr Parr assisted the Rev. Henry Homer in a new edition of the three books of Bellendenus, a learned Scotsman, Humanity Professor at Paris, in 1602, and Master of Requests to James I. These he respectively dedicated to Mr Burke, Lord North, and Mr Fox. He prefixed a Latin preface, with characters of those distinguished statesmen, the style of which is, per-



haps, the most successful of all modern imitations of Cicero. How far the preface was appropriate may be doubted. Bellendenus had intended a large work, "De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum," the "Three Lights of Rome," Cicero, Seneca, and the elder Pliny; whence Dr Parr conceived the idea of delineating the characters of the then three most eminent senators of Great Britain. The taste and character of the composition, and the singular discrimination in the portraits, created an extraordinary sensation in the literary and political world. A translation (by Mr Beloe) was published in octavo in 1788, but without the author's approbation. Dr Parr had thenceforth fully committed himself on the side of the popular party. This naturally terminated all hope of church preferment from the Court; and such was the low state of Dr Parr's pecuniary resources, that a subscription was made by the leading Whigs of the day, about the same period as that for Mr Fox, and an annuity of £300 was purchased for Dr Parr's life.

In 1789, appeared "Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian, not admitted into the Collection of their respective Works." Although it was thought that personal feelings towards Bishop Hurd gave origin to this volume, yet it was allowed on all hands, to contain some admirable critical remarks. It produced a reply, entitled, "A Letter to Dr Parr, occasioned by his Republication," &c.

In 1790, Dr Parr exchanged the curacy of Hatton (though he still continued to reside there as deputy-curate) for the rectory of Waddenhoe, in Northamptonshire. In the same year he became acquainted with Dr Priestley.

In 1790, also, Dr Parr was involved in the controversy on the real authorship of the Bampton Lectures preached by Dr White. This controversy produced a pamphlet by Dr White, entitled

"A Statement of Dr White's Literary Obligations to the late Rev. Mr Samuel Badcock, and the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D.," Oxford, 1790.

In 1791 happened the riots in Birmingham, when the library and philosophical apparatus of Dr Priestley were burnt; and the mob hearing that Dr Parr had been visiting Dr Priestley, made known their determination to proceed to Hatton, and burn Dr Parr's house and library. For three days and nights Dr Parr and his family were agitated with consternation and dismay, but happily, before the mob could accomplish their purpose, the military put an end to their horrible proceedings. In that unexampled period of national excitement, when political and religious prejudices raged together, Dr Parr acted a manly, a decided, and a most honourable part. It is well known, that the pretext for these outrages was a meeting held by the dissenters on the 14th of July 1791, in celebration of the French Revolution. In consequence of a report that a party remained stubborn enough to meditate another commemoration upon the ensuing anniversary of that event, the Doctor, in one day, began and finished his "Letter from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleutheropolis; or a serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham, by a Member of the Established Church." This extraordinary pamphlet produced an advertisement from the Dissenters, in which they disclaimed all intention of meeting again upon that occasion. Though consisting of only forty pages, it is among the most eloquent of Dr Parr's publications. Like most of his productions, it was written on the spur of the occasion.

In 1791, Dr Parr having received two anonymous letters, probably undeserving of notice, publicly attributed them to the Rev. Charles Curtis, rector of Solihull, in Warwickshire. Mr Cur-

tis, in justification of his own character, contradicted the charge in the *St James's Chronicle*, which produced from the Doctor an octavo pamphlet of two hundred and seventeen pages thickly strewed with notes, and a proportionate appendix, entitled, "A Sequel to the Printed Paper lately circulated in Warwickshire by the Rev. Charles Curtis, a Birmingham Rector," &c., 1792. So open to ridicule, however, was this huge Sequel, that it tempted Cumberland to enter the field with a humorous pamphlet, called "Curtius rescued from the Gulph, or the Retort Courteous to the Rev. Dr Parr, in answer to his learned Pamphlet, entitled 'A Sequel,' &c."

In this composition, the author raked into the indexes of the *Delphin* and *Mattaire's* editions as cleverly as the Doctor had cited *Stobæus*. From the

"Ille mi PAR-ese deus videtur,  
Ille, si fas est, supetare divos"—*Catullus*,

to the word *FINIS*, inclusive,

"Jam sumus ergo PARES!"

it was one string of puns.

In 1793, he was plunged into the depths of another and yet more important controversy. Dr Parr had been induced to afford valuable advice and assistance to Mr Homer and Dr Charles Combe, in editing a most splendid and comprehensive edition of *Horace*. Mr Homer's exertions are supposed to have hastened his end. On the demise of Mr Homer, the bulk of the undertaking devolved on Dr Combe, who was found incompetent to the discharge of so arduous a task; and Dr Parr's assistance towards the second volume, from circumstances which may on some future occasion be developed, was withdrawn, and he was induced to publish some severe animadversions in the "*British Critic*," a periodical work then

lately established by Mr Beloe and others. In reply to this, Dr Combe published a pamphlet, entitled, "A Statement of Facts, relative to the behaviour of the Rev. Dr Parr to the late Mr Homer and Dr Combe, in order to point out the source, falsehood, and malignity of Dr Parr's attack, in the '*British Critic*,' on the character of Dr Combe, 1794." In this statement, Dr Parr was accused of breach of promise, violation of friendship, and even want of veracity; he was styled by his antagonist the "literary Ajax;" and to make that epithet good, he replied, in a closely-printed octavo pamphlet of ninety-four pages, called "Remarks on the Statement of Dr Charles Combe, by an occasional Writer in the '*British Critic*,' 1795."

Mr Boswell, in his *Life of Dr Johnson*, having expressed his doubts respecting the correctness of Dr Parr's assertion, that the great lexicographer "not only endured, but almost solicited an interview with Dr Priestley," Dr Parr sent to "*The Gentleman's Magazine*," in March 1795, his reasons for that assertion, which were accompanied by some curious correspondence. To this "a general answer" was prepared by Mr Boswell, a short time before his death, but not published. In the same year, Mr Beloe published a translation of "*Aulus Gellius*," the very learned and judicious preface to which was written by Dr Parr.

On Easter Tuesday, in the year 1800, Dr Parr preached his justly-celebrated Spital Sermon, at Christchurch, Newgate-street, before Harvey Christian Combe, Esq. the Lord Mayor. This sermon was soon afterwards printed, with a number of curious notes; which induced the author of "*Political Justice*" to publish, in the same year, an octavo pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts occasioned by the perusal of Dr Parr's Spital Sermon, being a Reply to the

Attacks of Dr P., Mr Mackintosh, and others." A suspension of intercourse between Dr Parr and Mr Godwin was the consequence; but a few months previous to his death, Dr Parr sent Mr Godwin a message of peace, and invitation to Hatton.

In 1801, Dr Parr was offered, (by Alexander Baring, Esq.) but declined it, the vicarage of Winterbourne Stoke, in Wiltshire. In 1802 he was presented by Sir Francis Burdett to the rectory of Graffham, in Huntingdonshire. The following is the interesting correspondence which passed on the occasion.—

"SIR,

"I am sorry that it is not in my power to place you in a situation which would become you—I mean in the Episcopal Palace at Buckden: but I can bring you very near to it; for I have the presentation to a rectory now vacant, within a mile and a half of it, which is very much at Dr Parr's service. It is the rectory of Graffham, at present worth L.200 a-year, and, as I am informed, may soon be worth L.270; and I this moment learn that the incumbent died last Tuesday.

"Dr Parr's talents and character might well entitle him to a better patronage than this from those who know how to estimate his merits; but I acknowledge that a great additional motive with me to the offer I now make him, is, that I believe I cannot do any thing more pleasing to his friends, Mr Fox, Mr Sheridan, and Mr Knight; and I desire you, sir, to consider yourself obliged to them only.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"With the greatest respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

"Vicarage-House, Buckden, Sept. 26, 1802.

"DEAR SIR,

"After rambling in various parts of

Norfolk, I went to Cambridge, and from Cambridge I yesterday came to the parsonage of my most respectable friend, Mr Maltby, at Buckden, where I this morning had the honour of receiving your letter. Mrs Parr opened it last Friday at Hatton, and I trust that you will pardon the liberty she took in desiring your servant to convey it to me in Huntingdonshire, where she knew that I should be, as upon this day.

"Permit me, dear sir, to request that you would accept the warmest and most sincere thanks of my heart for this unsolicited, but most honourable, expression of your good will towards me. Nothing can be more important to my worldly interest than the service you have done me, in presenting me to the living of Graffham. Nothing can be more exquisitely gratifying to my very best feeling, than the language in which you have conveyed to me this mark of your friendship. Indeed, dear sir, you have enabled me to pass the years of declining life in comfortable and honourable independence. You have given me additional and unalterable conviction, that the firmness with which I have adhered to my principles has obtained for me the approbation of wise and good men. And when that approbation assumes, as it now does, the form of protection, I fairly confess to you, that the patronage of Sir Francis Burdett has a right to be ranked among the proudest, as well as the happiest, events of my life. I trust that my future conduct will justify you in the disinterested and generous gift which you have bestowed upon me: and sure I am that my friends, Mr Fox, Mr Sheridan, and Mr Knight, will not only share with me in my joy, but sympathize with me in those sentiments of respect and gratitude which I shall ever feel towards Sir Francis Burdett.

"Most assuredly I shall myself set

a higher value upon your kindness, when I consider it as intended to gratify the friendly feelings of those excellent men, as well as to promote my own personal happiness.

"I shall wait your pleasure about the presentation; and I beg leave to add, that I shall stay at Buckden for one week only, and shall have reached Hatton about this day fortnight, where I shall obey your commands. One circumstance, I am sure, will give you great satisfaction, and therefore I shall beg leave to state it. The living of Graffham will be of infinite value to me, because it is tenable with a Rectory I now have in Northamptonshire; and happy I am, that my future residence will be fixed, and my existence closed upon that spot where Sir Francis Burdett has given me the power of spending my old age with comforts and conveniences quite equal to the extent of my fondest wishes, and far surpassing any expectations I have hitherto ventured to indulge.

"I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and most unfeigned thankfulness, dear Sir,

"Your very obedient, faithful servant,  
"S. PARR."

For this preferment, which relieved him as to pecuniary matters, Dr Parr always expressed a due sense of the kindness of the worthy baronet. Still, however, he continued attached to his residence at Hatton, where he had secured, and ever continued to maintain

he was warmly attached, and for whose character he always expressed the greatest admiration and respect,\*—"had my friends continued in power one fortnight longer, it would have been all settled! Dr Huntingford was to have been translated to Hereford, and I should have had Gloucester. My family arrangements were made; and I had determined that no clergyman in my diocese, who had occasion to call upon me, should depart without partaking of my dinner." After a momentary pause he observed, "In the House of Peers I should seldom have opened my mouth, unless—unless," he added with some warmth, "any one had presumed to attack the character of my friend Charles Fox—and then I would have knocked him down with the full torrent of my impetuosity. Charles Fox was a great man; and so is your friend William Pitt; and I can tell you, that if I had them both in this room, and only we three had been together, I would have locked the door—but first would have had plenty of wine on the table—and depend upon it we should not have disagreed!"

In 1803, Dr Parr published another 4to sermon, "preached on the last Fast, Oct. 19, at the Parish-church of Hatton." A letter of the doctor's to the late Lord Warwick, on some electioneering disputes, was also printed, but was suppressed; though, as a specimen of the vituperative style, it is worthy, or, as some may think, unworthy of preservation.

ed windows, &c. and had given — of bells. Nor would he have quitted Hatton for any preferment short of a mitre, which, in 1807, had nearly adorned his manly brows. "Had my friends," he once said to a gentleman to whom

"Conjecturæ quædam de Sensu, Partu, et Idearum Generatione;" "An Inquiry into the Origin of the Human Appetites and Affections, showing how each arises from Association;" and

\* Mr John Nichols.

"Man in Quest of Himself, or a Defence of the Individuality of the Human Mind, or Self." These he intended to republish, probably with original remarks, but the whole impression is stored up in the printer's warehouse.

In 1808, Mr Coke, of Holkham, made Dr Parr an offer of the rectory of Buckingham. This, however, did not tempt the doctor to leave the spot to which he was so attached.

On the death of Mr Fox, Dr Parr announced his intention of publishing a Life of his celebrated friend and political favourite. The expectations of the public were excited, but were certainly disappointed in a publication of two octavo volumes, entitled "Characters of the late Charles James Fox; selected, and in part written, by Philopatris Varvicensis," 1809.

On December 27, 1816, Dr Parr married, secondly, Mary, sister of Mr Eyre, of Coventry, who survives him.

Two small publications, one of which was printed by his especial request (containing a critical essay by Dr Parr on the character of Dr Taylor, the learned editor of Demosthenes and Lysias;) and of the other of which he was the immediate editor, must not pass unnoticed. They were,—1st, "Two Music Speeches at Cambridge, in 1714 and 1730, by Roger Long, M.A., and John Taylor M.A., to which are added, a Latin Speech of Dr Taylor; several of his juvenile Poems; some Minor Essays in prose; and Specimens of his Epistolary Correspondence; with Memoirs of Dr Taylor, and Dr Long." 8vo. 1819. 2dly, "Four Sermons: 1 & 2, by Dr Taylor; 3, by Bishop Lowth; and 4, by Bishop Hayter; with a preface suggested by remarks of Dr Parr."

A variety of Dr Parr's minor literary productions appeared in "The Gentleman's Magazine;" to which he was a frequent and valuable correspond-

ent. Among these are two Letters on the subject of Howard's statue, a learned Letter to the Rev. Mr Glasse, on the word *Cauponari*, and several Letters to Lord Chedworth (inserted in a report of the trial on the will of that nobleman.) Many biographical notices from his masterly pen have also graced the pages of *Sylvanus Urban*. In "The Gentleman's Magazine" may likewise be found most of his Latin epitaphs, amounting to upwards of thirty. His manuscripts are said to be very numerous, and upon various subjects of verbal criticism, theology, and metaphysics. He often declared during his lifetime, that they were not in a state fit for publication; that many of them were illegible even to himself; and that he had most peremptorily desired his executors to destroy them after his death, without distinction, and even without inspection. Fortunately, however, Dr Parr seems to have re-considered this subject; for he has left written directions for the positive publication of some, and the discretionary publication of other parts of his works; a duty which his executors will no doubt undertake with all the care and fidelity which the case requires.

It appears from a private letter to the conductor of "The Gentleman's Magazine," dated December 18, 1818, that Dr Parr then meditated the publication of a tract, which, however, did not appear till after his death.

"Milner, the Roman Catholic, has published an elaborate work, which cannot fail of having a very extensive and powerful effect on any person of his own religion. He has put forth all his strength, and let loose all his venom. Among other matter, he three times says that Bishop Halifax *died a Catholic*, and this you see affords a glorious triumph to the Roman Catholics. I am determined to call him to a public account. I have all the matter and paper now lying before me. If you cho-

to insert it in your old Magazine; be it so. But you will observe, first, that it will occupy twenty-five or thirty pages; secondly, that it must not be divided; thirdly, that I must be permitted to revise one proof-sheet, and to give directions to the printer about italic lines, &c. &c.

"The whole bench of bishops will have their eye upon me, and a whole army of Catholic Polemics may fall upon me. This I regard not.

"If you refuse admission to so long an article, I will offer it to one more periodical publication, and if it be thought too long there, I shall print a pamphlet, and put my name."

In a second letter, only five days after, the Doctor observed:—

"Somehow or other my matter has crowded upon me so fast, that I must give up all thoughts of introducing it into any periodical publication, and, therefore, I shall make a pamphlet, and print it at Warwick. There again my vexations about a scribe are almost intolerable; I must submit to the torments of delay."

This tract has been published by the Rev. John Lynes, the grandson by marriage, and one of the executors of Dr Parr. It is called "A Letter to the Rev. Dr Milner, occasioned by some passages contained in his Book, entitled 'The End of Religious Controversy.' By the late Rev. S. Parr, LL.D."

One of the most material of the Doctor's intended labours, was a memoir of Robert Sumner, the master of Sir William Jones and himself, at Harrow, and the friend of Dr Samuel Johnson; and it appears, that, at the time of his death, he had made considerable progress in the work, which was upon a comprehensive plan.

Perhaps the reader may wish to know in what manner Dr Parr conducted his instructions from the pulpit. He wrote many of his sermons; but in Middlesex, at Colchester, and at Norwich, he

often preached extempore; and it must be unnecessary to say, that the ardour of his temper, the fulness of his knowledge, and the strength of his understanding, always readily supplied him with matter pertinent, forcible, and abundant. He preached without any preparation whatsoever, and his custom was to select his subject from that which struck him in the lessons, epistle and gospel, or psalms of the day. There was always method in these extemporaneous effusions. They were frequently accompanied with critical remarks; and they were delivered with an earnestness of manner, and a correctness and vigour of diction, most interesting to the hearers, and equal to the highest expectations which could be formed of his powers, even by men most prejudiced in his favour, and most accustomed to his conversation. At Hatton he generally took up a sermon written by Clarke, 'Balguy, or Jortin, or by some other distinguished divine of the Established Church. But his own observations were always introduced; and from the peculiarity of his thinking and his style, the difference was easily discerned by an intelligent hearer. Such, indeed, were his readiness and copiousness, that of sermons which continued for half an hour or forty minutes, the parts which he merely read occupied scarcely five or six pages.

His views were most comprehensive, his arguments most acute; his diction was correct without stiffness, and his imagery splendid without glare. It was the vulgar notion of those who did not know Dr Parr, that his information was confined to the structure of sentences, the etymology of words, the import of particles, and the quantity of syllables. But those who intimately knew and appreciated his singular mental acquirements, were struck alike with their variety and with their depth. In classical erudition he was without a rival, and was one of the few surviving devotees of the

old school of learning. His knowledge of ecclesiastical history, particularly as connected with the church history of Britain, was most extraordinary: all the minute and illustrative facts connected with the liturgies, forms, doctrines, and creeds of the establishment, were most accurately known to him. As he idolized the memories of those who had fallen martyrs in the cause of political truth, so, in his own words, he "loved to soar in the regions of religious liberty." His religious sentiments were formed on the most mature reflection, the most accurate balance of evidence, the most extensive, bold, and impartial results. There were no doubts he dared not investigate, no difficulties he did not grapple with. But although there was no polemical question which he did not analyse, yet he entertained the most profound contempt for established bigotry, and sectarian dogmatism. Above all, he early discovered the limitation of the human understanding; the folly of diving after hidden knowledge. To use his own quotation from Johnson, "by the solicitous examination of objections, and judicious comparisons of opposite arguments, he attained what inquiry never gives but to industry, and perspicuity,—a firm and unshaken settlement of conviction; but his firmness was without asperity, for knowing with how much difficulty truth was sometimes found, he did not wonder that many missed it."

So careful a guardian did the doctor prove of the different bequests belonging to the poor of his parish at Hatton, that one of them has been tripled, after having been recovered from thirty-six years' loss. Another is made to produce clothes for the poor in two townships,\* nearly in a threefold proportion. Another, left for the decoration of the church, has been rescued from

an inferior class of trustees, who formerly misapplied the revenue; and the revenue itself is increased in value, as well as employed to the purpose for which it was originally designed.

The doctor was as strongly attached to a pipe as the learned Dr Isaac Barrow is said to have been. Wherever he went to dine he was indulged with his favourite whiff. He was once invited to dinner by a gentleman whose wife, a fine lady, had an intense aversion to smoking, and the following story is told of the occasion:—The husband, on his return—"My dear, whom do you think I met in the street just now, and invited to dine with us to-morrow?" "I cannot say, my love, unless you tell me." "Dr Parr." "Very well, love; you know I am always happy to see your friends at our table." "You are very kind, my dear wife, but I must mention one thing; the doctor, wherever he goes, is indulged with a pipe." "Indeed, my dear! then I have only this to say, he shall not have that indulgence here; no gentleman shall smoke a pipe in my drawing-room." The husband perceived the case was lost, and like a wise man, dropped the subject. On the morrow the Doctor came, and a select party met him. After a sumptuous dinner, they retired to the drawing-room. The Doctor began to feel certain cravings for the stimulating fumes of his beloved pipe; he tried to catch the eye of his host, but that was constantly averted. The lady of the house was on the *qui vive*; she watched both her husband and the Doctor. At length the reverend gentleman grew impatient; he addressed himself in a half whisper to his friend: the word "pipe" caught the ear of madam, who immediately took upon herself to answer for her husband. Lady: "Dr Parr, I hope you will excuse what

\* Hatton is divided into three distinct townships; each of which provides for its own poor.

I am going to say, but I cannot permit ~~smoking~~ in my drawing-room." Doctor: "And why not, madam? I have smoked a pipe with my king, and it surely can be no offence or disgrace to a subject to permit me the like indulgence." Lady: "Notwithstanding that, sir, I never will allow my drawing-room to be defiled with the nauseous smoke of tobacco. I have ordered a room below to be prepared for any gentlemen who wish to indulge in that disagreeable habit." Doctor: "Madam —." Lady, quickly: "Sir." Doctor: "Madam, you are —." Lady: "I beg, sir, you will not express any rudeness!" The doctor, raising his voice: "Madam, you are the *greatest tobacco stopper in England*." This sally caused a loud laugh at the expense of the lady, and though the doctor had not the pleasure of his pipe, he enjoyed the effect of his wit.

Soon after the execution at Maidstone, in 1798, of O'Coigley, the Irish priest, for high-treason, Dr Parr happened to be in company with a gentleman, a native of Scotland, who has since acquired considerable celebrity, both on the bench and in the House of Commons, but who was then only a young barrister, and was suspected of more than a disposition to desert whiggism, of which he had been the warm advocate, for the politics of the administration of that day. In the course of conversation, this gentleman observed, that O'Coigley richly deserved his fate, for that it was impossible to conceive a greater scoundrel. "By no means, sir," said Dr Parr; "it is possible to conceive a much greater scoundrel. He was an Irishman, he might have been a Scotchman;—he was a priest, he might have been a lawyer;—he was a traitor, he might have been an apostate!"

To the latest period of his life the vigour of Dr Parr's mind remained unimpaired. In his 77th year he wrote to Mr Brougham,—“Animo quam nul-

la senectus, say I, triumphantly, in the words of Statius." His last illness was long protracted. In the course of it appearances were, more than once, so favourable as to excite the strongest hopes of his recovery; but about a fortnight before his decease all these flattering ideas took their flight. From that time he gradually declined, the vital powers slowly and almost imperceptibly wasting, until exhausted nature sunk, and in the evening of the 6th of March 1825, he gently expired, having completed his 78th year on the 26th of January. He was to the last serene and placid,—calmly, even cheerfully resigned. It was most gratifying to his weeping relatives and friends to hear, mingled with the devoutest breathings of pious acquiescence in the will of Providence, the warm and glowing expressions which often broke from his lips of intense feeling and generous concern for the welfare of his friends, his numerous acquaintance, his country, and his fellow-men. Even in his last hours, it seemed to be still his delight, as it ever was in his previous life, to range through the whole compass of rational creation; embracing within his kindest thoughts and wishes all human beings; and interesting himself in every event, in every part of the world, which wore a favourable aspect towards human improvement and human happiness. With that greatness of mind which can anticipate with perfect composure the last awful change of mortal man, he gave minute directions respecting his funeral.

His remains were deposited near those of his late wife and her daughters, in a vault in Hatton Church. They were attended on foot by nearly forty gentlemen in mourning, consisting of the clergy of the surrounding parishes, &c. The pall-bearers were seven clergymen, and one dissenting minister; and the coffin was borne by parishioners of Hatton appointed by himself.

Agreeably to his express instructions, .



the burial service was read by the Rev. Rann Kennedy, minister of St Paul's Chapel, Birmingham. After reading of the lessons, a sermon was preached, "in obedience to his own request," by the Rev. Dr Butler, Archdeacon of Derby, and Head Master of Shrewsbury School, from the text which Dr Parr directed to be inscribed on his monument, viz. "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" On the following Sunday, the Rev. Dr Wade, Vicar of St Nicholas, Warwick, there preached a funeral sermon for him, which was attended by an immense concourse of all ranks. Another was delivered the same day at the High Street Dissenting Chapel.

### HENRY FUSELI, ESQ. M.A. R.A.

PROFESSOR OF PAINTING, AND KEEPER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF LONDON; MEMBER OF THE FIRST CLASS OF THE ACADEMY OF ST LUKE, AT ROME, &c. &c.

The father of Mr Fuseli was an artist of Zurich,—John Gaspard Fuessli, (for Fuessli was the family name,) who painted portraits and landscapes with great power. He had three sons; Rodolph, who settled at Vienna, and became librarian to the Emperor of Germany; Henry, the subject of the present memoir; and Caspar, a skilful entomologist, who, after having published several works on his favourite science, died in the prime of life.

The precise year of Mr Fuseli's birth is not known. He had the foible which is frequently found in persons of the strongest mind,—that of unwillingness to talk of their age. It is generally supposed that he was born in 1739; but this is only conjecture.

Although young Fuseli evinced, from infancy, strong indications of the pecu-

liar talent by which he afterwards so eminently distinguished himself, his father determined to bring him up to the church, and did everything that he could to thwart the natural bent of his inclination. This opposition met with the fate which usually attends similar attempts. The zest of prohibition being added to the gratification which young Henry felt in the exercise of his pencil, he devoted to it every moment that he could contrive to withdraw from his other occupations. Even at that period, Michael Angelo was his favourite. His father had an extensive collection of prints, especially after that great master; and with their peculiar merits and style, young Fuseli, by repeated copies, rendered himself familiar. Nor did he confine himself to "servile imitation." Among the productions of his juvenile invention, were a set of outlines, (etchings of which were many years afterwards published,) suggested by the perusal of an eccentric German novel, called "The Hour-glass;" and representing a number of fantastic imps engaged in all kinds of mischievous tricks.

In order that he might be duly qualified for the sacred office to which he was destined, his father placed him, at the proper age, in the Academical Gymnasium, or Humanity College. Here he became a fellow student in theology with the amiable Lavater, with whom he formed a friendship that lasted until death; and that was then transferred to Lavater's son with unabated fervour. It was here also that he began to cultivate a knowledge of the English language; in which he soon became so great a proficient as to read Shakspeare with ease, and to translate *Macheth* into German. He subsequently translated *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's* letters into German. Here, too, the writings of Klopstock and Wieland operated as incentives to his muse; he imbibed an in-

tense love of poetry ; and produced several poems in his native language that met with considerable applause.

About this period, an event occurred, which proved that the characteristic energy of his mind was already powerfully developing itself. Fuseli and Lavater had heard much of the acts of injustice committed by a ruling magistrate in one of the bailiwicks of Zurich. But although the complaints of his conduct became daily louder, and his guilt more evident, yet it seemed difficult to obtain redress, as the burgo-master of Zurich was his father-in-law. Fuseli and his friend first addressed an anonymous letter to the unjust magistrate, containing a list of his offences, and threatening a public accusation, unless he gave immediate satisfaction to those whom he had plundered. No notice having been taken of this letter, the two friends made their complaint public, in a pamphlet entitled, "The Unjust Magistrate, or the Complaint of a Patriot," which was printed and introduced into the houses of the principal members of the government. The business was at length taken up by the council at Zurich ; a rigorous inquiry was instituted ; and the authors of the complaint were called upon to make themselves known. Lavater and Fuseli immediately stepped forward, and boldly avowed what they had written. The magistrate, however, did not choose to await the issue of the inquiry ; but thought it prudent to abscond. The result of the investigation was such as did equal credit to the patriotic exertions of the complainers, and to the impartial administration of justice by the council of Zurich. The unjustly-acquired property was restored, and the guilty magistrate condemned to a suitable punishment.

It was about, however, that an act of public spirit, such as this, could be performed without the crea-

tion of some private enmity. There is reason to believe that young Fuseli felt the annoying effect of this enmity, and that it induced him soon after to quit Zurich ; but not until he had taken the degree of Master of Arts. Accompanied by his friend Lavater, he first repaired to Vienna, and then to Berlin ; where they both placed themselves under the instructions of the learned Professor Sulzer, the author of a celebrated Lexicon of the Fine Arts. The ready and apprehensive talent which Fuseli discovered, and the intimate acquaintance that he had acquired with the English language, induced Sulzer to select him, as a person admirably qualified for the prosecution of a design which he and other learned men had formed, of opening a channel of communication between the literature of Germany and that of England. Added to this peculiar fitness for the undertaking, young Fuseli, who, constant to his early attachment, derived from his pencil all the amusement of his leisure, had made several drawings,—among the rest, Macbeth, and Lear and Cordelia,—for Sir Robert Smith, the English ambassador at the Prussian court ; who, pleased with his genius, treated him with marked kindness ; and strongly recommended him to visit England. The concurrence of so many favourable circumstances was irresistible ; and the visit to England was determined upon.

On parting with his friend Lavater, the high opinion which the latter entertained of him was shown by his presenting him with a small piece of paper, beautifully framed and glazed, on which was written, in German, "Do but the tenth part of what you can do." "Hang that up in your bedroom, my dear friend," said Lavater, "and I know what will be the result."

It was about the year 1762 that Mr Fuseli arrived in this country. On coming up to London, his first lodging

was in Cranbourn-street, then called, by the less dignified name of Cranbourn-alley. A perfect stranger—not being personally known to a single individual in this vast metropolis, the young traveller, notwithstanding the firmness of his character, suddenly became impressed with the apparent forlornness of his situation, and burst into a flood of tears.

He did not, however, long remain in this desolate condition. Having brought letters of introduction from Sir Robert Smith to Mr Coutts, the banker, and to Mr Johnson, and Mr Cadell, the booksellers, those gentlemen received him with great cordiality, and by every means in their power forwarded the purpose of his mission. Through their interest he obtained the situation of tutor to a nobleman's son, whom he subsequently accompanied on a visit to Paris. He also engaged with ardour in literary pursuits. In 1765, appeared his first publication, "Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks, with Instructions for the Connoisseur; and an Essay on Grace, in Works of Art; translated from the German of the Abbé Winckelmann." Soon afterwards, he was tempted to take a part in the dispute between Rousseau and Voltaire, and to write and publish an essay in defence of the former. Almost the whole of the impression, however, was destroyed by fire.

Among the men of genius and talents to whom Mr Fuseli was introduced upon his arrival in London, was Sir Joshua Reynolds. On showing several of his drawings to Sir Joshua, that profound judge of the art inquired how long he had been returned from Italy; and expressed great surprise at hearing that he had never before been out of Switzerland. The president would occasionally beg from him some of his little sketches; and was so much struck with the conception and power

displayed in these efforts, that at last he could not refrain from saying, "Young man, were I the author of those drawings, and were offered ten thousand a-year not to practise as an artist, I would reject the proposal with contempt." This unequivocal opinion, proceeding from such a quarter, at a moment when Fuseli was balancing with respect to his future career, decided it. He had been offered a living if he would take orders; but he now determined to devote his whole life to painting.

The first picture that he produced was "Joseph interpreting the dreams of the Baker and Butcher." It was purchased by Mr Johnson.

Fully aware of the necessity of having recourse to the fountains of excellence in the arduous profession which he had undertaken, Mr Fuseli resolved to go to Italy. Accordingly, in the year 1770, accompanied by his friend Armstrong the poet, he embarked for Leghorn. The vessel was, however, driven ashore at Genoa; and thence the travellers proceeded to Rome. The eager delight with which the young and enthusiastic artist rifled all the pictorial treasures of "the eternal city," may easily be imagined. Of course, the works of Raphael excited his warm admiration; but Michael Angelo—the object of his early fondness—Michael Angelo became the god of his idolatry. The master-pieces of that great man were for years the objects of his unwearied attention. From them he imbibed that grandeur of style which re deemed the productions of his future life from the consequences of an occasional inattention to minor qualities. So firm and broad was his pencil, even at that period, that the celebrated Piranesi, seeing him one day sketching a figure, exclaimed, "This is not *designing* but *building* a man!"

Mr Fuseli visited the other principal cities of Italy, and drew from them all

abundant nourishment for his genius. Nor did he pursue the vulgar track of students, who restrict themselves to a laborious copying of the works of the ancient masters. His ardent imagination, indeed, was little suited to such a task. Retiring from the intense contemplation of the productions of those masters to his study; while he endeavoured to exalt his own ideas to the standard of their excellence, he poured out, on canvass, the glowing conceptions of his fancy, regardless of any *manner* but that which nature dictated to him. For his subjects he most frequently chose passages of Shakspeare and Milton; but he sometimes sought them in the stores of his own vivid imagination. He sent several of his performances to England, where they were exhibited in the rooms of the Society of English Painters. In 1774, a drawing by him, the subject of which was "The death of Cardinal Beaufort," appeared in the Exhibition of the Royal Academy; and in 1777, a picture of "A scene in Macbeth."

Feeling that his mind had now acquired its full strength, and his hand its perfect cunning, Mr Fuseli, after a residence abroad of above eight years, again turned his thoughts to England, whither the invitations of men well known for their love of the arts forcibly attracted him. He left Italy in 1778. He first went to Zurich, where he remained for six months with his family, and thence proceeded to England, in the year 1779. On his arrival, he found himself without a rival as a connoisseur in art; and he soon distinguished himself by his own productions. The first picture which brought him into great public notice was "The Night-Mare," which was exhibited in 1782. The extraordinary and peculiar genius which it evinced was universally felt; and perhaps no single picture ever made a greater impression

in this country. A very fine mezzotinto engraving of it was scraped by John Raphael Smith; and so popular did the print become, that although Mr Fuseli received only twenty guineas for the picture, the publisher made five hundred by his speculation.

It is generally believed, that while Mr Fuseli was at Rome, he suggested the idea of the Shakspeare Gallery, which was afterwards so happily carried into effect by the late Alderman Boydell. Mr Fuseli painted eight very fine pictures for it, from the plays of "The Tempest," the "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Macbeth," the "Second Part of Henry IV.," "Henry V.," "King Lear," and "Hamlet." The last was his master-piece, and was inferior to none in the entire collection. The scene is that of the Ghost, and it is painted with wonderful sublimity of conception.

In 1788, Mr Fuseli was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy; and on the 10th of February, 1790, he was elected Royal Academician.

Between the years 1790 and 1800, Mr Fuseli produced his "Milton Gallery," a series of forty-seven pictures, upon subjects taken exclusively from the works of our divine bard. They were exhibited during the years 1799 and 1800; and the extent of the painter's intellectual acquisitions, of his lofty, though sometimes certainly extravagant imagination, and of his fertile and eccentric fancy, was fully appreciated by the few who were capable of judging of such productions. Not a piece but had its own peculiar merit; though some were distinguished by a superiority over the rest, too striking to escape particular notice. Perhaps, of the whole, "The Lazar-House" was the most masterly effort.

This exhibition, however, "pleased not the million; 'twas *caviare* to the general." In a pecuniary point of

view, therefore, it was very unproductive, and after two seasons was closed. Of the pictures of which it had been composed, a few were sold, and dispersed in various directions.

On the secession of Mr Barry from the office of Professor of Painting to the Royal Academy, in the year 1799, Mr Fuseli was appointed to succeed him. He immediately began the composition of three lectures, his professional avocations not permitting him to prepare more at that time; which lectures, the first on Ancient Art, the second on Modern Art,\* and the third on Invention, were delivered with great effect at Somerset House, in March 1801; and were published in the course of the same year, with a dedication to William Lock, Esq. of Norbury Park, Surrey.

In 1807 Mr Fuseli visited Paris, where he remained about six weeks.

Having held the office of Professor of Painting until the year 1804, Mr Fuseli was then, on the death of Mr Wilton, appointed Keeper of the Royal Academy; and there being a standing order of the institution, that no member should enjoy two offices in it at the same time, he resigned the professorship. However, on the death of Mr Opie, and the subsequent death of Mr Tresham (who never lectured), he was, in the year 1810, unanimously re-elected; and the Royal Academy rescinded the order above alluded to, to enable him to retain both his appointments. He soon produced and read three additional lectures; the first on the resumed subject of Invention, the second on Composition and Expression, and

the third on Chiaro-scuro; but they were not published until 1820. Of Mr Fuseli's profound knowledge of the history and principles of his art, and of the energetic and comprehensive manner in which he was accustomed to communicate that knowledge to the students of the Royal Academy, they only can adequately judge who were so fortunate as to be his auditors.

In 1805, Mr Fuseli's critical powers were again displayed in a new and much enlarged edition of "Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters."

One of the friends of Mr Fuseli's earlier life was Lord Orford, then Horace Walpole. Cipriani was a favourite artist of Mr Walpole's, and was much employed by him. The latter, however, wishing for a picture of Hero and Leander, Cipriani said that it was not a subject that would suit him, but that he knew a young artist who could execute it better than any man in England. He accordingly, in the kindest and handsomest manner, introduced Mr Fuseli to Walpole, for whom he painted several pictures, which, we believe, are now at Houghton. Mr Coutts, Mr Angerstein, Mr Lock, Mr Roscoe, Mr Knowles, Mr James Carrick Moore, and Vice Admiral Sir Graham Moore were among Mr Fuseli's most intimate friends. Mr Balmanno, and Mr Moses Haughton (the excellent artist in miniature, who exchanging for a while the pencil for the graver, transferred to copper some of Mr Fuseli's finest productions), maintained for many years a constant and kind intercourse with him. For thirty or forty years Mr Fuseli was in the

\* The following note by Mr Fuseli to his account of Leonardo da Vinci, in his second lecture, is a fine instance of that manliness of character with which, though far from being a vulgar leveller of distinctions, he invariably asserted the superiority of genius to rank? "Much has been said of the honour he received by expiring in the arms of Francis the First. It was indeed an honour, by which destiny in some degree atoned to that monarch for his gloomy disaster at Pavia."

habit of dining once a-week at the hospitable table of his old friend Mr Johnson, the bookseller. Here he met a number of distinguished literary characters. Among the frequent visitors at Mr Johnson's, during that long period, were Mr Bonnycastle, Dr Aikin, Mrs Barbauld, Sir Humphrey Davy, Mr Godwin, Mrs Mary Wolstonecroft,\* Mr Horne Tooke, Dr Walcot, Dr Stock, the late Bishop of Killala, Dr Priestley, the Rev. John Hewlitt, Dr Henry, Mr Holcroft, &c. &c. Such were the attractions of Mr Fuseli's conversation, which was full of point, that it was considered quite a blank day at Mr Johnson's when any accident prevented him from being of the party. He was remarkably happy in repartee. His friends relate many of his felicitous remarks; but owing to the peculiarity and vigour of his enunciation and gesture, they lose much in narrative; and, when they have not the advantage even of imitative tone and action, their spirit in many cases almost entirely evaporates.

On one occasion, when dining at Mr Johnson's, a gentleman called out to him from the other end of the room,—“Mr Fuseli, I lately purchased a picture of yours.” Mr F. “Did you? what is the subject?” Gent. “I really don't know.” Mr F. “That's odd enough; you must be a strange fellow, to buy a picture without knowing the subject!” Gent. (a little nettled) “I don't know what the devil it is.” Mr F. “Perhaps it is the *devil*. I have often painted him.” Gent. “Perhaps it is.” Mr F. “Well! you have *him* now; take care that he does not one day have *you*!”

Lounging in his Milton Gallery, a decently-dressed stranger accosted him:—“These pictures, sir, are from Milton?” “They are.” “Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*?” “He did.” “I

never read it; but I will.” “You had better not; you'll find it an exceedingly tough job.”

He had a great dislike to commonplace observations. After sitting perfectly silent for a long time in his own room, during the “bald, disjointed chat” of some idle callers-in, who were gabbling with one another about the weather, and other topics of as interesting a nature, he suddenly exclaimed,—“We had pork for dinner to-day.” “Dear! Mr Fuseli, what an odd remark!” “Why, it is as good as anything you have been saying for the last hour.”

Like most persons of studious habits, he was occasionally liable to fits of great irritability. A well-known living engraver, a man not only of extraordinary powers in his art, but in perfect possession of every faculty of mind and body, with the exception of his hearing, which is much impaired, tapped one day at the door of Mr Fuseli's painting-room:—“Come in,” was the answer, in a subdued tone of voice, which, of course, was not audible. Another tap followed. “Come in,” again said Mr Fuseli, with a slight increase of emphasis, that still did not vibrate sufficiently on his visitor's tympanum. A third tap: “Come in!” roared Mr Fuseli, with the lungs of a Stentor, accompanying the alarming request with an ejaculation, as loudly vociferated: of which, however, it may be enough to say that it was exceedingly expressive, although perhaps not strictly classical. The astonished Mr L. entered the den, and received the full glare of the lion's eye. It can scarcely be necessary to add, that as soon as Mr Fuseli discovered who it was, he laughed at his misapprehension, and apologized for his rudeness.

Speaking one day of a contemporary

Every one has heard of the animated correspondence between this lady and Mr Fuseli.

artist, whose countenance was not of the most prepossessing character, and who, although he had a firm and vigorous pencil, did not evince much taste in the selection of his subjects, Mr Fuseli said, "He paints nothing but thieves and murderers, and when he wants a model he looks in the glass."

Mr Fuseli understood the Latin language thoroughly, and wrote it with great elegance and power. He was likewise an excellent Greek scholar. When Cowper was preparing his translation of the *Iliad* for the press, Mr Fuseli, having seen the "Prospectus" of the work, made some observations upon it while sitting at Mr Johnson's table, which, having been reported to Mr Cowper, struck him so forcibly that he requested the critic's assistance in the revision of his manuscript, and received it. In Hayley's "Life of Cowper," there is a letter from Cowper to the Rev. Wm. Unwin, dated March 13, 1786, in which the fact is mentioned at length.

On the publication of Cowper's work, Mr Fuseli wrote an admirable critique upon it, in the "Analytical Review;"\* which publication, indeed, is enriched with a great many contributions from his pen, on subjects connected with natural history, the fine arts, and classical learning. It would be difficult to convey a more adequate notion of the soundness of Mr Fuseli's remarks, than by showing, in the following passage of a letter from Cowper to Samuel Rose, Esq. dated Feb. 17, 1793, what the author himself thought of the review:—

"I have read the critique of my work in the *Analytical Review*, and am happy to have fallen into the hands of a critic, rigorous enough indeed, but a scholar and a man of sense; and who does not deliberately intend me a mis-

chief. I am better pleased, indeed, that he censures some things, than I should have been with unmixed commendation; for his censure (to use the new diplomatic term) will accredit his praise. In his particular remarks he is for the most part right, and I shall be the better for them; but in his general ones, I think he asserts too largely, and more than he could prove."

Of his intimate knowledge of Greek, Mr Fuseli frequently availed himself for his amusement. He would compose Greek verses extemporaneously, and then pretend he could not recollect the author. "Whose are those, Porson?" repeating four or five sonorous lines. "I really do not know," answered the learned professor, after a short pause; no doubt surprised to find that any Greek existed in the world with which he was unacquainted. "How the deuce should you," was the chuckling reply, "when I wrote them myself?"

There were few modern languages also of which Mr Fuseli did not know something; for he had great facility in acquiring languages, and used to say, that the application of six weeks was enough to enable a man to grasp the elements of any one. German was his native tongue. He was a perfect master of English, wrote French with great ease, and Italian in its purest dialect; and could read Dutch without difficulty. His memory was singularly retentive; he was never at a loss in quoting a classic author; and could always tell the part of the work in which the quotation might be found. Shakespeare, Milton, and Dante, were his favourites. With the first especially, perhaps few men ever lived who were so thoroughly conversant.

Mr Fuseli wrote the "Advertisement," as it is called, but which is in fact the preface to Dr Hunter's transla-

\* For January, 1793.

tion of "Lavater's Physiognomy." It is a very able and a very characteristic composition.

When Lavater published his "Aphorisms on Man," it was with a view that they should be translated into English by his friend Fuseli; which they accordingly were. With this intention he dedicated them to Mr Fuseli.

A warm and sincere friendship subsisted between Mr Fuseli and Sir Thomas Lawrence; commencing at a very early period in the life of the latter, and continuing, not only with undiminished, but with increasing ardour, until the close of the life of the former.

So impressed were the students of the Royal Academy with the kindness with which Mr Fuseli conducted himself towards them in his office of keeper, one of the principal duties of which situation is, to superintend what is called "The Antique Academy," that some years ago they presented him with a handsome silver vase, executed by Messrs Rundell and Bridge, from a design by Mr Flaxman; a tribute of grateful respect which affected him sensibly.

In 1817, he was honoured with the diploma of the first class of the academy of St Luke, at Rome.

Mr Fuseli continued to paint to the last week of his life. The picture which was on his easel at the time of his death, and which is in a state that may fairly be called finished, was "Constance," from King John. He was painting it for James Carrick Moore, Esq. He left, however, above sixty pictures, most of them finished, (the greater part, indeed, having been exhibited,) and the rest in different stages of advancement; for it was frequently his practice, when he had completed his composition, and imparted to it some expression and a little effect, to set it aside, and take up something else. Perhaps, it may not be uninteresting to mention, that he painted with his left hand.

During his long life, Mr Fuseli generally enjoyed excellent health. His only complaint was an occasional tendency to water in the chest, which he always removed by the use of digitalis. "I have been a very happy man," he was accustomed to say, "for I have been always well, and always employed in doing what I liked."

At the time of his death, he was on a visit to the Countess of Guildford, at Putney Hill. On the Sunday preceding the fatal event, he was engaged to dine with his early, admired, and admiring friend Mr Rogers, the poet, to meet Sir Thomas Lawrence, and his attached friend and half-pupil Mr W. Young Ottley; but having taken a short walk in the garden at Putney Hill, and feeling himself a little indisposed, Lady Guildford persuaded him to send an apology, which he rather reluctantly did. It is impossible to pay too high a tribute to Lady Guildford, and her amiable and accomplished daughters, Lady Susan and Lady Georgina North, for the uniform kindness with which they treated Mr Fuseli, and for the solicitude which they evinced on his account when he appeared to be in danger. His illness, if it might be so called, for he had no particular disorder, lasted only five days. He was attended by Sir Alexander Crichton and Dr Holland; but nature was evidently giving way, and all medical skill proved unavailing. To the last he retained the perfect possession of his faculties, and his mind was as vigorous and alert as at any former period of his life. On Mr Knowles, who had been his daily visitor from the commencement of his indisposition, calling to see him the evening previous to his decease, Mr Fuseli said to him, "My friend, I am going to that bourne whence no traveller returns."



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
FREDERIC HOWARD, EARL OF  
CARLISLE;

VISCOUNT HOWARD OF MORPETH; BARON  
DACCRES, OF GILLIESLAND; AND KNIGHT  
OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE  
GARTER.

The late earl was the eldest son of Henry, fourth Earl of Carlisle, by his second wife Isabella, daughter of William, fourth Lord Byron. He was born May 28, 1748; and on the death of his father, Sept. 3, 1758, succeeded to the family estates. His lordship was sent early to Eaton College. At Eaton College he was the contemporary of many men who afterwards attained either high rank or great celebrity; of Hare, whose verses were appended to the school-room on account of their excellence; of Charles James Fox, whom he was fated to admire, "ere yet in manhood's bloom," to differ from at a riper age, and again to support; and of the late Duke of Leinster, with whom he always lived in habits of familiarity.

But the time at length arrived when his lordship was compelled to quit this retreat of the muses, and tread the busy haunts of men. He repaired to the continent, and made the grand tour. During his travels, although he was not a peer of Scotland, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the Order of the Thistle, and was invested with the insignia of the order, Feb. 27, 1763, at Turin; the King of Sardinia representing his Britannic Majesty on that occasion.

On the expiration of his minority, Lord Carlisle returned to England, and took his seat in the House of Peers. He presently became one of the gayest noblemen in the capital.

It is no less singular than true, that at that period Mr Fox and Lord Carlisle were the two greatest beaux of their day; and among other juvenilities, endeavoured strenuously, but ineffectually,

to introduce the foreign foppery of red heels.

Lord Carlisle entered on the political stage at a time when the government of his late Majesty was almost paralysed by the selfish contests of faction; and the country was engaged with her American colonies, in an expensive and unnatural contest.

The scheme of sending commissioners to America had already been tried, and proved unsuccessful. In 1776, a commission, at the head of which was Lord Howe, had in vain endeavoured to restore public tranquillity in America. In 1778, the Earl of Carlisle repaired to America, in the character of one of his Majesty's commissioners for the purpose of restoring peace. He was accompanied by Governor Johnstone, who was included in the mission, and by Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland. It is well known that their joint efforts were ineffectual: and that all their arguments failed to persuade the Americans to return under the government of Great Britain; but it was acknowledged by all parties, that the noble Lord at the head of the embassy executed the office intrusted to him in a manner that redounded greatly to his honour.

In October 1780, the Earl of Carlisle, who had been nominated lord lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland.

The period at which his Lordship was called upon to preside over the affairs of Ireland was peculiarly arduous and critical. Ireland having been drained of all the regular troops for the purpose of carrying on the contest in America, the inhabitants had associated for their own defence and protection; and an army of volunteers, officered by gentlemen of rank and fortune, and headed by the Earl of Charlemont, was in complete possession of the country. Yet notwithstanding these circumstances, the administration of the Earl of

Carlisle was accompanied with many circumstances calculated to conciliate popular favour. It was during his Lordship's government that a national bank was established; and many excellent plans were formed and bills passed for increasing the trade of Ireland.

In the meantime, Lord North, perceiving the storm that was gathering around him, wished to escape its fury by withdrawing from public affairs. The Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Portland, Mr Fox, Mr Burke, Mr Windham, and their political adherents, had, in fact, already hunted the minister into their toils, and were preparing to divide his spoils. About the end of March 1782, an entire change took place, and the government of Ireland fell to the share of the Duke of Portland.

The Irish parliament, however, was not unmindful of the services of the late viceroy; for, after the appointment and arrival of his successor, the House of Commons, on the 15th of April 1782, passed the following vote: "That the thanks of this house be presented to the Right Honourable Frederic Earl of Carlisle, for the wisdom and prudence of his administration, and for his uniform and unremitting attention to promote the welfare of this kingdom."

The demise of the Marquis of Rockingham, who was at the head of the new ministry, dissolved all the hopes and projects of his coadjutors. In consequence of the subsequent changes, we find the Earl of Carlisle enjoying the honourable appointment of steward of the household; and he soon after succeeded to the still more dignified and confidential one of lord privy seal. But a variety of important alterations soon ensued. It became difficult to preserve a firm footing amidst the volcanic explosions of politics. At length the extraordinary genius of one man for a while tranquillized the tempest, until the French revolution became the prog-

nostic of a new and still more portentous storm.

During the discussions that took place in Parliament in 1789, relative to the regency, Lord Carlisle took an active part in favour of the claims of the heir-apparent.

In 1791 we find his Lordship once more acting in opposition to Mr Pitt's administration. Upon the question relating to the occupation of Oczakow by the Russians; and, again, in the same year, upon the question of the war undertaken by the Nabob of Arcot and the Anglo-Indian government against the Sultan Tippoo Saib.

On the sudden recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of Ireland, he addressed a letter to his old friend the Earl of Carlisle, detailing the principal events of his administration, and explaining the motives by which he had been actuated. This letter was soon after published in Dublin; and a reply, in thirteen pages, appeared in the course of a short time in London; which rendered it evident, that the sentiments of the two noble lords were not exactly in unison with respect to Irish affairs.—In this reply, Lord Carlisle laments that his noble friend "had adopted a system difficult to recede from or abandon, before he had been long enough near the source of real information confidently to take, by his own scale, the just measure of its magnitude." Both these pamphlets occasioned a considerable sensation at the time.

When, after the first burst of the revolution in France, it appeared that the French, instead of employing themselves in the establishment of a free and wise system of government in their own country, were endeavouring to induce the people of other countries to rebel against their respective governments, and to subvert every existing institution, Lord Carlisle took the alarm, and, quitting the ranks of opposition, ranked himself on the side of his Ma-

Majesty's ministers, and contributed all in his power to give efficacy to their measures. On the 26th of December, 1792, on the motion, in the House of Lords, for the third reading of the Alien Bill, Lord Carlisle said, "that though not accustomed to agree with the present administration, yet he would support their measures in this instance. He had often thought a change of administration was the only thing that could be of essential service to the country, and his opinion was not altered; but at that juncture, he was afraid that a change of administration might bring about a change of measures, and that, he thought, would be of very dangerous consequence. If there was to be a change of ministers, it might naturally be supposed, that the first act of a new ministry would be to negotiate with France, and that of all things was what he never wished to hear of; because it would only tend to strengthen our enemies, and could be of no use to ourselves."

Again, in the debate on the king's message for the augmentation of the forces, February 1, 1793, we find Lord Carlisle expressing "his astonishment that there should be any opposition to a measure upon which he had conceived there could be but one voice, one heart, and one mind, throughout the nation at large."

For the distinguished loyalty thus exhibited by Lord Carlisle, under circumstances of so critical a nature, he was, in 1793, honoured with the Order of the Garter.

In the debate on the address, January 21, 1794, Lord Carlisle repeated the sentiments which he had expressed in the preceding year, and on the 17th of February he opposed the Marquis of Lansdown's motion for treating with France.

On the 22d of May 1794, in the debate on the Habeas Corpus Suspen-

sion Bill, Lord Carlisle asserted the necessity of the measure.

On the 6th of January 1795, Lord Carlisle moved an adjournment, which was carried, with a single exception, *nemine contradicente*, on Lord Stanhope's motion against any interference in the internal affairs of France.

In 1798, the noble earl published, for general distribution, a spirited tract, entitled "Unite, or Fall."

Lord Carlisle was a great friend to the Union with Ireland. On the 19th of March 1799, in the debate on the resolutions relative to that subject, his lordship adverted to his former administration of the government of that country, as qualifying him to speak on the subject, and remarked, "that if the Union should produce the desirable effect of ameliorating the condition of the Irish peasant, making him feel an interest in his existence, rescuing him from the sullen despair in which he held his miserable being, and converting him into the child of hope and expectation, so as to put him on a footing with every description of British subjects, it would be a measure the most politically useful that human invention could have devised."

In the debate of the 28th of January 1800, on the king's message respecting an overture of peace from the Consular government of France, Lord Carlisle observed, that to "enter into a negotiation at that time would be to ruin the country. Still, however, he thought it would be more prudent merely to thank his Majesty for his gracious communication, and not to give any opinion upon the conduct of the executive government."

When Lord Darnley, on the administration of Mr Pitt being superseded by that of Mr Addington, was about to move for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers respecting the management of the war, Lord Carlisle entreated the

noble lord not to press his motion at that moment, as premature and ungenerous. "He allowed that the situation of the country was such as to call for the ablest heads and hands to direct its affairs; but he denied that any expectation of salvation could be rationally entertained from the exertions of such a ricketty administration as that which was about to take the helm of the state." Lord Darnley having consented to postpone his motion to the 20th of February 1801, Lord Carlisle then again declared the little confidence that he entertained in the new administration, and expressed his wish that some light should be thrown on the causes which had broken down the late strong ministry.

In the debate on the address, November 22, 1802, Lord Carlisle again declared his disapprobation of the peace, and his conviction of the imbecility of the administration by which it had been concluded.

On the 19th of April 1804, Lord Carlisle obtained a majority against ministers, 31 to 30, on a motion for "an humble address to his Majesty, praying his Majesty to give directions that there be laid before the House an account of the date of instructions sent to the officer commanding the naval force in the East Indies, previous to his Majesty's message to Parliament on the rupture with France."

When his old friend Mr Fox came into power, he was warmly supported by Lord Carlisle. The first opportunity which the noble earl took of expressing his approbation of the new government was on 3d March 1806, on the Earl of Bristol's motion respecting Lord Ellenborough's having a seat in the cabinet council. Lord Carlisle observed, that "the unfounded alarm which existed on the subject of the motion appeared to have been excited in order to lower the new administration in the eyes of the people, to disturb that pub-

lic confidence which was placed in men of such great talents and integrity as those respectable characters who composed the present administration, and to banish the joy with which all ranks of men witnessed the paternal care of his Majesty, in calling forth persons of the most exalted talents to direct the affairs of the country."

When the illness of his late Majesty, in the latter end of the year 1810, occasioned the assembling of parliament, and resolutions respecting the Regency were moved by the Earl of Liverpool, on the 4th of January 1811, Lord Carlisle strongly opposed that resolution in particular which restricted the regent for a certain time from creating peers, as from it "the country could draw only the conclusion, that there was a suspicion that the Prince of Wales would make an improper use of his power."

Lord Carlisle took a decided part in the discussions on the Corn Bill, in 1815. When the Earl of Liverpool moved the second reading of the bill, on the 15th of March of that year, Lord Carlisle contended, "that the greater part of the argument, by which the noble earl had supported the measure was fallacious. There could be no doubt, that to the lowest rank of the labouring classes of the community—to the individuals who work by task—a high price of corn would be productive of infinite misery, as it would not be attended by any circumstance of alleviation; and he was far from thinking that legislative interference was demanded by the great mass of the agricultural interest of the country." On the motion for the third reading of the bill, five days after, Lord Carlisle "objected to the bill, as being calculated to excite great discontent, without its having been shown that any advantage could be derived from it."—This, we believe, was the last important public question on which the noble earl ex-

pressed his opinion in the House of Lords.

We will now speak of Lord Carlisle as a votary of the muses. It has been already observed, that he cultivated a taste for poetry at a very early period of life. Many of his juvenile compositions stole into two publications of the day destined for the reception of fugitive pieces; the one called "The Foundling Hospital for Wit," the other "The Asylum." Four poems by his lordship were published in 1773, in a quarto edition; they consisted of an ode on the death of Mr Gray; two copies of verses destined for the monument of a favourite spaniel; and a translation of a passage in Dante.

In 1801 appeared a splendid edition,

from the press of Bulmer, of "The Tragedies and Poems of Frederic, Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter, &c."—Of the poems, one of the most interesting, and certainly the best, is that addressed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, on his resignation of the president's chair, at the Royal Academy.

In 1806 Lord Carlisle published some verses on the death of Lord Nelson; and in 1808 (anonymously) "Thoughts on the present condition of the Stage, and the construction of a new Theatre."—On the death of Buonaparte, understanding that he had bequeathed to Lady Holland a snuff-box, Lord Carlisle addressed to her ladyship the following stanzas:

*To Lady Holland, on the Legacy of a Snuff-box, left to her by Buonaparte.*

"Lady, reject the gift! 'tis tinged with gore!  
Those crimson spots a dreadful tale relate;  
It has been grasp'd by an infernal power;  
And by that hand which seal'd young Enghien's fate.

"Lady, reject the gift: beneath its lid  
Discord, and slaughter, and relentless war,  
With every plague to wretched man, lie hid—  
Let not these loose to range the world afar.

"Say, what congenial to his heart of stone  
In thy soft bosom could the tyrant trace?  
When does the dove the eagle's friendship own,  
Or the wolf hold the lamb in pure embrace?

"Think of that pile\* to Addison so dear,  
Where Sully feasted, and where Rogers' song  
Still adds sweet music to the perfumed air,  
And gently leads each grace and muse along.

"Pollute not, then, those scenes—the gift destroy:  
'Twill scare the Dryads from that lovely shade;  
With them will fly all rural peace and joy,  
And screaming fiends their verdant haunts invade.

"That mystic box hath magic power to raise  
Spectres of myriads slain, a ghastly band;  
They'll vex thy slumbers, cloud thy sunny days,  
Starting from Moscow's snows, or Egypt's sand.

\* Holland House.

" And ye, who, bound in Verdun's treacherous chains,  
 Slow pined to death beneath a base control,  
 Say, shall not all abhor, where freedom reigns,  
 That petty vengeance of a little soul ?

" The warning muse no idler's trifler dream ;  
 Plunge the curst mischief in wide ocean's flood ;  
 Or give it to our own majestic stream,—  
 The only stream he could not dye with blood."

In the " Hours of Idleness," published by Lord Byron in 1808, his noble relative Lord Carlisle's works are said " to have long received the need of public applause, to which, by their intrinsic worth, they were entitled." This forms a striking contrast to Lord Byron's subsequent asperity. On his coming of age, Lord Byron, wishing to take his seat in the House of Lords, applied to Lord Carlisle to introduce him ; and being just at that time engaged in the composition of the " English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," adverted to it in the following lines :

" On one alone Apollo deigns to smile,  
 And crowns a new Roscommon in Carlisle."

The noble subject of this adulation, however, declining to accompany Lord Byron, the latter, for the lines just quoted, substituted this heartless sarcasm :

" No more will cheer, with renovating smile,  
 The paralytic puling of Carlisle."

And in speaking of Lord Carlisle's tragedies (the worth of which he had so lately proclaimed) says :

" So dull in youth, so drivelling in his age,  
 His scenes alone might damn our sinking stage ;  
 But managers for once cried, Hold, enough !  
 Nor drugged their audience with the tragic stuff."

That even Lord Byron himself, however, became sensible of the gross injustice of permitting personal feeling not merely to influence, but entirely to pervert critical judgment, is evident from the fine stanza in his exquisite poem, the Third Canto of *Childe Harold*, in which, after describing the field of Waterloo, and the gallantry of the British heroes who fell there, he thus particularly adverts to the fate of the Hon. Edward Howard, Major of the 10th Hussars, Lord Carlisle's youngest son :

" Their praise is hymn'd by loftier harps than mine :  
 Yet one I would select from that proud throng,  
 Partly because they blend me with his line,  
*And partly that I did his sire some wrong,*  
 And partly that bright names will hallow song ;  
 And his was of the bravest, and when shower'd  
 The death-bolts deadliest the thinn'd files along,  
 Even where the thickest of war's tempest lower'd,  
 They reach'd no nobler breast than thine, young, gallant Howard !"

Lord Carlisle was distinguished as a most zealous, liberal, and discriminating patron of the fine arts.

The noble earl died at Castle Howard, on the 4th of September 1825, in the seventy-eighth year of his age ; leaving only two noblemen living, the Duke of Gordon and Earl Fitzwilliam, who, with himself, were in possession of their titles and estates in the reign of George the Second :

**THE RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD  
HELY HUTCHINSON, EARL OF DO-  
NOUGHMORE,**

VISCOUNT SUIRDALE, BARON DONOUGH-  
MORE; VISCOUNT HUTCHINSON OF  
KNOCKLOFTY, IN THE PEERAGE OF  
GREAT BRITAIN; A PRIVY COUNCIL-  
LOR IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND; A  
GOVERNOR OF THE COUNTY OF TIP-  
PERARY; SECOND REMEMBRANCER OF  
THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER IN IRE-  
LAND; A LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, AND  
F. S. A.

The late Earl of Donoughmore was the eldest son of the Right Honourable John Hely Hutchinson, who was called to the bar in 1748, returned to parliament for Lanesborough in 1759, and in 1761 for the city of Cork, (which he continued to represent until his death); appointed Prime Serjeant at Law in 1762, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1774, and Principal Secretary of State for Ireland in 1777; and who married in 1754 Christiana, daughter of Lorenzo Nixon, of Murny, county of Wicklow, Esq., and niece and heir of Richard Hutchinson, of Knocklofty, county of Tipperary, Esq., descended from an ancient family of English origin. On the 16th of October 1783, Mrs Hutchinson was created Baroness Donoughmore.

The Right Honourable John Hely Hutchinson was the first statesman in Ireland, who, both in the cabinet and out of it, was the avowed and uncompromising advocate of Catholic emancipation, as well as a repeal of those baneful commercial restrictions, which, while they paralysed the energies of Ireland, diminished the general resources of the British empire. In his work called "Commercial Restraints," Mr Hutchinson developed all those great commercial principles which are now, after an interval of seventy years, acted upon by the enlightened policy of the Imperial government.

The late Earl of Donoughmore was born January 29, 1756. He received his early education at Eton; whence he went to Oxford; but he graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, as a mark of respect to his father, the provost. As soon as his age qualified him, he obtained a seat in the Irish House of Commons; and the first occasion on which he addressed the House was in support of the bill introduced in 1778 by Mr Gardiner, for the purpose of permitting the Roman Catholics to take long leases of land. This speech made a great impression on the House.

In the year 1781, Lord Donoughmore was appointed a commissioner of the customs in Ireland, which situation he retained till the year 1802. On the 24th of June 1788, his mother, Baroness Donoughmore, dying, he succeeded to her titles.

In 1794, the noble lord raised, in an incredibly short space of time, the 94th regiment, for his distinguished brother, Lord, then Colonel, Hutchinson; and soon after, the late 112th regiment, of which, on the 21st of July 1794, he was himself appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant, receiving full pay.

Early in the year 1795, Lord Donoughmore's father died, leaving him at the head of a numerous family, to whom the noble lord's conduct was ever that of a most kind and affectionate brother; and bequeathing to him that cause, the support of which had formed one of the most earnest objects of Mr Hutchinson's public life.

On the 7th of November 1797, Lord Donoughmore was created a Viscount, by the title of Viscount Suirdale.

The noble lord's conduct in the rebellion of 1798 was above all praise. Intrepid and persevering in the discharge of what he felt to be his duty, while, by his presence and active exertions in Cork, he kept the riotous

and rebellious of that city and neighbourhood in awe, he repressed and prevented many of those exercises of "vigour beyond the law," which the inflamed zeal of the partisans of government was then elsewhere daily exhibiting. During that reign of terror, Lord Donoughmore commanded the Cork legion; and his combined firmness and humanity gained him the admiration and esteem of all good men.

On the 1st of January 1800, Lord Donoughmore received his appointment as colonel in the army. On the 29th of December in the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of an earldom, "with special remainder to the heirs male of Christiana Baroness Donoughmore," and he was also elected one of the twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland, for life. On the 30th of October 1805, he was appointed major-general.

In May 1806, Lord Donoughmore was sworn a privy-councillor, and was appointed joint postmaster-general in Ireland; which situation he resigned on the accession of Mr Percival to power.

In consequence of a difference of opinion which took place in 1810 between the Roman Catholics of Ireland and Lord Grenville, with respect to the nature of the proffered securities which the latter thought ought to accompany the application to parliament of the former, the Catholics determined to confide their petition to the House of Lords, and the immediate task of urging that House to a compliance with its prayer, to the care and advocacy of the Earl of Donoughmore. Accordingly, on the 12th of March 1810, Lord Donoughmore presented two petitions; the one from the general body of the Catholics of Ireland, and the other from the Catholics of the city of Cork, praying to be relieved from the degrading dis-

abilities under which they were suffering; and on the 6th of June, in the same year, the noble earl moved to refer the petitions to a committee of the whole House. Lord Donoughmore prefaced this latter motion by a very able and eloquent speech. The noble earl's reply at the close of the debate was equally animated.

In the debate on the 18th of February 1811, on Lord Moira's motion respecting Mr Wellesley Pole's celebrated Circular, Lord Donoughmore took the opportunity of defending the Irish Catholics from various and contradictory imputations. When the subject of Mr Pole's Circular again came under discussion on the Marquis of Lansdowne's motion, 22d February 1811, Lord Donoughmore again defended the Catholic body, and remonstrated against the line of policy which his Majesty's government on both sides of the water had adopted against them.

On the 18th June 1811, Lord Donoughmore again moved to refer the Catholic Petitions to a committee of the whole House. He re-stated, with great force, the arguments which, in his opinion, ought to induce their lordships to consent to his proposition.

On the 1st of January 1812, Lord Donoughmore received his commission as Lieutenant-general.

On the 20th of April 1812, he presented the general petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and, on the next day, concluded a most animated speech, by moving to refer the petition to the consideration of a committee of the whole House.

On the 1st of July 1812, Lord Donoughmore supported the Marquis of Wellesley's motion, that the House should, early in the next session, take into its most serious consideration, the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. On the



19th of March 1813, he presented petitions from the general body of the Catholics, the Catholics of the county and city of Cork, and the counties of Roscommon and Tipperary; but in consequence of the introduction, into the House of Commons, of a bill for the relief of the Catholics, which he trusted would reach the House of Lords, he felt it unnecessary to appoint any day for calling the attention of their lordships to the petitions.

The expectations of the noble earl and of the Catholic body having, however, once more been disappointed, Lord Donoughmore, on the 8th of June 1814, again presented the general petition of the Catholics of Ireland, praying the removal of all existing disabilities; also similar petitions from the Catholics of the city and county of Cork, the town of Carrick-on-Suir, the county of Tipperary, and the county of Roscommon; and stated, as the grounds on which he declined bringing the subject under discussion in that session, the opinion of his own parliamentary friends and the friends of the Catholic cause, "that the late proceedings of the Catholic board, (the only accredited organ for the expression of the sentiments and feelings of the Irish Catholic community,) had tended to retard rather than to advance, their own interests, and the success of their question." The noble earl added, that although he did not himself think that that cause was sufficient to induce a postponement of the discussion of the Catholic claims, yet that the manner in which the Roman Catholics of Ireland generally had received the rescript of the sub-prefect of the propaganda, the depository of the papal power, fully satisfied him of the propriety of the postponement.

When, on the 11th of November 1814, Earl Fitzwilliam called the attention of the House of Lords to the

continuance of the militia in an embodied state, notwithstanding the restoration of peace, Lord Donoughmore made some strong remarks on the vacillation which ministers had exhibited on that subject, especially in Ireland. The noble lord also took a part in the discussion originated by Earl Darnley, on the 15th of November, upon the conduct of the naval administration; as, likewise, in the conversation of the 21st of November, on the negotiations between Great Britain and America, at Ghent. On the 24th of November, Lord Donoughmore made three motions. The first, which was for "an address to the Prince Regent, for a copy of the representations which had been made to His Royal Highness on the want of protection to trade, by the merchants and ship-owners of Liverpool, Glasgow, Port Glasgow, Greenock, and London," was agreed to. The second, which was for "the weekly accounts of the state of the naval force under Sir Alexander Cochrane, on the American station," was negatived. The third, which was for certain communications to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "announcing the complete, or any restoration of tranquillity, in the only barony of Ireland, (that of Middelthirld, in the county of Tipperary,) to which it had been thought necessary to apply the provisions of the bill in the last session, entitled, An Act for the Preservation of the Peace," in introducing which motion, the noble lord expatiated on the severe and injurious nature of the bill in question,—was also negatived. When, on the 1st of December 1814, the Earl of Liverpool moved the adjournment of the House to the 9th of February, Lord Donoughmore opposed the motion, in the existing critical conjuncture of public affairs.

On the 19th May 1815, Lord Donoughmore again presented the gene-

ral petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and on the 8th of June following, moved the immediate reference of the Catholic claims to a committee of the whole House. Towards the close of the discussion, the noble earl, in conformity to the opinion expressed by several noble lords, proposed as an amendment to his own motion, "that the House should resolve into a committee upon the question at an early period of the next session." It can scarcely be necessary to add, that this amended motion, like all the noble earl's former propositions on the same subject, was lost.

Not discouraged by his frequent failures, Lord Donoughmore, on the 11th of June 1816, again presented the general petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, several petitions from the Catholics of respective counties, and the petition of the Irish Catholic Bishops and Clergy, suggesting domestic nomination as an effectual security against any danger that might be apprehended from foreign interference; and on the 21st of the same month, the noble earl moved a resolution, pledging their lordships to take the subject into their most serious consideration early in the next session.

In 1817, we find the noble earl returning to the charge. Having, on the 8th of May, presented to the House, with some accompanying observations, the general petition of the Irish Roman Catholics, and a petition from the Catholics of Waterford, he, on the 16th of the same month, moved, but in vain, that the House should resolve itself into a committee to consider the claims of the petitioners.

To the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, Lord Donoughmore, on the 19th of June 1817, gave his decided opposition; and in the succeeding month, he detailed his objections to the Irish Grand Jury Presentments Bill, unsuccessfully moving as an amendment

to the motion for the third reading of the bill, "that it be read a third time that day three months."

On the 5th of May 1819, Lord Donoughmore presented a number of petitions from the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and on the 17th of the same month, unsuccessfully moved, that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the subject. Indisposition prevented the noble lord from addressing their lordships at any great length upon this occasion.

On the 17th of December 1819, Lord Donoughmore objected to the Seditious Meetings Bill, generally; and he especially protested against the extension of the measure to Ireland. On the 20th of December, when the bill was in a committee, the noble earl repeated his objection to the extension of its provisions to Ireland. In the same month the noble lord expressed his strong disapprobation of the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill, declaring that "ministers had wound up to a happy and appropriate conclusion, by that attack upon the freedom of the press, those measures of indiscriminate coercion, that system of pains and penalties, which they had devised against a suffering and a prostrate people; and which had been carried into complete and unrelenting execution by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Parliament."

During the proceedings preliminary to and consequent on the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her late Majesty, Lord Donoughmore took an active part in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses; and in the incidental discussions which thence arose. In the long and important debate which occurred on the motion for the second reading of the bill, the noble lord expressed a very unequivocal opinion on the subject under consideration. The noble earl proceeded to examine the evidence in detail, declared his

conviction of the Queen's guilt, and strongly reprobated the conduct of her counsel, more especially in the observations which they had permitted themselves to make upon his Majesty. On the 7th of November, when the bill was in the committee, Lord Donoughmore supported the divorce clause.

A bill for the removal of the Catholic disabilities having, in the session of 1821, been passed in the House of Commons, and brought to the House of Lords, Lord Donoughmore, on the 3d of April of that year, moved (as a matter of course) the first reading of the bill; observing, "that he was deeply impressed with a sense of the important situation in which he was placed, by being selected to advocate the claims of the Catholics in that house." On the 16th of April, the noble lord prefaced his motion for the second reading of the bill with a speech of great length and ability; in which he described the cruel and anomalous situation in which the Roman Catholics were placed, and urged the necessity of granting them relief.

On the 19th of July 1821, Lord Donoughmore was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Viscount Hutchinson, of Knocklofty, county of Tipperary, with remainder as before stated.

When the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the 14th of June 1822, moved a resolution in the House of Lords, that the state of Ireland required the immediate attention of parliament, Lord Donoughmore supported the motion. On the 19th of July in the same year, the noble Lord gave "his reluctant assent" to the Irish Insurrection Bill, "as a measure of imperative necessity."

We have now arrived at the last session of the Earl of Donoughmore's laborious and patriotic parliamentary life. In the beginning of the year 1824, contrary to the advice and wishes

of his family and friends, the noble Lord hurried to London in a very weak state of health, once more to obey the call of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. On the very first day of the session, the 3d of February 1825, he declared the pain which he felt at the passage of his Majesty's speech, which related to the Roman Catholic part of the community in Ireland. His Lordship deprecated, in the then tranquil state of that country, any recourse to measures of coercion, and maintained, not only that the Catholic Association had produced no evil, but that it had effected much good.

On the 24th of February 1825, Lord Donoughmore presented the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, "the value of whose confidence," the noble Earl said, "he fully appreciated;" and he accompanied the presentation with a few powerful remarks on the expediency of restoring to the petitioners their rights; and an eulogium on the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, in the vice-regal government.

The bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics having been passed in the House of Commons, and brought to the House of Lords,—on the 11th of May 1825, on the motion of the Earl of Donoughmore, it was read a first time. On the 18th of May 1825, Lord Donoughmore moved that the bill be read a second time; but was too much indisposed to take a part in the long and animated debate on that question; the result of which, it is scarcely necessary to add, was, that the bill was thrown out.

On the 21st of May, a numerously attended meeting of the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, the Duke of Norfolk in the chair. The first resolution, which was proposed and carried, was a vote of thanks to the advocates of the Catholic cause, in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Do-

noughmore, who had left the bed of sickness to be present at the meeting, was loudly called upon; and notwithstanding the bodily debility under which he was labouring, addressed the noble Chairman in an eloquent speech.

Lord Donoughmore was mainly assisting in bringing together the sixty-nine peers, whose resolutions, agreed to at the house of his grace the Duke of Buckingham, he was afterwards the chief instrument of publishing;—thus, as it were, on his deathbed, leaving the Catholic cause supported by a solemn league and covenant, which bore the signatures of many of the greatest and most illustrious names in the British peerage, standing pledged to its principles.

From that period, the noble Earl rapidly declined; and on the 22d of August 1825, he died at the house of his brother, Lord Hutchinson, (now Earl of Donoughmore,) in Bulstrode-street, Manchester-square, aged sixty-nine.

By the death of Lord Donoughmore, Ireland lost a most devoted friend; the Roman Catholics, a dauntless advocate; the magistracy, an able and incorruptible judge; his tenantry,

a kind and indulgent landlord; and his family, a powerful and most affectionate member. He will long be remembered by his country; and more especially by the county, which, unlike the majority of the Irish aristocracy, he made the principal seat of his residence throughout life. By his mingled activity and moderation, he kept all tranquil in his neighbourhood, without any departure from constitutional principles; and it never became necessary to visit his barony with the inflictions of the Peace Preservation, or the Insurrection Act.

At an open meeting of the general committee of the British Catholic Association, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on the 10th of November 1825, after a resolution had been carried expressive of the warmest acknowledgments of the meeting to the sixty-nine peers, for the resolutions adopted by them at the residence of his grace the Duke of Buckingham, resolutions were passed declaratory of the irreparable loss which the Catholics had sustained by the death of Lord Donoughmore, “the hereditary champion of their claims.”

## No. V.

## ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

It appears from an official statement just published, that there are 256 Catholic chapels in England, 71 charity and other schools, and 348 officiating priests; of these, 12 chapels, one school, and eight priests, are in the county of Hants; six chapels and five priests in Sussex; three chapels and two priests in Wiltshire; six chapels and six priests in Devonshire; seven chapels, one school, and eight priests, in Dorsetshire. In Lancashire there appears to be the largest number, there being 81 chapels, six schools, and 79 priests.

The King has been graciously pleased to nominate and appoint Mr James Morison, preacher of the gospel, assistant and successor to the Rev. Roderick Morison, in the parish of Kintail and Presbytery of Lochcarron.

**DEATH OF DR LINDSAY, BISHOP OF KILDARE.**—On Thursday the 6th instant, this venerable prelate paid the debt of nature, at his lordship's episcopal residence, Ghannevin. His lordship was consecrated in 1804. He was the brother of the Earl of Balcarras, and brother-in-law to the Earl of

Hardwicke. He was Dean of Christ's Church; and was translated from the see of Killaloe, to which he had been elevated in 1808.

## MAY.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

19.—EDINBURGH.—The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met this day. His Grace General Lord Forbes, his Majesty's High Commissioner, took his seat on the throne at half past eleven o'clock.

The Rev. Dr George Cook of Laurencekirk was unanimously chosen Moderator, and took the chair.

His Grace the Commissioner announced his Majesty's grant of L.1000, for the propagation of the gospel in the Highlands; which intimation was appropriately replied to by the Moderator.

A letter from the Rev. Dr Mac-knight was read, requesting that, in consequence of his continued indisposition, his friend the Rev. Mr Simpson might be allowed to officiate for him as depute-clerk to the Assembly.

Dr Duncan, the late Moderator, moved that the request be complied with.

Dr Forbes, of Old Machar, expressed his surprise at the tenor of the letter they had just heard read. He was sure that Dr Macknight would not have written that letter if he had been aware of the objections which were stated at last Assembly. The granting of the request of that letter would be, that similar application would be made year after year to supply his place till the gentleman would come forward as his successor. Such a precedent was not to be permitted, as it would just come to be, that because a person has performed the duties gratuitously for a number of years, you must appoint him permanently when the office becomes vacant. With these feelings, he begged to propose Dr Lee, a gentleman who had paid great attention to the early history of the Church, who was peculiarly well qualified for the office, and who would act for Dr Macknight without any fee or reward. He begged to state, that while he proposed Dr Lee, he did so with all respect for the gentleman who was the other candidate, against whom he had no objection.

Dr Andrew Thomson seconded the motion.

After some discussion, the House divided; when three appeared for Dr Lee, 112; for Mr Simpson, 58—majority, 54.

20.—The Assembly was duly constituted, when, after some formal business had been gone through, it adjourned.

#### *Administration of the Sacrament.*

21.—This day the Assembly met at eleven o'clock.

An overture from the Presbytery of Hamilton, anent certain innovations in the mode of dispensing the

Lord's Supper, was read. It stated that, in some instances, it was the practice for communicants to sit in pews, instead of coming to the table. The overture prayed that the Assembly should enjoin every presbytery to put a stop to the innovation, and to see that every new church within its bounds was provided with a communion table, according to the law and the practice of the Church.

Dr Begg, of New Monkland, appeared in support of the overture. The matter had been formerly noticed in the Presbytery, and had also been brought before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. That reverend court disapproved of the innovation, and enjoined the presbyteries within its bounds to have the evil remedied. Consequently, in some churches, the abuse had been given up, while in others it had not. It was the object of the Reformation to reduce the forms of the church to simplicity, and to do away with superstitious practices. At the Reformation, there was no dispute about a table; it had formed part of the furniture of a church from the earliest ages. It was mentioned in the first book of discipline, which provides that every church should have doors, a bell to ring for assembling the people, a pulpit, a basin for baptism, and a communion table. In the year 1562, the order of Geneva was adopted as the directory, or book of common order. The order of Geneva recognises a communion table; and states that the minister was to come down from the pulpit, to take his place at the table; that all the communicants do leave their seats; and that every man come to the table of the Lord, as occasion served. The book of common order continued in force from 1562 to 1645. There were no doubt several alterations attempted to be made upon it. In 1606, at the General As-

assembly held at Perth, it was enacted that the Lord's Supper was to be taken kneeling. That caused a great ferment in the country, which continued more or less—some churches adopting the practice, and some rejecting it—till the year 1638, when all the acts of the Assembly held at Perth were rescinded. In 1643, a General Assembly was held at Westminster, with a view to bring about an universal form of worship over the whole island, and to assimilate the English to the Scottish form. For that purpose, five ministers and three elders were delegated as commissioners. These gentlemen had many difficulties to contend with—they had to contend with prejudices of the Episcopalian party, about kneeling; and with the Independents, with respect to communicants sitting in their seats. It was with the utmost difficulty that these gentlemen could overcome the prejudices of both parties; but they did so. Their fathers had been careful that no innovations should be made. This could be seen from two acts of Assembly—one in 1639, and another in 1641: he would only read one of them. These were revived by the act of 1695; and in 1777, what was commonly called the Barrier Act was to that effect. But he begged their most particular attention to the 15th act of Assembly of 1707, against innovations. (He here read it.) This act was sworn to by all ministers and probationers. It was an important act, and embodied all the others. These were the forms handed down to us by our fathers—they had been cemented by the blood of patriots and of martyrs. Our hearts ought to warm at the very recollection of the price which had been paid to secure them. If we did innovate, it must only be after a strong case of necessity was made out. Dr B. concluded with moving, in effect, that the Assembly express its disapprobation of

the innovation, and declare that a communion table should be used in every church; also, that all presbyteries should be enjoined to see that, when a new church is to be erected within its bounds, it may be provided with a suitable and convenient communion table.

Dr Hodgson, of Blantyre, supported the overture.

Mr P. McFarlan, of Glasgow, opposed the introduction of the overture in the committee, because he thought the matter could be far better disposed of in the inferior courts. He was ashamed that the time of the Assembly should be wasted on such a trifling subject. He submitted, and he would prove, that the law was not only complied with in spirit, but to the very letter; and with the advantage of a more speedy and easy serving out of the communion elements. Much had been said about the directions;—the directions only referred to persons coming forward to the table, but not a word was said of the form of the table. They did sit in rows; but was that any indication of a want of brotherly love or kindly feeling towards each other? Really, after all that had been said, this subject had not caused the least excitement in the west of Scotland—a district where the people were peculiarly sensitive and tenacious of their rights, and the usages of the church. Mr McFarlan concluded by moving, that the Assembly dismiss the overture, as there was no evidence that the practice complained of was contrary to the rules of the church.

Professor Chalmers, of St Andrews, said he was at a great loss how to state his views on this subject. The practice was no innovation—it had been acted on for years in Montrose, in St Andrews, and in the New Greyfriars at Edinburgh. He did not rise to combat the question, but to give his testimony, as an eye-witness, of the

good effects resulting from the new mode. Before the adoption of that practice, the day of a sacrament was a day of fear and regret—every inch of ground to the communion table was fought for. And were all these evils to be again revived by the authority of the Assembly? The reverend Professor concluded with a powerful and energetic appeal to the members, not to waste their time with such trifles;—while infidelity was making such rapid progress among us, they were disputing about subjects no better than the tippet controversy of former times. He seconded the motion of Mr M'Farlan.

Dr Meiklejohn said he was an enemy to innovation: if the motion had a prospective object, it should have his support, but not otherwise.

Dr Nicoll did not consider the subject as one of very great importance. There was no point of religious doctrine impugned by the new mode. The use of a communion table was an ancient practice in the Church of Scotland. And he would propose, that they find that it was the immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland to celebrate the ordinance of the Lord's Supper seated round a communion table; and that unless in particular circumstances it was inexpedient to alter it.

Dr Brown, of Langton, observed, this was a question which ought to be approached as a question of fact, which trenched on the forms of the church, and must be decided by the merits of the case. The practice of our ancestors was the best commentary on what they meant; and they in all cases used a communion table.

Dr A. Thomson was prepared to show, that the practice complained of, had both complied with the letter, and the spirit of the law. He was, however, disposed to acquiesce in the motion of the reverend Principal.

Mr Carment was afraid that Dr Nicol's motion would bring the matter again before the Assembly.

Dr A. Thomson said, there seemed to be a mistake in using the word table instead of tables.

The motion was then amended—that the Assembly approve of the conduct of the Presbytery of Hamilton—find that it has been the immemorial and general practice of the Church of Scotland, to distribute the elements of the Lord's Supper to the communicants seated at or around communion tables; and enjoin all presbyteries to see that all new churches within their bounds are provided with suitable communion tables.

The motion was then agreed to, with some verbal amendments.

Mr Shaw, upon the motion of Principal Nicoll, was enjoined to preach at Half Morton, every fourth Sunday, so soon as the repairs of the chapel were completed, and a committee was appointed for the purposes specified in the motion.

#### *Case of Little Dunkeld.*

24.—The House proceeded to the consideration of the petition of the Reverend Thomas Neilson, presentee to the parish of Little Dunkeld.

There appeared for Mr Neilson, the presentee, Francis Jeffrey, Patrick Robertson, and Robert Jamieson, Esqrs. advocates.

There appeared, in support of the judgment of the Presbytery of Dunkeld, Mr Butter, Mr Stirling, and Mr M'Bean.

Dissenters, complainers from the decision of the Presbytery, Dr Niven and Mr Innerarity.

In support of the finding of the Synod, Mr Thomson of Perth, Mr Finlay of Perth, Mr Bennie, and Mr Bullock.

Dissenters from the Synod's judgment, Dr Murray of Kilmadock, Dr



Malne, Mr Liston, Mr Robertson, Mr Gray, Mr Grierson, Mr Maxton.

Mr P. Robertson, advocate, would proceed to the consideration of the merits of the case. Mr R. adverted to and read the petition, which was presented to the Presbytery of Dunkeld, by four hundred and forty of the parishioners, against the induction of Mr Neilson. This petition was read in that court, and acted upon, when their plain and obvious duty was, either to have sustained or rejected the presentation. They did neither, however; they came to a vote that they ought not to proceed in the induction, because, from their own knowledge, the presentee was unacquainted with the Gaelic language, and therefore not qualified to be the minister of Little Dunkeld. The whole proceedings of the Presbytery were irregular, and must be quashed, and the cause judged as if no such proceedings had ever been instituted. The Synod of Perth and Stirling met on the 19th April, when two motions were made; the first to "remit the whole case back to the Presbytery, to proceed in the same according to the rules of the Church, and enjoin the Presbytery to take care that no presentee be inducted into the vacant parish of Little Dunkeld, who is not qualified to preach to, and hold ministerial intercourse with the native Highlanders of the parish, in the Gaelic language, agreeably to immemorial practice." The second was to "reverse the sentence of the Presbytery of Dunkeld complained against, remit the case to the Presbytery, enjoining them, at their next ordinary meeting, to take steps to inquire into the state of the parish of Little Dunkeld, respecting the absolute necessity of the Gaelic language being understood by its minister, and which inquiry shall be concluded and decided upon by the Presbytery, on or before the 16th day of May next." Surely to all parties nothing

could have been more satisfactory than that the inquiry proposed should have been gone into; it would have satisfied all doubts, and the rights of all would have likewise been maintained. Without judicial evidence, however, they at once determined that Mr Neilson was not qualified to be the minister of Little Dunkeld. They decided in the dark; and, to use one of their own phrases, they made light darkness. Mr R. proceeded to describe the parish, and the manner in which the Gaelic and English population were situated in it. It was divided into four districts,—in Amulree, or the Highland district, he said there was one ordained missionary stationed, who preached both Gaelic and English; the population of this district was 629. The second district was called Strathbran, and had a population of 576 souls. There was a place of worship in it also, in which Dr Irvine was accustomed to preach twice a-year in Gaelic. The third district was named the Bishopric, with a population of 685, and of them only about a dozen or so could not, or would not, speak English. The fourth had a population of 1089. Thus, by the last statistical census, the number of inhabitants was in all 2977; of these only 160 might be supposed not to understand English. After giving a history of the manner in which the petition to the Presbytery had been got up, as they called it, Mr R. contended, that the practice of having a Gaelic preacher in that parish, was not an immemorial practice. To prove that assertion, he referred to the case of the Reverend Mr M'Laggan, in 1723, who was inducted into the charge, although he could not preach that tongue. He was opposed for want of a knowledge of Gaelic; but after he was admitted, he continued minister from 1723 to 1769; consequently, during that time, there was no Gaelic preached in that parish. Mr M'Laggan was

succeeded by Mr Robertson, who, no doubt preached Gaelic. This gentleman filled it till 1805, when he was succeeded by Dr Niven, who did not understand Gaelic. Dr Irvine was presented to that charge in 1806, Dr Niven having been appointed to a different parish. From that period downwards, he admitted that Gaelic was preached.

Mr Robertson, of Forteviot, begged the indulgence of the Assembly for a few minutes. He was placed in a singular situation; for though a dissenter from the Synod's decision, he nevertheless concurred in the object of their refusal to induct, on the ground of a want of knowledge of the Gaelic language, which he considered as indispensable in the minister of Little Dunkeld. He differed with them on the ground that they ought to have sustained the presentation, and made their objections at a subsequent stage of the procedure. He would say, from his personal and accurate knowledge of the people, their habits and language, that no man was qualified to discharge the sacred duties of a pastor to this parish, unless he was master of the Gaelic language. Without this qualification, to many to whom he should be a father and friend, he could be no more than a stranger.

Dr Murray, of Kilmadock, said he felt it his duty to state, that had the Presbytery agreed to the inquiry, and it should have been found that the preaching of Gaelic was absolutely necessary in the parish of Little Dunkeld, in his opinion the present presentee would be found disqualified for being minister of that parish.

Mr Maxton, of Fowls, said, as strong averments had been made on both sides, it was absolutely necessary that the case should be referred back to the Presbytery for further investigation.

Mr Cockburn said he would state, in very few sentences, how the matter really stood. The Presbytery had refused to act, and that was all the law required of them, because the presentee was under a legal and natural disqualification. It was not only the right, but the duty of the Presbytery, to resist the induction of all disqualified persons. Dumbness would have been a good objection, and surely a want of the knowledge of the language of the people was equivalent to a want of the powers of speech. He might refer for authority on this point to every work in the Church. In the Theological Institutes of the late Principal Hill, dumbness, blindness, and ignorance of the Gaelic language, in a parish where it was spoken, were held to be natural disqualifications. He did not like the theory of a reverend gentleman, who said, first induct the man, and then compel him to endure the luxury of being deprived of office. What were the circumstances? The Presbytery saw that the presentee was a gentleman who could not speak the Gaelic language, and they also knew that the use of that language was necessary for the minister of Little Dunkeld; they therefore decided accordingly. It was true to a certain extent, that there were conflicting statements. To get the better of these, the presentee had published a fine variegated plan of the parish of Little Dunkeld. He said that some of them had no knowledge of the Gaelic in the *blue*, very little in the *yellow*, and none at all in the upper part of the *red*. Like Captain Bobadil, he knocked them down, man by man, till he did not leave a single Gaelic tongue in the whole parish. That English was not the usual language of communication in the parish, none could doubt, and there were in it upwards of 1000 women and children who did not understand one word, except of

Gaelic. Even in Dunkeld, Gaelic was the language of ordinary communication; for there a grocer (and there were rivals in that town) lost all his custom, because he could not speak Gaelic; and he was obliged to get an apprentice who understood it, that he might compete with his rivals. In the bank, a clerk for transacting the business in Gaelic was kept; and where the doctor visited his patients, if he did not speak Gaelic, he had to provide himself with an interpreter. To present a minister to a Gaelic parish, like Little Dunkeld, and then to proceed to inquire into the state of the Gaelic language in it, was the same as if a Gaelic minister was presented to St Giles's in Edinburgh, and a committee appointed to inquire if the parishioners of the High Church understood Gaelic. At the last sacrament, which was celebrated by Dr Irvine, there were 12 tables, eight or nine of these served solely in Gaelic, and only three in English. It really was an insult on the understandings of the Presbytery to require them to investigate facts as notorious as the light of day. They left their case with the Assembly, fully satisfied that substantial justice would be done to all.

Mr Butter, of Lethendie, contended, at great length, in support of the decisions of the Synod and Presbytery.

Mr Jeffrey briefly replied for the presentee.

Parties were removed, when Dr Burns of Paisley, and others, put a number of questions to Dr Niven of Dunkeld, which were answered as follows:—A church has been maintained at Logan Allachie for a hundred years or so, by voluntary contributions; a glebe and a manse are attached to it, the latter of which is generally let. The church is called neither a church nor a chapel, but a *kirk*. (In English.) Believes there was a

church there in times of Popery. At Little Dunkeld, he understands that, on sacrament occasions, the number of tables served has risen from seven to eleven or twelve; last year five of these were served in English, and seven in Gaelic.

Principal Nicoll observed, that 'if the fact was as stated, that three-fourths, nay, if one-fourth of the population were Gaelic, no wise man could say that a clergyman, not conversant with the dialect, should be inducted to the parish. He thought the Presbytery was wrong in not sustaining the presentation, which they were bound to have done; and also in assuming that Mr Neilson was not conversant with the Gaelic, when he had not expressly admitted the fact. He concluded by moving that the Assembly reverse the sentence of the Presbytery and Synod; sustain the presentation, and under the circumstances, (the Presbytery having already adjudged this question,) remit to a committee to proceed to that part of the country, and inquire into the amount of the Gaelic population, particularly in Strathbran; the committee to report to the commission of the Assembly in August, with power to the commission to take up the matter, and determine the same.

Dr David Ritchie spoke at some length in support of the motion.

Dr Andrew Thomson opposed it; and moved that the Assembly should affirm the proceedings of the Presbytery of Dunkeld, and the sentence of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, refusing to sustain the presentation of Mr Neilson.

Mr James Moncrieff gave the motion of Dr Thomson his cordial support.

The question being called for, the votes stood thus—For Dr Thomson's motion, 108—For Dr Nicoll's, 100—Majority, 8.

The announcement of the state of the vote was followed with a burst of applause.

### *Pluralities.*

25.—The Assembly proceeded to the consideration of the overtures respecting the union of offices of professorships in universities with parochial charges, upon which subject there were seventeen overtures now on the table of the House.

Mr P. Macfarlan opened the debate in support of the overtures, by a long and eloquent speech.

Dr Chalmers.—It could no longer be said that we had no power to put an arrest upon this mischief, unless we have a specific case before us. It lay with this venerable Assembly to put down every plurality which might happen to be obnoxious to it. Sitting as a court of conscience for the good of mankind, they could at any time by their single fiat arrest, in their judicial capacity, the individual mischief, by enacting against a universal one. This was his own view of the presiding authority with which this court was invested, and in the exercise of which he held it competent for them to make a decision upon every particular case; but they did not think so themselves; and this was what made him desirous now for a general law. He would be thankful for the benefit in any shape. He would wish to have, in place of the specific finding, the generic formula, that would envelope all future possibilities, and secure lasting benefits to all future generations. Now, all that was wanted for this purpose, was just an extension of the act 1817, viz. that the holding of professorships in any of our universities should be incompatible with the charge of a town, as it was now with that of a country parish. They had already shut out, in their establishment, professorships from a country charge, and

what now remained to complete the reformation was, that they shut them out from the charges of towns where universities are situated. He believed, in upwards of nine hundred of their parishes, the mischiefs of pluralities were completely provided against; but there were still forty-six parishes which had been left untouched by the act of 1817; and here, upon a rapid view of the subject, it might appear, that now that the evil had been reduced to so insignificant a fraction of what it was, there was nothing for the zeal of future reformers to sweep away. But it may be said to have left the whole untouched—to have left the whole length and breadth of the land between acknowledged pluralities. He would hold up his face and tell them, that by the act 1817, the mischief was not half done away—for, alas! how did the matter stand?—The whole number of professorships, including even those regius professorships, which form no part of the faculty in any of the colleges, is just 84—and this was just at all times the maximum of pluralities that could be formed. The proportion formerly was as 936 to 46, but the proportion now was of 84 to 46, owing to the act 1817; and yet does not that shut out 38 pluralities, and leave 46 still open? Taking the most simple arithmetical view, one half of the reformation was still unaccomplished. Even previous to the act of 1817, there were still seven churches that lay much in the way of professors; and still there were city ministers who stood the foremost of all their brethren in the competition for collegiate vacancies—that field was still open which, even under a system of general looseness, would have accommodated the greater number of our pluralists. In the 46 parochial charges which were closely situated around their universities, there were

still temptations enough left to dilute the Christian ministry of these crowded vicinities. It may be thought that the law of 1817 put an end to this mischief; and such, he was free to confess, was his impression from the first blush and aspect of the matter. The act of 1817 cut off the country parochial charges from all connexion with the universities, and it might be thought the mischief was greatly lessened; but it left the evil in the town in full force. At all events, the existing condition of their law was, that 46 pluralities could be secured as formerly. In university towns there were more professors than clergymen, and a great deal more of the former than the latter in St Andrews and Aberdeen. There were 13 to 3 in St Andrews; it was therefore possible that all the pulpits of all university towns, might be filled by professors; and indeed the two last mentioned towns were liable to be overwhelmed by the competition arising from such a disproportion. The pulpits of the two last stand peculiarly exposed to this. He was not speaking of the effect of these pluralities as extenuating the work of the professors, but as they mar and deteriorate the work of the city clergymen. When he looked to this act, it would have been better for the interest of the Church, that the law of 1817 had been reversed; that it had laid an interdict upon the university charges of the town, and permitted those of the country. It would have been better that the feeble exhibitions of the pluralist should have been transferred to the retirement of obscure parishes, than that the high places of the land should be exposed to their influence—better that they should have been given to the wilderness and to its bleak and barren scenes, where insipidity might perish unseen, wasting its sweetness on the desert air, than that it should

be brought into the pulpits of the city, to demean and to degrade the Christian ministrations among the haunts of polished society, and among the beautiful abodes of lofty and cultivated intellect. If there were any one place where Christianity should appear clothed in the majesty of reason, and armed with a moral power to convince and overawe; if there were any one place where its ministers ought to stand forth in the full panoply of their order; where they should bring, Sabbath after Sabbath, the whole force and richness of divine truth to bear on one quarter more than another; if there were any quarter in the land where the religion of the New Testament stood more in need than another of its able and most accomplished expositors; and where a clergyman should give his undivided strength to his work—it was that field of consecrated ground which is given to pluralists, but which the act of 1817 ought to have protected. They had now recalled this mischief in such a way as to make it lodge in by far the most precious part of the building. They had consecrated this blasting mildew in that part of the field where the harvest yielded by far the most prolific produce, and these were the places that were polluted most cruelly with it, and were blighted under this mischief, which the act ought not to have diverted but to have destroyed. The leprosy is confined to and condensed in that quarter where it will give the fullest demonstration of its power—the deadly virus is permitted to walk abroad, spreading its malignity, and casting forth contagion throughout these haunts of the land that are most hurried and alive with the activity of a crowded population. It would sound very fractional to say, that there were 13 chairs in St Andrews, and they were exposed to the invasion of three pluralists. But it was to not a fraction, but to a full con-

summation of mischief that the church was exposed. One of the charges is collegiate, and the other charges are exposed to pluralists from the university. He brought this as an example, and he begged them to observe that the same might happen in all university towns. It was clear that all labour of this nature must be of a deteriorated kind, if there was any truth in Dr Smith's great principle of the division of labour. There were no doubt great and splendid exceptions; but they did not legislate for exceptions. It was not to the evil of such deterioration in towns, but it was to the evil in university towns that he looked, that the ears of the students might not be confounded with meagre effusions from the pulpit, whether the result of haste or carelessness; and of all places they should secure their college churches from attempts of this nature. It was cruel to trifle in embryo with the happiness of succeeding generations, to injure these moral nurseries of our youth, and to crush the frail seed that enveloped the eternal interests of the Scottish Church. It was not well that in their schools they should be exercised in views of science, and that what they heard on Sabbath should not be in sacred accordance with what they heard during the week. It was not well that, after having been engaged in the play of a generous intellect during the week, the Sabbath should bring round to them the most childish imbecility of common-places; it was far from well that they should contrast the aspect of religion with the aspect of philosophy, that they should hear a lecture every day on the great principles of science, and that in the church on Sabbath they should be dosed by a narcotic into listlessness and insufferable apathy. Give me, said Archimedes, a place where to stand, and I will move the

world. Now, such a place was a college pulpit. He that was there was an Archimedes; he would require to have the strength of an Archimedes; he held a lever in his hand, which he could depress or elevate at pleasure: it was impossible for that man to work this lever who was a pluralist. The character of a university preacher was higher far than that of a parish minister—he was a national preacher—the half of Scotland were assembled round his pulpit, and it was not possible to withdraw him from the hearts and from the happiness of his people. He had great indulgence for cases of common fraud; there were certain delinquencies where the good done the criminal was equal to the loss of the victim; there were others of a deeper dye, to which he gave the name of atrocities, where the loss sustained by one party was indefinite. It was thus that the fraud of a seedsman was reckoned a greater enormity than that of any ordinary tradesman; and a dealer in any article of immediate consumption, who impregnated it with deleterious mixtures, was an object of keener execration. They must see the application of this principle to the question before them; for, suppose that you lopt off the ulterior branches, and purified the lower waters, you still poison the remotest streams and fountain heads. I have, Moderator, (continued the Reverend Professor) confined myself to the mischiefs of this system on the interests of Christianity; I shall now confine myself to a few short observations on the mischief done to the system of learning. But before I enter on this, I may be permitted shortly to condense what I have already said, as to the interpretation of the act 1817, and its having left untouched those places of the land that stand the highest. At the end of your reformation, you have diverted the mischief you intended to destroy.

You have stopt, it is true, the egress of corruption through the country; but it has fallen back on the churches and town. You have pursued a strange mode of spiritual husbandry; you have placed your keepers and your scarecrows to prevent the pigeons and jackdaws from lighting on your potatoe fields, while in your garden culture you have established nurseries of deleterious weeds, and spread the seed plants all over the face of your territory; and thus you have taken care to provide for a wholesale deterioration of your own precious hopes and eternal interests.—(Applause, hear, hear.) The sting of this mischief you have not extracted; the wound is now out of sight, but it is at work on the vitals—the outward injury appears to be closed up, but the patient still continues to languish under the operation of a general decay. With regard to the pluralists, with all of whom, or the most part of whom, I have the honour to be acquainted, I have equally a private esteem, and a private kindness for them all. But really, sir, this subject of the act of 1817, has created an irresistible association in my mind that I cannot get rid of—of pluralists with pigeons and jackdaws, though I should be sorry, were I asked to characterise them as individuals, to compare them to either the one or other. One of them lately lighted in Glasgow; Aberdeen got its share; and St Andrews, poor St Andrews, was overspread with a whole covey of them—(Loud laughing)—to the whole extent of its capacity; and they are even found in this your intellectual city—this very garden of the Hesperides. But there is another and distinct injury done to our universities; and here it is necessary to go back to our numbers again. The law of 1817 has done some good, because out of 84 professorships, only 46 can now be occupied by pluralists. • But remember,

Moderator, that of these 84, there are only 36 now appropriated to the business of that education, which is deeply essential to a clergyman. All the rest chiefly belong to the law and medical department. Dr Chalmers then commented on the nature of those different branches of university education, and ridiculed, with force and felicity, the apology made for pluralists, that one of their charges was rather a recreation than a task. Considering the relation in which he stood to the pluralists, to whom he was hostile on public grounds, though he had no private enmity, nor did he wish to hurt their feelings, he said that he had a peculiar and hazardous task to perform, and would require the dexterity and skill of the peasant who had to shoot at an apple on his child's head. He would wish that a stroke so feeble as his would be able to beat into powder the business of pluralism; but he did not desire to wound the feelings of persons. The whole amount of the suffering that he should like to bestow upon them would be—Shall I praise you in this thing? I praise you not. Dr Chalmers here compared the situation of England and Scotland, preferring going in the one country from the church to the college, and in the other from the college to the church, and concluded with expressing his conviction that the measure would ultimately triumph. He then moved that a committee should be appointed to prepare an overture and interim act, declaring the union of the parochial town charges with the professors' chairs to be in future incompatible; and farther, that the General Assembly should take into consideration the means of raising revenues for the better endowment of professors' chairs.

Mr J. Moncrieff seconded the motion.

Dr Forbes, of Old Machar, observed, that if the principle of these over-

tures was correct, it must be carried to a much greater extent, and must also prevent every person having a parochial charge from taking upon himself any other office, or the performance of any other class of duties, except those he was strictly bound by his ministerial charge to do.

The Rev. Mr Hill observed, that the simple ground upon which he gave the overture his support was, that it was agreeable to the spirit and constitution of our ecclesiastical establishment.

Dr Bryce, of Aberdour, said he had been revolving in his mind the application of an allusion that had been made to the olden times. He thought he had hit it at last; and that it referred to none other than the great founder of the reformed churches of Europe, John Calvin; who, at the same time that he most zealously and faithfully performed the duties of the ministerial office, was himself the founder of an academy at Geneva, where he preached on theology to students from all Europe—"Ay, and from Scotland too."—(Laughter.) He would name another distinguished individual, famed for the strict and energetic discharge of his pastoral duties, who had favoured the world with two volumes of very excellent sermons; and whom it was surely no disparagement to place by the side of Calvin. He meant the good Sir Henry Moncrieff, collector of the widow's fund, and first minister of St Cuthbert's, a parish with a population of 50,000 souls. After these illustrious instances of pluralism, he should only add, that whatever they did in this case, he hoped it would be done with due regard for the memory of departed worth, and for the feelings of the living.

Principal Nicoll would submit to the Assembly the view that he took of the case, as it could be got from books.

He thought he should be able to show, that in the practice complained of in the overtures on their table, there was nothing inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Presbyterian Church—with the laws and constitution of the church, or with its usages at the present period of its history. He might here remark, that there was a slight mistake with respect to the name "pluralists." The overtures were against a union of offices. "Union of offices" was a correct term; but "pluralists" applied only to the junction of situations, to which was attached the cure of souls. In using the words "genius and spirit of the constitution," he meant to contend that there was nothing in the union of a professorship and a parochial charge, which was at all inconsistent with the immemorial practice of the church. He began with the oldest of the church standards. The first book of discipline, compiled by John Knox, but which had never received the sanction of Parliament, contained not a word on the subject, except what was found in a small paragraph, which said that ministers ought not to become curators, or engage in employments which would withdraw them from their ecclesiastical duties. This exception made in favour of Dr Nicoll's argument. John Knox, who had studied at St Andrews, where there were three professorships united with parochial charges, could not be ignorant of the practice, and, if it had been considered an abuse in those days, Knox, "who never feared the face of man," would not have hesitated to point them out. The mind of that great reformer was not against the practice, nor did he ever give an opinion on the subject. Calvin, (as had been noticed by a reverend doctor,) the founder of Presbyterianism, was himself a professor and a minister. Luther, though hardly an authority



in our church, was a professor at Wittenberg. Melancthon was a professor and a minister. Calvin's successor held a professorship and a church.—Dr Nicoll read a passage from the second book of discipline, compiled by the famous Andrew Melville, which, he contended, fortified the practice. They had not only Melville's opinion but his practice also. Melville was, at one period of his life, obliged to leave Scotland; but, at another period of it, he was Principal of the College of Glasgow, to which he gave a new constitution; he being at the same time minister of Govan, a parish three miles distant. The same practice existed in Edinburgh; and in a university founded at Fraserburgh, the minister was required to be the Principal. It was a universal practice then, and he could show that it had continued from the reformation till now. The case of Robert Hamilton was the only exception; and it, instead of making against his general argument, was rather in its favour, because that case, as appeared from the record, was decided expressly on special circumstances. At that time Hamilton had, in addition to his duties as a teacher, to look after the spiritual concerns of two whole parishes, and part of other two. It was also worthy of remark, that Hamilton paid no attention to the sentence of the Assembly, from what cause he could not say; but the fact was, he held these two offices for three years after that judgment, and continued to do so till within a few months of his death.—Then came the case of Arbuthnot, who was appointed Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in June 1669, and on the 25th of July following, was inducted to the parish of Arbuthnot, distant several miles. At all periods of our history, it had been the desire of the leaders of the Reformed Church, to draw close the cords of their connexion with the universities. The kirk sent

committees to inquire into their state, and exercised an authority over them, which in these days would be thought little short of absolute tyranny. In that section of the 17th century, which was counted the period of the most perfect Presbyterian party, we find Samuel Rutherford refusing to be one of the masters of the New College of St Andrews, unless he was joined in the parochial charge with one of the four ministers of St Andrews. Many other individuals of celebrity in the church had held the double office. He would mention Ramsay, Henderson, Boyd, and Smith. In Edinburgh, too, many held the office of professor or principal, conjoined with their parochial charges. As to the 18th century, the whole was still fresh in their recollections. He would only refer to the case of Principal Hill in 1789, where the judgment of the Assembly sustaining his appointment was unanimous. Dr Hunter, than whom a more conscientious man never entered the hall of the Assembly—he also held a parochial charge in union with a professorship. Dr Nicoll trusted gentlemen would pause before they severely condemned a practice of 250 years standing—a practice never till lately objected to, except by Mr Burns of Forgan. Is Melville, is Rutherford, are the Wisharts, is Blair, is Robertson, are all the individuals who have held these offices to be stigmatised as pluralists? Is it fitting on us to cast a slur over the memories of such men? To sound the tocsin of alarm, as if the hedge of the vineyard of the Lord had been broken down, that the wild boar might trample that vine which our fathers had planted and protected with their lives? He was old-fashioned enough to believe that a university was not the worse for containing within its walls two or three clergymen. Would any man say that Dr Hunter did not perform his duty?—for that was the proper way to put the question,—that

he did not do as much duty as a professor as any member of the university, and as much duty as a minister as was performed by any of his brother clergymen? Did not Principal Hill do the same? What would be the consequences, he would ask, if the object of the overtures were allowed? Where would you get a man of talent and character to accept the office of a principal for L.100 per annum, a divinity professor for L.150, or a professor of church history for L.200? Under the proposed regulation, he was convinced the interests of religion and of literature would suffer. It was, no doubt, a part of the scheme to apply to Government to increase the salaries of professors; but he thought that was beginning at the wrong end. He would say, get your provision first, and make your disjunction afterwards. The Rev. Doctor made a very feeling allusion to his own cure—his having resigned his parochial charge in St Andrews, because, however this might end, he would not have his children taunted that their father had set an example of ruining the church. The Reverend Doctor concluded by recapitulating the heads of his argument, and by imploring the Assembly not to break the last link of the chain which bound the church and the universities together, and which it had been the uniform policy of their reforming ancestors to draw closer and closer.

Mr Thomson, advocate, Mr Carmichael, Mr Robertson of Cambuslang, Mr H. Grey, Mr Kirkwood of Holywood, and Mr Bennie of Stirling, all supported the overtures at considerable length.

The Rev. H. Anderson said this was perhaps the first instance in which a national church had to deliberate whether it would consent to cut up by the roots its ancient and established connexion with the education of the people, and

practically separate itself from those who are intrusted with the education of the influential part of the community.

Mr Brown, of Turiff, supported, at some length, the overtures.

Mr James Moncrieff thought the House should adjourn, as many gentlemen had yet to deliver their sentiments. The debate should be resumed to-morrow at one o'clock.

Dr Nicoll proposed a motion, that this Assembly, apprehending no danger from the junction of offices at present allowed by the laws of the church, refuse to sustain the overtures on the table.

Dr Andrew Thomson thought this a question of such importance, that a full opportunity should be given to both parties.

The vote was called upon the question, adjourn or not, when there appeared—for adjournment, 108; against it, 134; majority, 26.

When the vote was announced, the Lord Commissioner retired, and the Assembly resolved into a committee of the whole House.

Dr Begg spoke in favour of the overtures at great length; as did Dr Brown of Langton.

Mr Walter Cook, W. S. never had felt greater satisfaction than when the act of 1817 was passed. He conceived that even now, and with regard to some professorships in universities, they were incompatible with the proper discharge of the parochial duties of their incumbents. But he thought, on the other hand, that nothing was more important to the interests of religion, than that certain chairs in every university should be held by those who are in the daily and constant practice of the duties of religion. Had the overtures been modified in this shape, he for one should have supported them; but as they at present stood, he must vote for the motion of the reverend Principal.

Mr Paul supported the overtures.

Sir Patrick Murray supported Dr Nicoll's motion.

Mr James Gibson Craig said, that if the House refused to adjourn just now, he would compel them to adjourn by repeated motions to that effect.

The Rev. W. Liston said, that in consequence of the learned gentleman's threat, he should propose, that if such motion of adjournment were made, the motion of the Rev. Dr Nicoll should be the counter motion.

Principal Nicoll was not aware what principle or usage in this church could warrant the learned gentleman to hold out such a threat.

Mr Gibson Craig said that it was the practice in the House of Commons.

Dr Nicoll replied, that he never heard the practice of the House of Commons stated as a rule for guiding the proceedings of the Assembly; and he was sure that there was not a man in this House, who, whatever be his respect for the House of Commons, would allow its usages to be any rule for guiding the deliberations of this court.

The Solicitor-General and Lord Justice Clerk thought it would be now the most advisable course to adjourn. This was unanimously agreed to; and the House adjourned at half past twelve o'clock.

26.—The Assembly met this day at noon; and resumed the debate on the overtures relative to the union of offices.

Professor Jardine was understood to support the overtures; but he spoke in so low a tone as to be almost inaudible throughout the house.

The Procurator, in opposing the overtures, contended, that before they made a new law, the supporters of the measure should establish a strong case of necessity.

W. Menzies, Esq. advocate, at some length supported the motion of Dr Nicoll.

Dr D. Ritchie was one of those who were against making alterations. As to the importance of the duties of a minister or professor, he felt as much perhaps as those who made more noise about it. According to the reasoning of the supporters of the overtures, there must be a great weight of duty in those parishes where there were ten, twenty, or even fifty thousand inhabitants, if five hundred was the maximum which would occupy the whole and undivided attention of a minister. How did it happen that a parish of fifty thousand did not require as many ministers as the proportion of five hundred was to fifty thousand? That was a question of arithmetic, and required little calculation. They were not here to point out the *beau ideal* of duty; they were to legislate for men of ordinary average intellect—not for a Galileo, or a Bacon, or a Newton—but for the general rate of clerical duties; that was all they were entitled to ask or to look for. Had professorial duties been neglected? Let them look to their Campbells, their Hills, and their Hunters. Did not all these discharge their duties in a conscientious, an honourable, and a profitable manner? It had been said that few literary works had come from the pens of the clergy; and that falling off arose from the union of offices: where were Campbell and Robertson? Clerical professors had many opportunities, in the course of their prelections; on the spur of the moment, of making allusions and giving hints to their pupils—that he could say from experience, he had found to be most beneficial, while it associated religion with science. He much doubted, however, if that could be expected from secular men; and even suppose a clergyman were to give up his charge and be-

come a professor, was he not liable to forget his former clerical duties? That was no hypothetical case—it had occurred. The way to prevent that evil was, to have officiating clergymen in some of the chairs in our universities; and to remove them would be inflicting a severe injury upon the youth of our country, particularly the more influential classes of society. He thought that the disunion would have that effect. He concurred with those who opposed the overtures, in trying to prevent it.

Mr Hodgson, and Mr Donald, advocate, supported the overtures.

Principal M'Farlan said, that before entering into a more minute discussion of the subject, he begged to enter his protest against a number of those overtures which said that the union of offices was against the constitution of the church. In coming to a right conclusion on this subject, where could they look but to the statutes of the church? And did they not find from these statutes, that the practice of the church, from the Reformation and the Revolution, was substantially the same as it is now? The church statutes have uniformly sanctioned and confirmed all such unions of offices. A great deal had been said about a minister of a parish; that his duties required his undivided attention; and that his mind ought not to be distracted, and rendered inefficient and useless by holding any other office. He was sure that no one who knew him would suspect him of having any wish to undervalue the great importance and sacredness of these duties; but with the most energetic talents, how limited was the success of all human effort? There was no maximum of clerical duty; but there was a maximum of human power—a going beyond our powers, which will either end in mental aberration, or premature death. Did the objection apply to a

minister more than any other man? If applied to a lawyer holding a professorship, it would amount to this; he must not accept fees, or he would injure both his clients and his pupils. No man should fill the office of a sheriff and practise at the bar; nor no member of the bench should accept what was called a double gown. Mercantile men must not fill those municipal offices they have been accustomed to do. That was all truly ridiculous; but it followed from the principle which is laid down in this motion. Surely he might be permitted to pause before he subscribed to a theory, the arguments in support of which had been merely a ringing of changes. Of the importance of the ministerial office, all were agreed. It was of the utmost consequence that the people should have faithful, pious clergymen for public preaching, for private instruction, and for aiding the devotions of the dying. Where was the proof that the whole time of a clergyman was occupied with his parish? The thing was assumed, and held as proved. It had been stated that our church was behind in theological knowledge to a sister church. That was an imputation which the overtures, if approved of, would countenance and support. It was, however, contradicted by the influence they exerted over aspirants for literary knowledge. To cut off the connexion which existed between the clergy and the universities, would be to divide them into rival bodies. There would be nothing to prevent their universities from being filled with lay professors and principals. The evil consequences of disconnecting the clergy from the laity in the universities had been illustrated in other countries. It was surely worth while to guard against the recurrence of such an evil in our own. To adopt these overtures would be to weaken the safeguards of the

church. In that view he called on his clerical brethren to be careful in pronouncing their own degradation. By these overtures, if carried into a law, the clergyman must give up literature, classics, and all personal property, for the care of it would disturb his thoughts; he must continue in a state of celibacy, for the rearing up of a family would distract his attention. They must be converted into a dark gloomy monastic body. He therefore opposed the overture, because he considered it injurious and disreputable to religion and literature, as well to the principles and constitutional practice of the church.

Mr Brown, of Largo, was an enemy to the union of offices.

Duncan Mathieson, Esq. advocate, opposed the overtures, and contended that there were chairs in the universities, which could only be filled by ministers, viz. the Theological, Church History, and Hebrew.

Mr Mackenzie stated a circumstance which had been communicated to him by a distinguished member of the House of Commons, that on a recent visit made by that Senator to a German university, where the professor is a layman, he found the students gravely discussing, in presence of their teacher, whether Christianity was ideal and imaginary, or prejudicial to mankind. He opposed the overtures.

Mr Burns, of Paisley, supported the overtures, and entered into a minute history of the church, stating, that the union of offices was not consonant with its constitution, but resulted necessarily from the circumstances of the times; he cited several cases in support of his proposition. He then adverted to the probable influence which the disjunction would have upon the literature and morals of our countrymen.

Dr Chalmers begged to read an amendment made on his motion, which was, "That until such adequate pro-

vision be obtained, such act shall be suspended."

The Lord Justice Clerk said, the union of offices was neither unconstitutional, nor contrary to the practice of the church. Had it been unconstitutional, the General Assembly never would have given it its sanction; and what had been the practice? There were one or two cases he could not help bringing forward. The first was that of Principal Hill, who was second minister of St Andrews, and Professor of Greek in that University; and he could affirm, that the duties belonging to these situations were never more uprightly performed than by that gentleman. The second was that of Dr Adamson. One with more assiduity than he had, does not exist. He was first minister of St Andrews, and accepted the chair of Civil History; but demonstrated to his colleagues and to the country, that he was fully able to do his united duties. He was convinced that the more intimate the connexion between religion and literature is, so much the more are the benefits to be derived. He wished learning to be the handmaid of religion; and he knew no way whereby they could be made more effectually to assist each other, than by the union of a parochial charge with a professorial chair. He was not one of those who had a regard for reverend squires. He gave his unqualified support to the motion of Dr Nicoll.

Mr Fleming, of Neilston, said, that from the year 1690, down to the present day, pluralities of professorial chairs with parochial churches had been universal. He also read an extract from a pamphlet, written by Dr Chalmers many years ago, which contained an opinion opposite to that which he now avowed.

Dr A. Thomson said, with regard to personalities, in this case no one could possibly avoid them—he had

been referred to himself. He could state, however, that from his knowledge of the duties of a minister, he could no more undertake a professorship, than he could undertake to fly to the moon. Dr Ritchie had charged them with hostility towards him. If the reverend gentleman asked, "Do you bite your thumb at me, sir?" he would answer from delicacy, "I bite my thumb;" but, if he came to close quarters, "I bite my thumb at you, sir." And he thought he was entitled to say, that Dr R. could not do his duty sufficiently either in the college or the church (hear). If he was diligent in the church, what was to become of the college? The learned professor who opened the debate yesterday, set out with a terrible denunciation against the innovations attempted to be made upon our religion—the preventing of ministers from becoming professors. His definition of an office, which seemed to have a great influence over his mind, was not a very correct one; it was, a class of duties to be performed; but this would make every human being an office-bearer—man, woman, and child; for who had not duties to perform? When a clergyman accepts of a professional chair, he puts himself under a jurisdiction which commands him to employ his time and talents different from another jurisdiction, which, as a member of the church, he is bound to obey. Under that academical jurisdiction, he has duties to perform, which may very probably interfere with his other duties as a parish minister. Perhaps a call will come from a person on his death-bed; here is a most interesting duty, from the performance of which no clergyman can refrain. But if one hundred students be waiting upon him for his lecture, the call must be neglected, or the students wait on. He would now allude to the genius and constitution of our church. The reverend princi-

pal had given them a historical disquisition; but a more meagre, inconclusive, and incorrect detail, he had never heard. Many chasms were left, which might have been filled up, and certain propositions advanced, which were directly in the teeth of his own argument. The reverend gentleman adverted to the older cases of pluralism which had been advanced by former speakers, and stated that it was the recent cases which had procured the overtures on the table of the House. They were told by gentlemen on the other side that unions existed, and therefore could not be wrong. But if this were admitted, every corruption, civil or ecclesiastical, would be held as consistent with the spirit and genius of the constitution. He would relate an anecdote, which would place this subject in a better point of view than anything which he could say. When the late Dr Walker was presented to the parish of Colinton, the people had strong prejudices against him, and violently opposed him. Dr Macknight was anxious to effect a reconciliation between them and his friend. He was preaching there, and took an opportunity of conversing with some of the parishioners. He made up to an old grey-headed man, and said, "Mr Walker will be an excellent minister for you?" "No, sir," said the old man, "he will not do for us." "O! Dr Walker is a great man; since he was presented here, he has been appointed to a professorship." "Sae, sir," said the old man, lifting up his intelligent eyes; "that makes it far waur; he is just gann to make a by-job of our souls." There was an argument in this addressed both to the head and the heart, an argument far superior, in his opinion, to any that he had yet heard in the course of the debate. He would now speak of Professor Hill. They all knew how well he did his duties, and what spirit gave he had left behind, but

if he had not been burdened with the cares of a parish, he would undoubtedly have left more. Professor Robertson was an eminent historian and a distinguished literary man; but we did not know so much about him as a parish minister; and had he not been a parish minister, he would have been a better historian. He did not need to tell the reverend Moderator how much profound historical researches were calculated to lead the mind from other duties. Principal Robertson confessed this himself, and his opinions were recorded. He was therefore entitled to say, that if the principal had not been burdened with a parochial charge, we would have had more works from his pen. The experience of the Rev. Dr McCrie also coincided with this. He therefore pressed this, not only as a case not favourable to the opinion urged on the other side of the House, but directly opposed to it. How the secular professorships had been formed he could not tell. At an entertainment given at a university, the worthy Principal was in the chair, and drinking toasts. He gave, "The Arts and Sciences." Professor Brown, who was a little deaf, mistook it, and drank "Our absent friends," (laughter). He was much afraid, if pluralities were allowed to increase, that they would very soon become absent friends. It was said that infidelity would be advanced by the proposed disjunction. He had as great a horror of infidelity as any one; he considered it the bane of human happiness, and the ruin of immortal souls. But the allegation took more for granted than it was able to prove. It took for granted that men, in spite of all the solemn obligations they had come under to the contrary, would teach it in our schools. But this was a libel on the literary and scientific gentlemen of our age. It was no doubt true, that some of them were infidels and sceptics; but they were not all so.

Even some of our own order are not what they should be. The reverend gentleman then said, he would draw his argument from a book with which they were all well acquainted—the Edinburgh Almanack; and proceeded to state that the arguments advanced by the other side, libelled not only the professors in our universities, but the patrons who appointed them. He thought that one great use of the clergy was to resist infidelity, not by kidnapping professors' chairs, but by training up young persons; and in choosing, in riper years, those persons which they had been the means of implanting. But by this argument, we are taught that all this is dangerous; and that though we have a great body of clergymen—learned, zealous, and pious as we are all supposed to be—infidelity is going to overwhelm us. He denied the statement. The argument was not only inconsistent with the fact, but had a bit of a quarrel with itself. Patrons, if they are disposed, may promote laymen. There was no law to hinder them, but there was every chance that clergymen would be preferred. Whatever way it was, the conclusion was just this, that we had a security, so far as patrons were concerned, that no infidels would be promoted to those chairs. It could not be alleged that there was any lack of men of science or learning to fill our chairs; nor was there any lack of probationers to fill our pulpits. But when a young man of abilities is ripe for a professorship—and a professorship vacant—and applies for it himself or through his friends, he is told that it is bestowed. A clergyman, who has as much money as he needs, and as much duty as he can perform, sits down upon it, takes all its emoluments, while his church remains full. That being the case, our order is said to be infidel and sceptic in spirit of the world—is anxious to get academical power, political influence,



and filthy lucre. What are we? Are we not ambassadors of Christ to his people. What do we teach them? To deny themselves, to be content with such things as they have, and to rise superior to the vain ambition of the world. And are not the motives which we urge for their doing so pure and heavenly? He would now tell them, what, according to his opinion, was the proper cure. The clergy of Scotland, according to the constitution of her church and state, though some gentlemen on the other side said she had lost this power, are the natural superintendents of colleges and schools. And why should they not exercise this power? But there was another cure. If they did their duty faithfully, would they not have a moral command over the hearts of their patrons? Time was when the clergy engrossed the whole learning and power of the country; but these times were long since gone by, and, he hoped, never would return. There was another argument which he had heard to-day, about the congeniality of these duties to ministers. •He thought a professorship of chemistry would be very congenial to him. It was very amusing to perform experiments—he had often done so; and still more amusing to get two guineas of a fee from each individual, in a class of two hundred students. Our very law chairs would be invaded; for though there is no apparent congeniality about them, we could easily devise such, and say, at the time of Melville, great divines were great lawyers, and great lawyers were great divines. No man could make a professorship a sinecure. At least this does not seem to be the Glasgow fashion. When Dr Finlay went to the country to relax himself, what sort of a relaxation was it? He carried with him a book, weighing two hundred weight, and this was called relaxing!

Dr. Adams spoke in favour of Prin-

cipal Nicoll's motion; after which Dr Chalmers requested permission to reply; which, after some little discussion as to the point of form, was allowed. He was frequently interrupted by cries of "Vote, vote," and "Question." He begged the sympathy of the House, while he adverted to the extract from the pamphlet which they had lately heard read. He was surprised to hear it brought forward, but he was glad of the opportunity it had afforded of a public renunciation, which he now did in the most unqualified manner. He acknowledged that the sentiment contained in it was most egregiously wrong.

The vote was then called for; when there appeared 26 of a majority for Principal Nicoll's motion.—Adjourned at ten o'clock.

27.—The Assembly met this day.

The minutes of the last sederunt having been read, a number of members gave in their adherence to Dr Thomson's protest against the decision of the Assembly on the question of union of offices, and lodged instruments in the clerk's hands.

Dr Singers then gave in the report of the committee appointed to class the returns from Presbyteries to the overtures regarding the course of studies of students in divinity, from which it appeared that the number of Presbyteries who had sent in returns in favour of the first overture was 37—and for the second overture 34. The first overture, therefore, wanted three, and the second wanted six of the number sufficient to give either a Presbyterial sanction. Fifteen Presbyteries had disapproved of the first, and seventeen of the second overture; and one or two Presbyteries had expressed their approval of either only in part.

On the motion of Dr Chalmers, the overtures were ordered to be re-transmitted to Presbyteries.



The Assembly then proceeded to consider the reference from the Presbytery of Kintyre, for advice in a matter regarding the Rev. Malcolm M'Donald, minister of Gigha and Cara.

It appeared from a variety of papers read by the clerk, that, some time last year, the Presbytery of Kintyre had considered it their duty to institute an inquiry into the grounds of a *fama clamorosa* which had arisen against Mr M'Donald; and, after various proceedings, had served upon that gentleman a libel, charging him with offences highly affecting his character as a clergyman. Mr M'Donald attended the meetings of Presbytery, but refused to answer to the question—guilty, or not guilty? and appealed to the Synod of Argyle. Although reminded that the General Assembly would meet before that Synod, and requested to make his appeal to that Court, he persisted in resting his appeal with the Synod of Argyle. He, at the same time, gave in reasons of appeal, in which he objected to the competency of the Presbytery to proceed in his case, designating some of the members as both his prosecutors and judges. The Presbytery, on the 11th inst., repelled these and other objections as frivolous, and intended to protract the decision of the case. Mr M'Donald adhered to his former appeal to the Synod of Argyle, and the Presbytery agreed to refer the matter to the General Assembly for advice.

Parties being heard, and removed from the bar, the Assembly proceeded to consider the case, and after some discussion, agreed, on the motion of Principal Nicoll, to dismiss the complaint, sustain the reference, and find the libel relevant, with a slight exception; to decree and ordain the Presbytery of Kintyre to proceed with their investigation of the case, notwithstanding the appeals which may be taken from parts of their procedure; but not to

give a final judgment till these appeals are disposed of; and before giving judgment, to allow Mr M'Donald a proof of all facts and circumstances which may lead to an alleviation.

\* 28.—The report on the state of the funds of the Church was made by the Procurator, from which, it appeared that there is a debt against the Church of L.1157. In the course of the by-gone year, contributions had been received to the amount of L.103, but it was still impossible to attend to any new petition till the debt was diminished. He said there were two petitions for aid this year, the one from Dr Adamson of Cupar, (and a former Assembly had resolved to defer this very question with respect to his predecessor); the other was the petition of the Reverend W. Fraser of Kilchrennan, and it was a particularly distressing case.

Principal Nicoll considered the case of Mr Fraser, who was bowed to the earth with age and many infirmities, as peculiarly distressing; that he had a large family of eight daughters to support, on a pittance of little more than L.50 a year.—(Hear.) He thought, therefore, that the Assembly should take upon themselves the debt he had incurred in defending an action wherein the interests of a large number of clergymen were materially concerned. The debt amounted to L.190, and though the Church had not the money at present to give, if it gave its credit, Mr Fraser would have no difficulty in raising the sum.

The petition of the Reverend William Fraser was then read. It excited the strongest feelings of commiseration for his sufferings, and several very indignant observations were used on the cruelty of the heritors by whom he was oppressed. There appeared a unanimous wish to comply with the prayer of the petition. / Principal Nicoll said he had been

requested by a lay member to express his best wishes for Mr Fraser and his family; and these wishes were conveyed with a L.50 note. The whole sum that Mr Fraser prayed the Assembly to take upon itself amounted to L.192; and that sum the Church ought to engage to pay, so soon as their funds would permit.—(Agree, agree, from all parts of the House.) His much respected and aged friend should not go home embarrassed—he should be placed beyond the mercy of a pitiless heir. For though he (Dr N.) had little to give, he was willing to become the creditor of the Church for the amount of the sum required.—(Hear, hear.)

Principal Macfarlane and several members bore testimony to the worth and sufferings of the aged individual who applied for relief.

John Borthwick, Esq. took that opportunity of pressing the necessity of the lay members being allowed to contribute to the funds of the Church.

Robert Paul, Esq. supported the views of Mr Borthwick, and a subscription was entered into.

A subscription was likewise commenced, and a considerable sum obtained, for the Rev. Mr Fraser, to enable him to defray some additional expense beyond that to be paid out of the Church funds.

The petition of Dr Adamson was then read; and the Assembly gave it as their opinion, that although no aid at present could be given, the case was worthy of the consideration of the Church.

30.—The Assembly met this day at eleven o'clock, when a communication from the Right Honourable Robert Peel, acknowledging receipt of the Assembly's letter, was read.

Dr Duncan, of Ruthwell, made a report from the committee on the subject of parochial schoolmasters. The committee expressed a deep interest

in all that related to the parochial schoolmasters of Scotland, and great satisfaction in being called on to lend its aid in furtherance of any measure which can ameliorate their condition. The committee also feel grateful for the zeal and liberality with which the landed interest have acted towards that meritorious class of men. The committee, in a series of resolutions, recommended that the emoluments of schoolmasters ought to be increased, and better accommodations provided for them:—that no teacher should be considered qualified to take charge of a principal school who could not teach Latin and Greek,—that no man should be appointed a schoolmaster in a Highland parish who was not conversant with the Gaelic language:—that no man under twenty-one years of age, should in any case be appointed a parochial schoolmaster—and that there should exist a right of appeal from the Presbytery to the superior ecclesiastical courts.

After much discussion, on the motion of Mr Moncrieff, the Assembly agreed that the presbyteries ought to judge of the qualifications of the teacher; and that the right of appeal ought to be restored.

The Moderator delivered an eloquent and impressive address; and his Grace dissolved the Assembly; and appointed the next General Assembly to meet at Edinburgh, on Thursday, the 18th of May 1826.

## JUNE.

8.—GLASGOW.—An ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow was held:

CHARGE OF SIMONY.—The Presbytery heard the report of a delegation from the Presbytery of Irvine, respecting a certain letter which Mr In Brown, minister in Glasgow, had

sent to Mr Cunninghame of Lainshaw. The letter in question, along with another from Mr Cunninghame, was sent to the Presbytery of Irvine. After expressing their gratitude to Mr Cunninghame for the communication, it was resolved to transmit the documents to the Presbytery of Glasgow, as Mr Brown was in their jurisdiction.

The letter alluded to was then read. The writer stated, in substance, that having heard of the death of the Reverend Dr Douglas, minister in Stewarston, if Mr Cunninghame's promise was not already pre-engaged, he took the liberty to request that he would place him in the vacant church. If he had the kindness to do so, a friend of his undertook to give Mr Cunninghame L.100 for five or six years, not as a bribe, but as a testimony of gratitude. The writer twice preached for Dr Douglas, to the satisfaction of the parishioners, and if Mr Cunninghame presented him with the church, it would be his highest ambition, by prudence, piety, and a faithful discharge of his duties, to merit his esteem, and the respect of his parishioners. For a testimony of his character and abilities, he referred to Mr Stewart of the Glasgow-field.

Dr Rankin said the Presbytery could be at no loss as to the mode of procedure in this case. All they had to do at present was to summon Mr Brown to their bar at the next ordinary meeting, on the second Wednesday of July.

This was unanimously agreed to.

meeting. After some routine business they proceeded to the case of Alexander Brown, who was summoned to attend by agreement of the last Presbytery, for having attempted to bribe William Cunninghame, Esq. of Lainshaw, in order to get the charge of a church as minister in Stewarston, of which Mr Cunninghame is patron.

The Moderator then called Mr Brown, who appeared at the bar. He admitted that he wrote the letter, but at the same time expressed the greatest contrition, and hoped that the Presbytery would overlook it, as it was a rash step, and it would be considered by Mr Brown as a particular favour.

After considerable discussion, and several members having expressed their opinion as to the heinous nature of the offence, it was proposed that it should come to the vote, either to deprive him of his license, or suspend him, *sine die*; when there appeared a majority of four to deprive him altogether of ever again becoming a licensed minister. Upon which Mr Brown protested to the next meeting of Synod.

It was hinted throughout the discussion by Dr McGill, that Mr Brown was rather of a weak intellect.

Mr Leishman then intimated that he had a report to make upon the case of the Reverend Mr Thom of Liverpool, he being appointed as one of the commissioners to take evidence in that case.

Dr McGill suggested that the report should be read in private, which was agreed to.

## SEPTEMBER.

### JULY.

13.—This day the Presbytery of Glasgow held their usual monthly

21.—GLASGOW.—The Presbytery of Glasgow proceeded to take into consideration the case of Mr Thom of

Liverpool, as to error in doctrine. Mr. Moncrieff, advocate, opened the proceedings, and occupied four hours with a powerful speech, in support of the charges. He was followed by Mr Jardine, in a speech of considerable length, in defence of Mr Thom; after which Mr Thom defended himself in a long and able speech. Dr Ranken then moved an adjournment till Thursday morning at ten o'clock.

On Thursday forenoon, the Presbytery again met, when the Moderator stated that they had continued to a late hour on Wednesday night in solemn and serious debate on the merits of the case now before them, when they came to the decision, with the deepest concern, that Mr Thom had inculcated to his flock in Liverpool several gross errors, completely inconsistent with the Confession of Faith, and the doctrines of the Church of Scotland; that he had failed to perform his duty, as a minister of that Church, and had not complied with the terms of the bond which he entered into with the managers of Rodney Street Chapel; and they, therefore, with one dissenting voice, agreed to deprive him of the ministry of said Church. Mr Jardine entered his protest against the decision of the Presbytery, with the intention of appealing to the Synod; the reasons to be lodged in due time.

## OCTOBER.

2.—The King has been pleased to present the Reverend Robert Allan to the church and parish of Little Dunkeld, in the presbytery of Dunkeld, and county of Perth, vacant by the resignation of the Reverend Thomas Nelson, who resigned there. *London Gazette of 14 October.*

## NOVEMBER.

### SOCIETY FOR IMPROVING CHURCH PATRONAGE.

5.—EDINBURGH.—A meeting of the friends of the society for improving the system of church patronage in Scotland, took place in the Waterloo Hotel. The attendance was not very numerous. Colonel Hutcheson took the chair. The clerk, after reading letters of apology for non-attendance from one or two individuals, proceeded to read a report respecting the proceedings and situation of the society during the last year, stating very distinctly the great object it had in view, —namely, to purchase rights of patronage from private individuals, by the funds of the society, and to vest these rights in the male heads of families for the benefits of their respective parishes. The Society required some further support, that they might be enabled to purchase, when opportunities presented. The amount of funds at present belonging to the Society was upwards of £530; and it was stated by the secretary, that considerable contributions besides had been offered by individuals, which it might be in the power of the Society to command whenever they should have occasion to make a purchase.

The Rev. David Dickson begged to solicit the support of the Society on account of the splendid and paramount object for which it had been instituted. He anticipated the success of the Society with the greatest confidence. It was known that the Society meant to buy up patronages from proprietors, as far as their funds would enable them to go, and to vest in the people the right of choosing their own pastor. Patronage was an evil for which there was no other remedy. He concluded by moving that the report be printed and

The Rev. H. Grey.—The object of the Society was to recover the rights of the people, which had been taken from them; to vindicate their natural and inalienable right to choose their own ministers. It was agreeable to the nature of human affairs, that the people of a parish should have a personal regard for their minister, before they could sufficiently profit from his instructions; and that they should have their own choice. A list of the office-bearers of the society for the ensuing year was read by Mr Grey, and moved accordingly.

Mr Hume, M. P. spoke at considerable length. He regretted not having been able to attend the first meeting of the Society. No man could be more aware than himself of the incalculable benefits of religious education. He had observed the policy and state of manners in different countries, and had been forcibly attracted to the conclusion, that the flock having the greatest interest, has the best right to make choice of their pastor. He was convinced that a laxity had taken place in church discipline. It was not right that a people should have their clergyman thrust upon them, in spite of their inclinations. He had no hesitation in saying, that neither a student could profit from his teacher, nor parishioners from their clergyman, unless they entertained some affection or respect for them, and had a good opinion of the man to whose instructions they submitted. Had the people of Scotland not changed in their characters since 1711? Nobody would say they had not. And was it not right that the institutions of a people should be adapted to their characters? The Society only required that the system of church patronage, which had continued since 1711, should at length be adapted to the existing state of things.

Dr A. Thomson chiefly rose for the purpose of repelling certain misrepres-

entations which had been most industriously circulated, respecting statements that had been made at the first meeting of the Society. "In the first place," said the Doctor, "it has been very broadly and dogmatically stated, that in my observations of last year, I did speak most disrespectfully, cruelly, and shamelessly, of tutors in gentlemen's families. That has not been whispered merely, but has been circulated in newspapers and pamphlets. I utterly deny the charge. If there were anything in it, my tongue must have strangely misgiven me, for I never changed my feelings towards that class, and I have a strong fellow-feeling for them. Then, sir, there is another misrepresentation. I happened to make a remark on dissenters. I will not boast of my language on the subject; and I think there is no great merit in that. But I am represented as saying in this meeting, that I rejoiced that there are so many dissenters. Sir, I had made no such statement. I did rejoice in dissent—but that statement was qualified by this consideration—it is dissent occasioned by tyranny in our rules—and I repeat the statement. There is another circumstance which is not quite so serious as any of these, but worth alluding to; as it goes to the essence of the business we are going to correct. I stated it as a fact, showing the improper way in which patronage is sometimes exercised—that a certain patron, influenced by political considerations that were pulling him different ways, did not feel himself at liberty to consider whether one or another individual was best fitted for the situation that was become vacant, and in order to get out of his difficulty, he took up a halfpenny 'heads or tails,' for the young man getting the parish. That has given great offence, and I have lost the regard of some persons on account of that statement. I am sorry they have withdrawn their business

from me—but I can do without it. I do not care for such things, when I am speaking the truth in defence of such a cause as this. And what turns out? There might be a mistake as to the minute particulars, but not as to the essence of what took place. At first I heard it was not determined by a halfpenny, but by a sovereign; but this is the same in substance. The true statement, it seems, is, that the names of the competitors were put into a hat, and some neutral person drew out the name of the successful competitor. Now, was any more regard paid to the souls of the people by the use of a hat than by tossing a halfpenny?" The Society had two sets of opponents, and he would say a little of both. One set cried out that the church was in danger. He wished the Society had the power to make these gentlemen really think the church was in danger, for then, he thought, if he could judge of the feelings of the meeting for it, they would provide, if they had the power, for the perpetuity and safety of the church. The alarmists were not afraid for the safety of the church, except for the patronage, which they held for political interests, and the greater the competition, the greater the price. He contended that the right of presentation in the people was not only natural, but constituted by charter, which charter had been violated by the act 1711, that took the right of presentation from the people, and established the present system. There would be this advantage in the alteration, the pastor would be acceptable to the people, who were not so apt to be swayed by political views as the patron; there were some honourable exceptions among the latter, but they were few. The reverend doctor said he did not fear the least animosity or disgust from the change, and instanced the case of the Magistrates of Stirling, who had given up the right of nomination to the people,

and the call was harmonious. At St Ninians, too, where the people have the right of nomination, the same good-humour and harmony prevailed, all agreeing in the appointment. He would ask, did no dissensions occur among patrons? Yes, dissensions happen often among them. Two or three patrons quarrel about a patronage, fight an expensive and tedious battle before the Court of Session, and the people are left as a flock without a shepherd for years, till these gentlemen shall get it settled by the Court of Session, or the House of Peers, which of them has the right of patronage. Is that a state of peace and quietude that can be looked at and said, there is an instance of harmony? The Reverend Doctor alluded to the case of Little Dunkeld, where the patron attempted to force a pastor upon the people to administer to their souls in a language they could not understand—but the General Assembly overset this delightfully. The exclamation of another set of their opponents was, "You are doing a great deal of harm—a great deal of harm." The portentous words were falsified by fact, for he could say that they had done a great deal of good, and obtained a far greater number of appointments, such as they wished, than usual. But all he could get from the latter class of their opponents was a shrug of the shoulders, a shake of the head, and "you are doing a great deal of harm." This reminded him of a countryman, rather silly, who had taken it into his head that it was always a fine day, whatever was the state of the weather. His friends naturally wished him to get the better of the delusion, but though Sam came home through the drifting snow and half frozen—at another time drenched to the skin in torrents of rain—or after enduring the terrors and perils amidst the war of elements in a thunder-storm, still Sam's reply was—"It's a fine day!"—(Much laughter.)

—Some gentlemen asked, what have you done? Our reply is, we have framed a Society—we have met with support—we have collected money—and we expect a great deal more. But again they ask, have you purchased any patronages? No: there have been none in the market; let them appear there, and we will be at them. The Reverend Gentleman concluded an address of considerable length, by expressing a hope that they would always

be in an attitude to purchase, and that, to enable them to do this, the country would co-operate with the parent society. The Reverend Doctor having proposed a motion to that effect, sat down amidst great applause.

Mr Northhouse of Glasgow spoke at some length, and urged the propriety of extending the Society in that quarter.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

No. V.

## LITERARY CHRONICLE.

## FEBRUARY.

The only leaf wanting to complete that most ancient of records, Domesday Book, was lately accidentally discovered in the archives of the family of Trevelyan, at Nettlecombe. It has been compared with the original copy at Exeter, and found not only to correspond; in ink, in character, in size of vellum, and indenture, but was further identified by supplying the sole deficiency of matter.

The celebrated Joseph Lancaster is at Caraccas, engaged in teaching his system of education; but from one of his publications, it would appear that he meets with poor success. He complains of want of room, want of friends, and want of scholars, having only 50 instead of 500, which he expected.—*American Paper.*

## APRIL.

Election of Mr Brougham as  
 Lord Rector of the University  
 of Glasgow.

At half past two o'clock, the  
 College doors were opened to the in-

patient students, who had previously assembled in great numbers. In a few minutes the body of the hall and the galleries were nearly filled. A little after three o'clock, Sir James Mackintosh entered, and was received by immense and long continued cheering. He was attended by Mr Mackintosh, Lord Viscount Glenorchy, Dr Richard Millar, and the whole of the professors of the University, and other gentlemen. Prayers were said in Latin by Principal Macfarlan, and the proceedings of the former meeting read. After which,

Principal Macfarlan rose and said, Gentlemen, you are aware from what you have just heard, that in the choice of a succeeding Lord Rector, the nations were equally divided; two being for Sir Walter Scott, and the other two for Mr Brougham. (Loud cheers.) \* This division and equality of votes are provided, for in the following words.—(Here the very reverend and learned gentleman read the College laws, which decreed that when the division was equal, the casting vote devolved on the preceding Lord Rector.)—The casting vote, you will therefore perceive, gentlemen, has devolved on Sir James Mackintosh, who has come here to give it. (Loud cheers.)



Sir James Mackintosh rose amid immense cheering.—Gentlemen, you have heard from the last speaker the object of my visit to you at this period. The privilege of addressing you, I again repeat, I owe entirely to the indulgence of your professors. In the first place, I take this opportunity of returning my thanks to you for the honour you have conferred upon me, and the manner in which I have been received. (Cheers.) And I feel the more happy in doing so by being made the channel of presenting you with a valuable and splendid ornament to your University. (Cheers.) A son of James Watt, whose memory has been so frequently, and so nobly recorded in the proceedings of many recent public meetings, has offered, by me, a statue of his immortal father, executed by the talented Chantrey. Mr Watt presents this statue, with proud feelings, to that University in which his illustrious parent first imbibed the principles of that scientific knowledge, and laid the foundation of those important and splendid discoveries which will form an era in the history of science. I feel proud in belonging to a University which has produced so great a man, and, especially, proud that I am now the instrument of offering to that University his statue. (Cheers.) This statue is not of one who enslaved nations or destroyed his fellow-creatures—it is not of one whose fame was steeped in blood, or whose pedestal was reared in desolation,—but of one who gloried in contributing to the useful knowledge of his fellow-creatures—in building a temple to science in which all mankind might worship. (Cheers.) I cannot, gentlemen, forget another mark of fame which distinguished this University. It is the nearly 70 years since a Professor of Moral Philosophy, in this University, delivered those lec-

tures which have covered his name with glory, and his country with greatness. It is now 50 years since he made those principles known, which have forced their way through the civilized globe, and which are day by day adopted by the government of this country—principles that will raise the nation to the highest pitch of commercial and political glory. (Cheers.) Are there two names in the annals of science brighter than these? Can any two individuals, belonging to the seminaries of learning in Europe, bear competition with a Watt and a Smith? No!—(Loud cheering.)—Gentlemen, you will call to mind those names, and, in pursuing your several paths of learning, you will not forget the fame that encircles and irradiates those illustrious characters. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I am not now called, nor can I enter upon the invidious and most unpleasant task of choosing between two such distinguished characters as have been brought before me. I cannot do it—two such eminent persons, so different in every thing, and yet so great in their respective walks, I cannot and I will not pretend to characterise. Literature, public life—the charms of poetry, and the powers of philosophy—imagination in its varied creations, and political science in its varied uses, are mixed up in the decision. There is no comparison, or ground of comparison between them—nor could any comparison that might be drawn be either beautiful in theory or beneficial in practice. I, however, feel no difficulty in making the decision, save that difficulty which a French proverb denominates “the embarrassment of riches.” (Loud cheering.) Yes, I shall take the liberty, gentlemen, with your permission of voting some of the grounds on which I shall give the casting vote—some of those

distinguishing excellences of the gentleman to whom it will be given. In the first place, his studies have not had a vicious or a vitiated tendency; they have not been founded upon the false hypothesis, that talent is independent of industry and cultivation; yet if any man might be an exception to this rule, none could be a greater or more splendid one than Mr Brougham. (Excessive cheering.) He despises not labour; no man can do more with less labour than he can; yet he is unremittingly and indefatigably laborious. (Loud cheers.) No maxim, gentlemen, can be more fallacious than that genius is independent of cultivation. Coxcombs and pigmies in intellectual life may pretend to support such a doctrine, and may believe, or profess to believe, natural talent to be sufficient; but the gentleman for whom I shall vote will tell you no such thing. Mr Brougham's talent for business and usefulness in public life arose from industrious and constant application; his vivid eloquence and his varied powers were founded on no superficial or showy attainments. Great study, leading to a sound knowledge of the exact sciences, laid the basis of his splendid and triumphant career through life. He indulged in that hard and vigorous study which may be denominated a species of mental gymnastics, nor did he ever shrink under them. (Loud cheering.) Those who have encountered the hostility of this great statesman are compelled to acknowledge the skill and strength of science in his blows, and confess the master spirit that has been proved by intense study and unwearied application. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, another prejudice of a most baneful nature, and than which there is not a greater mischief, is that those minds that aim at general principles and great conceptions, are entitled to neglect ac-

curacy. There cannot be a greater absurdity than this, for those who affect to despise accuracy and minuteness of detail, generally sacrifice those great principles which they pretend to support, and exhibit alone the great folly of their conduct. With Mr Brougham it is eminently otherwise—he is most particular in his details, and shows by his minute acquaintance with every subject under his view, that his accuracy cannot be disputed. (Cheers.) Another great and astonishing excellence of Mr Brougham is the concentration of his powers in the grasping of a great question at once, and in all its parts, before others could scarcely commence it, and yet, in that surprising grasp and concentration of intellect, you will find that Mr Brougham is still more surprising in his minute knowledge of every particular connected with his subject. I have been astonished, upon various occasions, to find, in illustration of great, abstruse, and most important questions, facts and details, minute and accurate, given by Mr Brougham which would have been darkness to others, but were light and beauty from him—and yet fatiguing and particular as they were, they did not damp his vivacity, or deaden those powers of wit and eloquence which he so eminently possesses. (Loud cheers.) Another feature which I may add to the character of my distinguished friend, is his fondness for classical learning: the various pursuits and the varied powers which he so greatly possesses, have not at all diminished the pleasure he has felt in drinking from the fountain of ancient lore. Other universities have affected to despise the sciences and the philosophy of ours; but Mr Brougham looks upon learning, and science, and philosophy as mutually necessary to each other. (Cheers.) He studied classical antiquity, and especially the

learning of the ancients, who wielded at will an eloquence which shook the arsenals of the world, raised Greece to the pinnacle of glory, and enabled her to battle with the great Macedonian. (Cheers.) Milton, the immortal Milton, has eulogised that eloquence in words which can never be forgotten. I call your attention to his beautiful lines—not because he characterises eloquence as beautiful, not because he considers it as amusing, not because he speaks of its elegance, not because he eulogises its magnificence, not because he is charmed with its delightfulness, but because it is triumphant in battle, in victory, in greatness, in glory; because by it the ancients wielded at will the destinies of nations, shook the globe, and carried terror and dismay to those tyrants who were the enemies of Athens and of liberty. (Extreme cheering.) Mr Brougham has studied in this school. Eloquence to him was not a matter of parade; it was not a holiday suit, it was not a merely elegant accomplishment, it was not a pleasant and delightful exercise. No, it was a mighty instrument to expose and extirpate corruption and arbitrary power, to uphold the glorious principles of truth and justice, to overawe successful oppression, and wither the tyrant in his tyranny. (Long and rapturous applause.) Gentlemen, I shall not now say anything of the other distinguished character who has been brought before you. Nothing I could say would add to his justly acquired reputation; my humble approbation he has already received; but while I vote for Mr Brougham, I call upon you to remember and to imitate the traits of his character; and if the recollection of the illustrious statesman, and the distinguished philosopher, of Brougham and Watt, can warm you to exertion, that you may not forget their several excellencies, and espe-

cially that you may, like your future Lord Rector, have the noble wish of serving your country and of ennobling yourselves, by study and perseverance like his. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, It is now my duty to say, that I give my casting vote to Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P. (Loud cheering.)

A student (Mr Berry, we believe,) then declared, that the vote had fallen on Mr Brougham.

After which, the very Reverend the Principal pronounced a benediction, and the students broke up.

6.—This day the inauguration of Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, took place; on which occasion he delivered the following speech.

Gentlemen, It now becomes me to return my very sincere and respectful thanks for the kindness which has placed me in a chair, filled in former times by so many great men, whose names might well make any comparison formidable to a far more worthy successor.

While I desire you to accept this unexaggerated expression of gratitude, I am anxious to address you rather in the form which I now adopt, than in the more usual one of an unpremeditated discourse. I shall thus at least prove that the remarks, which I deem it my duty to make, are the fruit of mature reflection, and that I am unwilling to discharge an important office in a perfunctory manner.

I feel very sensibly, that if I shall now urge you by general exhortations, to be instant in the pursuit of learning, which, in all its branches, flourishes under the kindly shelter of these roofs, I may weary you with the unprofitable repetition of a trite old tale; and if I presume to offer my advice touching the conduct of your studies, I may seem to trespass upon the province of those venerable men

sons, under whose care you have the singular happiness to be placed. But I would nevertheless expose myself to either charge, for the sake of joining my voice with theirs, in anxiously entreating you to believe how incomparably the present season is verily and indeed the most precious of your whole lives. It is not the less true, because it has been oftentimes said, that the period of youth is by far the best fitted for the improvement of the mind, and the retirement of a college almost exclusively adapted to such study. At your enviable age, every thing has the lively interest of novelty and freshness; attention is perpetually sharpened by curiosity; and the memory is tenacious of the deep impressions it thus receives, to a degree unknown in after life; while the distracting cares of the world, or its beguiling pleasures, cross not the threshold of these calm retreats; its distant noise and bustle are faintly heard, making the shelter you enjoy more grateful; and the struggles of anxious mortals embarked upon that troublous sea, are viewed from an eminence, the security of which is rendered more sweet by the prospect of the scene below. Yet a little while, and you too will be plunged into those waters of bitterness; and will cast an eye of regret, as now I do, upon the peaceful regions you have quitted for ever. Such is your lot as members of society; but it will be your own fault if you look back on this place with repentance or with shame; and be well assured that, whatever time—ay, every hour—you squander here on unprofitable idling, will then rise up against you, and be paid for by years of bitter but unavailing regrets. Study then, I beseech you, so to store your minds with the exquisite learning of former ages, that you may always possess within yourselves sources of rational and refined enjoy-

ment, which will enable you to set at nought the grosser pleasures of sense, whereof other men are slaves; and so imbue yourselves with the sound philosophy of latter days, forming yourselves to the virtuous habits which are its legitimate offspring, that you may walk unhurt through the trials which await you, and may look down upon the ignorance and error that surround you, not with lofty and supercilious contempt, as the sages of old times, but with the vehement desire of enlightening those who wander in darkness, and who are by so much the more endeared to us by how much they want our assistance.

Assuming the improvement of his own mind and of the lot of his fellow-creatures to be the great end of every man's existence, who is removed above the care of providing for his sustenance, and to be the indispensable duty of every man, as far as his own immediate wants leave him any portion of time unemployed, our attention is naturally directed to the means by which so great and urgent a work may best be performed; and as, in the limited time allotted to this discourse, I cannot hope to occupy more than a small portion of so wide a field, I shall confine myself to two subjects, or rather to a few observations upon two subjects, both of them appropriate to this place, but either of them affording ample materials for an entire course of Lectures—the Study of the Rhetorical Art, by which useful truths are promulgated with effect, and the Purposes to which a Proficiency in this art should be made subservient.

It is an extremely common error among young persons, impatient of academical discipline, to turn from the painful study of ancient, and particularly of Attic composition, and solace themselves with works rendered easy by the familiarity of their own tongue. They plausibly contend

that as powerful or captivating diction in a pure English, is, after all, the attainment they are in search of, the study of the best English models affords the shortest road to this point; and even admitting the ancient examples to have been the great fountains from which all eloquence is drawn, they would rather profit, as it were, by the classical labours of their English predecessors, than toil over the same path themselves. In a word, they would treat the perishable results of those labours as the standard, and give themselves no care about the immortal originals. This argument, the thin covering which indolence weaves for herself, would speedily sink all the fine arts into barrenness and insignificance. Why, according to such reasoners, should a sculptor or painter encounter the toil of a journey to Athens or to Rome? Far better work at home, and profit by the labour of those who have resorted to the Vatican and Parthenon, and founded an English school, adapted to the taste of our own country. Be you assured, that the works of the English chisel fall not more short of the wonders of the Acropolis than the best productions of modern pens fall short of the chaste, finished, nervous, and overwhelming compositions of them that "resistless fulminated over Greece." Be equally sure, that, with hardly any exception, the great things of poetry and of eloquence have been done by men who cultivated the mighty exemplars of Athenian genius with daily and with nightly devotion. Among the poets there is hardly an exception to this rule, unless may be so deemed Shakspeare, an exception to all rules, and Dante, familiar as a contemporary with the works of Roman art, composed in his mother tongue, having taken, not so much for his guide as for his "master," Virgil, himself almost a translator

from the Greeks. But among orators, I know of none among the Romans, and scarce any in our own times. Cicero honoured the Greek masters with such singular observance, that he not only repaired to Athens for the sake of finishing his rhetorical education, but afterwards continued to practise the art of declaiming in Greek; and although he afterwards fell into a less pure manner, through the corrupt blandishments of the Asian taste, yet do we find him ever prone to extol the noble perfections of his first masters, as something placed beyond the reach of all imitation. Nay, at a mature period of his life, he occupied himself in translating the greater orations of the Greeks, which composed almost exclusively his treatise "*De Optimo Genere Oratoris*;" as if to write a discourse on oratorical perfection, were merely to present the reader with the two immortal speeches upon the Crown. Sometimes we find him imitating, even to a literal version, the beauties of these divine originals,—as the beautiful passage of Æschines, in the Timarchus, upon the torments of the guilty, which the Roman orator has twice made use of, almost word for word; once in the oration for Sextus Roscius, the earliest he delivered, and again in a more mature effort of his genius, the oration against L. Piso.

I have dwelt the rather upon the authority of M. Tullius, because it enables us at once to answer the question, Whether a study of the Roman orators be not sufficient for refining the taste? If the Greeks were the models of an excellence which the first Roman orators never attained, although ever aspiring after it—nay, if, so far from being satisfied with his own success, he even in these his masters found something which his ears desiderated—the study of

capaces ut semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderent. Orator. 29.)—he either fell short while copying them, or he failed by diverting his worship to the false gods of the Asian school. In the one case, were we to rest satisfied with studying the Roman, we should only be imitating the imperfect copy, instead of the pure original—like him who should endeavour to catch a glimpse of some beauty by her reflection in a glass, that weakened her tints, if it did not distort her features. In the other case, we should not be imitating the same, but some less perfect original, and looking at the wrong beauty;—not her whose chaste and simple attractions commanded the adoration of all Greece, but some garish damsel from Rhodes or Chios, just brilliant and languishing enough to captivate the less pure taste of half-civilized Rome.

But there are other reasons too weighty to be passed over, which justify the same decided preference. Not to mention the incomparable beauty and power of the Greek language, the study of which alone affords the means of enriching our own, the compositions of Cicero, exquisite as they are for beauty of diction, often remarkable for ingenious argument and brilliant wit, not seldom excelling in deep pathos, are nevertheless so extremely rhetorical, fashioned by an art so little concealed, and sacrificing the subject to a display of the speaker's powers, admirable as those are, that nothing can be less adapted to the genius of modern elocution, which requires a constant and almost exclusive attention to the business in hand. In all his orations which were spoken, (for, singular as it may seem, the remark applies less to those which were only written, as all the Verrine, except the first, all the Philippics, except the first and ninth, and the

Pro Milone,) hardly two pages can be found which a modern assembly would bear. Some admirable arguments on evidence, and the credit of witnesses, might be urged to a jury; several passages, given by him on the merits of the case, and in defence against the charge, might be spoken in mitigation of punishment after a conviction or confession of guilt; but whether we regard the political or forensic orations, the style, both in respect of the reasoning and the ornaments, is wholly unfit for the more severe and less trifling nature of modern affairs in the senate or at the bar. Now, it is altogether otherwise with the Greek masters: Changing a few phrases, which the difference of religion and of manners might render objectionable,—moderating, in some degree, the virulence of invective, especially against private character, to suit the chivalrous courtesy of modern hostility—there is hardly one of the political or forensic orations of the Greeks that might not be delivered in similar circumstances before our senate or tribunals; while their funeral and other panegyric discourses are much less inflated and unsubstantial, than those of the most approved masters of the Epideictic style, the French preachers and Academicians. Whence this difference between the masterpieces of Greek and Roman eloquence? Whence but from the rigid steadiness with which the Greek orator keeps the object of all eloquence perpetually in view, never speaking for mere speaking's sake;—while the Latin rhetorician, *ingenii sui nimium amator*, and as though he deemed his occupation a trial of skill or display of accomplishments, seems even and anon to lose sight of the subject matter in the attempt to illustrate and adorn it; and pours forth passages sweet indeed, but unprofitable—fixed to tickle the ear,

without reaching the heart. Where, in all the orations of Cicero, or of him who almost equals him, Livy, *miræ facundia homo*, (Quinct.) shall we find anything like those thick successions of short questions, in which Demosthenes oftentimes forges, as it were, with a few rapidly following strokes, the whole massive chain of his argument;—as, in the Chersonese, Εἰ δ' ἀπαξ διαφθαρήσεται καὶ διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ᾖ; κρινόμεν Διοπαίθην; ἢ Δία. Καὶ τί τὰ πρᾶγματα ἔσται βελτίω; ἀλλ' ἐνέονδε μοιηθόμεν αὐτοῖς; ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων βῇ δυναμίας; ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἤξει. καὶ τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστί τούτου;—or, comprising all of a long narrative that suits his argument in a single sentence, presenting a lengthened series of events at a single glance,—as in the *Παραπρεβία*:—Πέντε γὰρ γυγόνασιν ἡμέραι μύηται, ἐν αἷς—οἷος ἀπὸ γυγιλε τὰ ψευδῆ—ἡμῖς ἐπιτεύσασαι,—οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπύθοντο—ἐνέδωκαν ἑαυτούς—ἀπώλοντο.

But though the more business-like manner of modern debate approaches much nearer the style of the Greek than the Latin compositions, it must be admitted that it falls short of the great originals in the closeness, and, as it were, density of the argument; in the habitual sacrifice of all ornament to use, or rather in the constant union of the two; so that, while a modern orator too frequently has his speech parcelled out in compartments, one devoted to argument, another to declamation, a third to mere ornament, as if he should say, Now your reason shall be convinced; now I am going to rouse your passions; and now you shall see how I can amuse your fancy—the more vigorous ancient argued in declaiming, and made his very boldest figures subservient to, or rather an integral part of, his reasoning. The most figurative and highly wrought passage in all antiquity is the famous oath in Demosthenes, yet,

in the most pathetic part of it, and when he seems to have left the farthest behind him the immediate subject of his speech, led away by the prodigious interest of the recollections he has excited; when he is naming the very tombs where the heroes of Marathon lie buried, he instantly, not abruptly, but by a most felicitous and easy transition, returns into the midst of the main argument of his whole defence—that the merits of public servants, not the success of their councils, should be the measure of public gratitude towards them—a position that runs through the whole speech, and to which he makes the funeral honours bestowed alike on all the heroes, serve as a striking and appropriate support. With the same ease does Virgil manage his celebrated transition in the *Georgics*; where, in the midst of the Thracian war, and while at an immeasurable distance from agricultural topics, the magician strikes the ground on the field of battle, where helmets are buried, and suddenly raises before us the lonely husbandman, in a remote age, peacefully tilling its soil, and driving his plough among the rusty armour and mouldering remains of the warrior.

But if a further reason is required for giving the preference to the Greek orators, we may find it in the greater diversity and importance of the subjects upon which their speeches were delivered. Beside the number of admirable orations and of written arguments upon causes merely forensic, we have every subject of public policy, all the great affairs of state successively forming the topics of discussion. Compare them with Cicero in this particular, and the contrast is striking. His finest oration for matter and diction together, is in defence of an individual charged with murder, and there is nothing in the case

to give it a public interest, except that the parties were of opposite factions in the state, and the deceased a personal as well as political adversary of the speaker. His most exquisite performance in point of diction, perhaps the most perfect prose composition in the language, was addressed to one man, in palliation of another's having borne arms against him in a war with a personal rival. Even the Catilinarians, his most splendid declamations, are principally denunciations of a single conspirator; the Philippics, his most brilliant invectives, abuse of a profligate leader; and the Verrine orations, charges against an individual governor. Many, indeed almost all the subjects of his speeches, rise to the rank of what the French term *Causes Célèbres*; but they seldom rise higher. Of Demosthenes, on the other hand, we have not only many arguments upon cases strictly private, and relating to pecuniary matters, (those generally called the *ἰδιωτικοί*;) and many upon interesting subjects more nearly approaching public questions, as the speech against *Midias*, which relates to an assault on the speaker, but excels in spirit and vehemence perhaps all his other efforts; and some which, though personal, involve high considerations of public policy, as that most beautiful and energetic speech against *Aristocrates*; but we have all his immortal orations upon the state affairs of Greece—the *Περί Στεφάνου*, embracing the history of a twenty years' administration during the most critical period of Grecian story; and the Philippics, discussing every question of foreign policy, and of the stand to be made by the civilized world against the encroachments of the barbarians. Those speeches were delivered upon subjects the most important and affecting that could be conceived to the whole community;

the topics handled in them were of universal application and of perpetual interest. To introduce a general observation, the Latin orator must quit the immediate course of his argument; he must for the moment lose sight of the object in view. But the Athenian can hardly hold too lofty a tone, or carry his view too extensively over the map of human affairs, for the vast range of his subject—the fates of the whole commonwealth of Greece, and the stand to be made by free and polished nations against barbaric tyrants.

After forming and chastening the taste by a diligent study of those perfect models, it is necessary to acquire correct habits of composition in our language, first by studying the best writers, and next by translating copiously into it from the Greek. This is by far the best exercise that I am acquainted with for at once attaining a pure English diction, and avoiding the tameness and regularity of modern composition. But the English writers who really unlock the rich sources of the language, are those who flourished from the end of Elizabeth's to the end of Queen Anne's reign; who used a good Saxon dialect with ease, but correctness and perspicuity,—learned in the ancient classics, but only enriching their mother tongue where the Attic could supply its defects,—not overlaying it with a profuse pedantic coinage of foreign words,—well practised in the old rules of composition or rather collocation (*σύμπλοξις*) which unite natural ease and variety with absolute harmony, and give the author's ideas to develop themselves with the more truth and simplicity when clothed in the ample folds of inversions, or run from the exuberant to the elliptical without ever being either redundant or obscure. Those great wits had no foreknowledge of such times as succeeded their brilliant age, when styles



should arise, and for a season prevail over both purity, and nature, and antique recollections—now meretriciously ornamented, more than half French in the phrase, and to mere figures fantastically sacrificing the sense—now heavily and regularly fashioned as if by the plumb and rule, and by the eye rather than the ear, with a needless profusion of ancient words and flexions, to displace those of our own Saxon, instead of temperately supplying its defects. Least of all could those lights of English eloquence have imagined that men should appear amongst us professing to teach composition, and, ignorant of the whole of its rules, and incapable of relishing the beauties, or indeed apprehending the very genius of the language, should treat its peculiar terms of expression and flexion, as so many inaccuracies, and practise their pupils in correcting the faulty English of Addison, and training down to the mechanical rhythm of Johnson the lively and imitable measures of Bolingbroke.

But in exhorting you deeply to meditate on, the beauties of our old English authors, the poets, the moralists, and perhaps more than all these, the preachers of the Augustan age of English letters, do not imagine that I would pass over their great defects when compared with the renowned standards of severe taste in ancient times. Addison may have been pure and elegant; Dryden airy and nervous; Taylor witty and fanciful; Hooker weighty and various; but none of them united force with beauty—the perfection of matter with the most refined and chastened style; and to one charge all, even the most faultless, are exposed—the offence unknown in ancient times, but the besetting sin of latter days—they always overdid—never knowing or feeling when they had done enough. In no-

thing, not even in beauty of collocation and harmony of rhythm, is the vast superiority of the chaste, vigorous, manly style of the Greek orators and writers more conspicuous than in the abstinent use of their prodigious faculties of expression. A single phrase—sometimes a word—and the work is done—the desired impression is made, as it were, with one stroke; there being nothing superfluous interposed to weaken the blow, or break its fall. The commanding idea is singled out; it is made to stand forward; all auxiliaries are rejected; as the Emperor Napoleon selected one point in the heart of his adversary's strength, and brought all his power to bear upon that, careless of the other points, which he was sure to carry if he won the centre, as sure to have carried in vain if he left the centre unsubdued. Far otherwise do modern writers make their onset; they resemble rather those campaigners who fit out twenty little expeditions at a time, to be a laughing stock if they fail, and useless if they succeed; or if they do attack in the right place, so divide their forces, from the dread of leaving any one point unassailed, that they can make no sensible impression where alone it avails them to be felt. It seems the principle of such authors never to leave anything unsaid that can be said on any one topic; to run down every idea they start; to let nothing pass; and leave nothing to the reader, but harass him with anticipating everything that could possibly strike his mind. Compare with this effeminate laxity of speech, the manly severity of ancient eloquence; or of him who approached it, by the happy union of natural genius with learned meditation; or of him who so marvellously approached still nearer with only the familiar knowledge of its least perfect ensamples. Mark, I

do beseech you, the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of the diction, in the most touching parts of the "old man Eloquent's"—loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable, it is here—yet the only one he applies is ἀγαθούς—μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων—καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παρατάμενους—καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντας—καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέροισι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἈΓΑΘΟΥΣ ἀνδρας. When he would compare the effects of the Theban treaty in dispelling the dangers that compassed the state round about, to the swift passing away of a stormy cloud, he satisfies himself with two words, ὥσπερ νέφος—the theme of just admiration to succeeding ages; and when he would paint the sudden approach of overwhelming peril to beset the state, he does it by a stroke, the picturesque effect of which has not perhaps been enough noted—likening it to a whirlwind or a winter torrent, ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ἢ χιμαῖρος. It is worthy of remark, that in by far the first of all Mr Burke's orations, the passage which is, I believe, universally allowed to be the most striking, owes its effect to a figure twice introduced in close resemblance to these two great expressions, although certainly not in imitation of either; for the original is to be found in Livy's description of Fabius's appearance to Hannibal. Hyder's vengeance is likened to "a black cloud, that hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains," and the people who suffered under its devastations, are described as "enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry." Whoever reads the whole passage, will, I think, admit that the effect is almost entirely produced by those two strokes; that the amplifications which accompany them, as the "black-

ening of the horizon"—the "menacing meteor"—the "storm of unusual fire," rather disarm than augment the terrors of the original *black cloud*; and that the "goads of the drivers," and "the trampling of pursuing horses," somewhat abate the fury of the *whirlwind of cavalry*.—Δουλεύουσ' ἡμαστι γούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, says the Grecian master, to describe the wretched lot of those who had yielded to the wiles of the conqueror, in the vain hope of securing their liberties in safety. Compare this with the choicest of Mr Burke's invectives of derision and pity upon the same subject—the sufferings of those who had made peace with Regicide France—and acknowledge the mighty effect of relying upon a single stroke to produce a great effect—if you have the master hand to give it. "The king of Prussia has hypothecated in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal and affection to the cause of liberty and equality. He has been robbed with unbounded liberty and with the most leveling equality. The woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confiscated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke, in the exactions of a tyrannical government, and in the contributions of a hostile conscription." "The grand Duke of Tuscany, for his early sincerity, for his love of peace, and for his entire confidence in the amity of the assassins of his family, has been complimented with the name of the '*wisest sovereign in Europe*.' This pacific Solomon, or his philosophic, cudgelled ministry, cudgelled by English and by French, whose wisdom and philosophy between them have placed Leghorn in the hands of the enemy of the Austrian family, and driven the only profitable commerce of Tuscany from its only port."—Turn now for

refreshment to the Athenian artist—  
 Καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπυλῆφασιν Ὀρει-  
 πῶν χάριν ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπὶ τρε-  
 ψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἰάθουν καλὴν  
 γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἑρετριῶν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέ-  
 ρους μὲν πρὸς βίβιν ἀσπίδας, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέ-  
 δωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσιν γε μαστιγιούμενοι  
 καὶ σπειβλούμενοι. Phil. 3.—Upon some  
 very rare occasions indeed, the ora-  
 tor, not content with a single blow,  
 pours himself all forth in a full tor-  
 rent of invective, and then we recog-  
 nise the man who was said of old to  
 eat shields and steel—ἀσπίδας καὶ  
 σιδηρὸν φαγόν. But still the effect is  
 produced without repetition or dif-  
 fuseness. I am not aware of any such  
 expanded passage as the invective in  
 the Περὶ Στυφάνου against those who had  
 betrayed the various states of Greece  
 to Philip. It is indeed a noble pas-  
 sage; one of the most brilliant, per-  
 haps the most highly coloured, of  
 any in Demosthenes; but it is as  
 condensed and rapid as it is rich and  
 varied.—Ἀνθρῶποι μισροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ  
 ἀλάστορες, ἡρωτηριζόμενοι τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἑκασ-  
 τοὶ πατριδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες  
 πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ—  
 τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχιστοῖς  
 τῇ νουθεσίᾳ—τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ  
 μηδὲνα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, (ἀ τοῖς προ-  
 τέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι τῶν ἀφαιρῶν ἦσαν καὶ  
 κανόνες) ἀνατιροφότες.—This requires  
 no contrast to make its merits shine  
 forth; but compare it with any of Ci-  
 cero's invectives—that, for instance,  
 in the third Catilinarian, against the  
 conspirators, where he attacks them  
 regularly under six different heads,  
 and in above twenty times as many  
 words; and ends with the known and  
 very moderate jest of their command-  
 er keeping “Scortorum cohortem  
 Prætoriam.”

The great poet of modern Italy,  
 Dante, approached nearest to the an-  
 cients in the quality of which I have  
 been speaking. In his finest pas-  
 sages you rarely find an epithet—

hardly ever more than one; and ne-  
 ver two efforts to embody one idea.  
 “*A guisa di Leon quando si posa,*” is  
 the single trait by which he compares  
 the dignified air of a stern personage  
 to the expression of the lion slowly  
 laying him down. It is remarkable  
 that Tasso copies the verse entire,  
 but he destroys its whole effect, by  
 filling up the majestic idea, adding  
 this line, “*Girando gli occhi e non  
 muovendo il passo.*” A better illus-  
 tration could not easily be found of the  
 difference between the ancient and  
 the modern style. Another is fur-  
 nished by a later imitator of the same  
 great master. I know no passage of  
 the *Divina Commedia*, more excu-  
 sive than the description of evening  
 in the Purgatorio; yet the poet is  
 content with somewhat enlarging on  
 a single thought—the tender recol-  
 lections which that hour of medita-  
 tion gives the traveller, at the fall of  
 the first night he is to pass away  
 from home, when he hears the distant  
 knell of the expiring day. Gray  
 adopts the idea of the knell in near-  
 ly the words of the original, and  
 adds eight other circumstances to it,  
 presenting a kind of ground plan, or  
 at least a catalogue, an accurate enu-  
 meration (like a natural historian's)  
 of every one particular belonging to  
 night-fall, so as wholly to exhaust  
 the subject, and leave nothing to the  
 imagination of the reader. Dante's  
 six verses, too, have but one epithet,  
*dolci*, applied to *amici*. Gray has  
 thirteen or fourteen; some of them  
 mere repetitions of the same idea  
 which the verb or the substantive  
 conveys—as *drowsy tinkling lulls*,  
*the moping owl complains*, *the plough-  
 man plods his weary way*. Surely,  
 when we contrast the simple and  
 commanding majesty of the ancient  
 writers, with the superabundance and  
 diffusion of the exhaustive method,  
 we may be tempted to feel that there

lurks some alloy of bitterness in the excess of sweets. This was so fully recognised by the wise ancients, that it became a proverb among them, as we learn from an epigram still preserved,

Εἰς τὴν μετριότητα.

Πάν τ' ὁ περιττὸς ἀκαίρον, ἐπεὶ λόγος ἐστὶ παλαιός,  
'Ὡς καὶ τοῦ μέλλontos, τὸ εὐλεὶν ἐστὶ χολόν.

In forming the taste by much contemplation of those antique models, and acquiring the habits of easy and chaste composition, it must not be imagined that all the labour of the orator is ended, or that he may then, dauntless and fluent, enter upon his office in the public assembly. Much preparation is still required before each exertion, if rhetorical excellence is aimed at. I should lay it down as a rule, admitting of no exception, that a man will speak well in proportion as he has written much; and that, with equal talents, he will be the finest extempore speaker, when no time for preparing is allowed, who has prepared himself the most sedulously when he had an opportunity of delivering a premeditated speech. All the exceptions which I have ever heard cited to this principle, are apparent ones only; proving nothing more than that some few men, of rare genius, have become great speakers without preparation; in no wise showing, that, with preparation, they would not have reached a much higher pitch of excellence. The admitted superiority of the ancients in all oratorical accomplishments, is the best proof of my position; for their careful preparation is undeniable—nay, in Demosthenes, (of whom Quintilian says, that his style indicates more premeditation—*plus curæ*—than Cicero's,) we can trace, by the recurrence of the same passage, with progressive improvements in different speeches, how nicely he polished the

more exquisite parts of his compositions. I could point out favourite passages, occurring as often as three several times, with variations and manifest amendment.

I am now requiring, not merely great preparation while the speaker is learning his art, but after he has accomplished his education. The most splendid effort of the most mature orator will be always finer for being previously elaborated with much care. There is, no doubt, a charm in extemporaneous elocution, derived from the appearance of artless unpremeditated effusion, called forth by the occasion, and so adapting itself to its exigencies, which may compensate the manifold defects incident to this kind of composition: that which is inspired by the unforeseen circumstances of the moment, will be of necessity suited to those circumstances in the choice of the topics, and pitched in the tone of the execution to the feelings upon which it is to operate. These are great virtues: it is another to avoid the besetting vice of modern oratory—the overdoing everything—the exhaustive method—which an offhand speaker has no time to fall into; and he accordingly will take only the grand and effective view: nevertheless, in oratorical merit, such effusions must needs be very inferior; much of the pleasure they produce depends upon the hearer's surprise that, in such circumstances, anything can be delivered at all, rather than upon his deliberate judgment, that he has heard anything very excellent in itself. We may rest assured that the highest reaches of the art, and without any necessary sacrifice of natural effect, can only be attained by him who well considers, and maturely prepares, and oftentimes sedulously corrects and refines his oration. Such preparation is quite consistant with

the introduction of passages prompted by the occasion; nor will the transition from the one to the other be perceptible in the execution of a practised master. I have known attentive and skilful hearers completely deceived in this matter, and taking for extemporaneous, passages which previously existed in manuscript, and were pronounced without the variation of a particle or a pause. Thus, too, we are told by Cicero in one of his epistles, that having to make, in Pompey's presence, a speech after Crassus had very unexpectedly taken a particular line of argument, he exerted himself, and it appears successfully, in a marvellous manner, mightily assisted, in what he said extempore, by his habit of rhetorical preparation, and introducing skilfully, as the inspiration of the moment, all his favourite common-places, with some of which, as we gather from a good-humoured joke at his own expense, Crassus had interfered: "Ego autem ipse, Di Boni! quomodo *ἐνπερπερυσάμην* novo auditori Pompeio! Si unquam mihi *περίοδοι*, si *καμπαί*, si *ἐνδυμνατα*, si *κατασκευαί*, suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa? clamores. Et enim hæc erat *ὑπόθεσις*, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiæ, de immortalis reliquis conjurationis, de vilitate, de otio—*νόστι* jam in hac materiâ sonitus nostros; tanti fuerunt ut ego eo brevior sim, quod eos usque isthinc exauditos putem." (Ad Att. I. 14.)

If, from contemplating the means of acquiring eloquence, we turn to the noble purposes to which it may be made subservient, we at once perceive its prodigious importance to the best interests of mankind. The greatest masters of the art have concurred, and upon the greatest occasion of its display, in pronouncing that its estimation depends on the

virtuous and rational use made of it. Let their sentiments be engraved on your memory in their own pure and appropriate diction. Καλὸν (says Æschines) *τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρῆσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πειθεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας—εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν ἐγνωνομένην αἰεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου—(Κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος).* "Ἔστι (says his illustrious antagonist) *δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος τίμιος, οὐδ' ὁ τόπος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαιρῆσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς—(Ῥπὲρ Κτησ.)*

It is but reciting the ordinary praises of the art of persuasion, to remind you how sacred truths may be most ardently promulgated at the altar, the cause of oppressed innocence be most powerfully defended, the march of wicked rulers be most triumphantly resisted, defiance the most terrible be hurled at the oppressor's head. In great convulsions of public affairs, or in bringing about salutary changes, every one confesses how important an ally eloquence must be. But in peaceful times, when the progress of events is slow and even, as the silent and unheeded pace of time, and the jars of a mighty tumult in foreign and domestic concerns can no longer be heard, then, too, she flourishes, protectress of liberty—patroness of improvement—guardian of all the blessings that can be showered upon the mass of human kind; nor is her form ever seen but on ground consecrated to free institutions. "Pacis comes, otique socia, et jam bene constitutæ reipublicæ alumna eloquentia." To me, calmly revolving these things, such pursuits seem far more noble objects of ambition than any upon which the vulgar herd of busy men lavish prodigal their restless exertions. To diffuse useful information—to further intellectual refinement; sure forerunner of moral improvement—to hasten the coming of that bright day when

the dawn of general knowledge shall chase away the lazy, lingering mists, even from the base of the great social pyramid,—this, indeed, is a high calling, in which the most splendid talents and consummate virtue may well press onward, eager to bear a part. I know that I speak in a place consecrated by the pious wisdom of ancient times to the instruction of but a select portion of the community. Yet from this classic ground have gone forth those whose genius, not their ancestry, ennobled them; whose incredible merits have opened to all ranks the temple of science; whose illustrious example has made the humblest emulous to climb steps no longer inaccessible, and enter the unfolded gates, burning in the sun. I speak in that city where Black having once taught, and Watt learned, the grand experiment was afterwards made in our day, and with entire success, to demonstrate that the highest intellectual cultivation is perfectly compatible with the daily cares and toils of working men; to show, by thousands of living examples, that a keen relish for the most sublime truths of science belongs alike to every class of mankind.

To promote this, of all objects the most important, men of talents and of influence I rejoice to behold pressing forward in every part of the empire; but I wait with impatient anxiety to see the same course pursued by men of high station in society, and by men of rank in the world of letters. It should seem as if these felt some little lurking jealousy, and those were somewhat scared by feelings of alarm—the one and the other surely alike groundless. No man of science needs fear to see the day when scientific excellence shall be too vulgar a commodity to bear a high price. The more widely knowledge is spread, the more will they

be prized whose happy lot it is to extend its bounds by discovering new truths, or multiply its uses by inventing new modes of applying it in practice. Their numbers will, indeed, be increased, and among them more Watts and more Franklins will be enrolled among the lights of the world, in proportion as more thousands of the working classes, to which Franklin and Watt belonged, have their thoughts turned towards philosophy; but the order of discoverers and inventors will still be a select few; and the only material variation in their proportion to the bulk of mankind will be, that the mass of the ignorant multitude being progressively diminished, the body of those will be incalculably increased who are worthy to admire genius, and able to bestow upon its possessors an immortal fame.

To those, too, who feel alarmed as statesmen, and friends of existing establishments, I would address a few words of comfort. Real knowledge never promoted either turbulence or unbelief; but its progress is the forerunner of liberality and enlightened toleration. Whoso dreads these, let him tremble; for he may be well assured that their day is at length come, and must put to sudden flight the evil spirits of tyranny and persecution, which haunted the long night now gone down the sky. As men will no longer suffer themselves to be led blindfold in ignorance, so will they no more yield to the vile principle of judging and treating their fellow creatures, not according to the intrinsic merit of their actions, but according to the accidental and involuntary coincidence of their opinions. The Great Truth has finally gone forth to all the ends of the earth, THAT MAN SHALL NO MORE RENDER ACCOUNT TO MAN FOR HIS BELIEF, OVER WHICH HE HAS HIMSELF NO

**CONTROL.** Henceforward, nothing shall prevail upon us to praise or to blame any one for that which he can no more change than he can the hue of his skin or the height of his stature. Henceforward, treating with entire respect those who conscientiously differ from ourselves, the only practical effect of the difference will be, to make us enlighten the ignorance on one side or the other from which it springs, by instructing them, if it be theirs; ourselves, if it be our own, to the end that the only kind of unanimity may be produced which is desirable among rational beings—the agreement proceeding from full conviction after the freest discussion. Far then, very far, from the universal spread of knowledge being the object of just apprehension to those who watch over the peace of the country, or have a deep interest in the permanence of her institutions, its sure effect will be the removal of the only dangers that threaten the public tranquillity, and the addition of all that is wanting to confirm her internal strength.

Let me therefore indulge in the hope, that, among the illustrious youths whom this ancient kingdom, famed alike for its nobility and its learning, has produced, to continue her fame through after ages, possibly among those I now address, there may be found some one—I ask no more—willing to give a bright example to other nations in a path yet untrodden, by taking the lead of his fellow citizens; not in frivolous amusements, nor in the degrading pursuits of the ambitious vulgar, but in the truly noble task of enlightening the mass of his countrymen, and of leaving his own name no longer encircled, as heretofore, with barbaric splendour, or attached to courtly gewgaws but illustrated by the honours

most worthy of our rational nature—coupled with the diffusion of knowledge—and gratefully pronounced through all ages by millions whom his wise beneficence has rescued from ignorance and vice. To him I will say, “*Homines ad Deos nullā re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando: nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis, servare quamplurimos.*” This is the true mark for the aim of all who either prize the enjoyment of pure happiness, or set a right value upon a high and unsullied renown. And if the benefactors of mankind, when they rest from their pious labours, shall be permitted to enjoy hereafter, as an appropriate reward of their virtue, the privilege of looking down upon the blessings with which their toils and sufferings have clothed the scene of their former existence—do not vainly imagine that, in a state of exalted purity and wisdom, the founders of mighty dynasties, the conquerors of new empires, or the more vulgar crowd of evil-doers, who have sacrificed to their own aggrandisement the good of their fellow creatures, will be gratified by contemplating the monuments of their inglorious fame. Theirs will be the delight, theirs the triumph, who can trace the remote effects of their enlightened benevolence in the improved condition of their species, and exult in the reflection, that the prodigious change they now survey, with eyes that age and sorrow can make dim no more—of knowledge become power, virtue sharing in the dominion, superstition trampled under foot, tyranny driven from the world—are the fruits, precious, though costly, and though late reaped, yet long enduring, of all the hardships and all the hazards they encountered here below!

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WITHIN THE YEAR 1825.

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— At Elgin, Lady Dunbar, of Northfield, a son.

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12. In Upper Grosvenor Street, London, the Lady of Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. a son and heir.

14. At Cruister, the Lady of Thomas Gifford, Esq. a daughter.

17. At Terregles House, Mrs Alex. Gordon, a daughter.

— Mrs Anderson, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, a son.

20. At Novar House, the Lady of Hugh Rose, Esq. a son.

23. At Birgham Cottage, Berwickshire, Mrs Douglas, 15, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a daughter.

24. At Ballytruckle, in the liberties of the city of Waterford, a poor woman, named Duggan, who earns a livelihood by washing, was safely delivered of four

children—two of them were born at six o'clock in the morning, and two at eleven.

25. At Ormiston Manse, Mrs Ramsay, a son.

26. At Gumley Hall, Leicestershire, the Lady of Major Grey, Royal Scots Greys, a daughter.

27. At Kirkwall, Mrs John Bakie, a son.

— At Dalguise House, Mrs Merideth, Pentrebychan, a son.

29. At Camis-Eskan, the Lady of Jas. Denniston of Colgrain, Esq. a daughter.

30. Rosemount, near Campbelltown, the Lady of Captain Hugh Stevenson, a son.

SEPTEMBER 2. At Middleton House, Linlithgowshire, the Lady of E. W. H. Schenly, Esq. a son.

— At Lusanne, Switzerland, the Lady of A. Scott Broomfield, Esq. a daughter.

5. At No. 20, Pitt Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Colonel William Stewart, 3d foot, or Buffs, a son.

— At Hopewell, St Ann's, Jamaica, the Lady of Wm. Shand, Esq. of Balmakewan, a daughter.

7. Mrs Chancellor, of Shieldhill, a son.

8. At Dunse Castle, the Lady of Wm. Hay, Esq. of Drumelzier, a daughter.

— At Ardovie, Mrs Spied, of Ardovie, a daughter.

9. At Portland Place, London, the Lady of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart. a daughter.

— The Lady of Major Sands Harvey, of Castle Semple, a daughter.

10. At Elgin, Mrs Colonel Gordon, Inverochy, a son.

12. At Barcaldine, the Lady of Duncan Campbell, Esq. of Barcaldine, a son.

— At Morningside, Edinburgh, Mrs Crawford, a daughter.

13. At 18, Hill-Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr William Gairdner, Bolton-Street, London, a son.

15. At his house in Broughton Place, Edinburgh, the Lady of Patrick Boyle, Esq. surgeon, R.N. a son.

— At Dingwall, Mrs Geo. Mackenzie, a son.

— At Drumpellier, Mrs Buchanan, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Geo. Wauchop, a daughter.

15. At Powfoulis, the Lady of James Bruce, Esq. a son.

16. At Darnhall, the Lady of Captain Loch, R.N. a son.

17. At Duncan Street, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Wm. Maxwell Little, a son.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Moir, of Leckie, a son.

— At the College of Glasgow, the Lady of D. K. Sandford, Esq. a daughter.

18. Mrs Elliot of Redhaugh and Cooms, a son.

19. At Belleive, near Lausanne, the Lady of Captain Wyne Baird, R.N. a son.

— At Morton Cottage, Portobello, Mrs Henry Steel, a daughter.

— At the Manse of Greenlaw, Mrs Home, a daughter.

— At Bridge Castle, Mrs Watson, a daughter.

20. At Edinburgh, Mrs Richard Mackenzie, a daughter.

— At 22, Great George Square, Liverpool, Mrs Sillar, a son.

21. Mrs Mackenzie, 5, Forth-Street, Edinburgh, a daughter.

22. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Major Cubitt, Royal Artillery, a daughter, who survived but a short time.

— At 78, George Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Robert Nasmyth, a son.

23. At Edinburgh, the Lady of John Hamilton Colt, Esq. a daughter.

— At Tarvit House, Mrs Home Rigg, a daughter.

— At Rink, Mrs Arras, a son.

26. At Dalkeith, Mrs George Mushet, a son.

27. At East Fortune, Mrs Crawford, a son.

28. At Denham Green, the Countess of Caithness, a son.

29. At Garscube, Mrs Grant of Congalton, a daughter.

30. At New Laverock Bank, Mrs Wm. Swinton Maclean, a son.

OCTOBER 1. At Ayr, the Lady of Wm. Fullarton, Esq. of Skeldon, a son.

2. At Stirling, the Lady of John Fraser, Esq. advocate, a daughter.

4. At Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, the Lady of Capt. Campbell, of the royal artillery, a daughter.

5. At Cunninghamhead, Mrs Snodgrass Buchanan, a daughter.

6. At Valleyfield, Mrs Charles Cowan, a daughter.

7. At Edinburgh, the Lady Julian Warrender, a son.

8. At 29, Heriot Row, Edinburgh, the Lady of Robert Lindsay, Esq. a daughter.

9. At Great King Street, Edinburgh, the Countess of Glasgow, a son.

10. At Albany Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Orr, a daughter.

12. At 114, George Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Menzies, a son.

15. At Leamington Spa, the Lady of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, G.C.B. a daughter.

— At Coldoch, Mrs Burn Murdoch, a daughter.

— At Kilmenny Manse, Mrs Brown, a son.

— At Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Campbell of Possil, a daughter.

16. At Madeira, the Lady of John Cross Buchanan, of Auchintoshan, Esq. a son.

17. Mrs W. Buchanan, 33, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a son.

— At 63, Queen Street, Edinburgh, the Lady of Dr Nicoll, St Andrews, a daughter.

— At Brussels, Lady Elizabeth Murray M'Gregor, a son.

18. At Cramond, Mrs Hope Johnstone of Annandale, a son.

— At Wellington Square, Ayr, the Lady of Sir David Hunter Blair, Bart. of Brownhill, a son.

— Mrs M'Culloch of Balgray, a son.

21. At Ivy House, near Leeds, the Lady Georgiana Cathcart, a daughter.

22. At Chester Hall, Mrs Kinnear, a daughter.

23. At Belton, the Lady of Captain James Hay, R.N. a daughter.

25. At Glasgow, the Lady of Captain W. A. Riah, 79th Highlanders, a son.

— At 60, Great King Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Bridges, a daughter.

— Mrs Smith, Albany Street, Edinburgh, a son.

29. Mrs Kirkwood, Paterson's Court, Broughton, Edinburgh, a son.

29. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Arch.

Macbean, Esq. royal horse-artillery, a daughter.

30. At his house in Portland Place, London, the Lady of James Stewart, Esq. M.P. a son.

— At Charlôtte Street, Leith, Mrs Thomas Young, a son.

31. At Usan, Mrs Keith, a daughter.

Lately. At Lochbuy House, the Lady of Murdoch M'Laine, Esq. of Lochbuy, a daughter.

NOVEMBER 1. At Madras, the Lady of Captain J. Chisholm, of the artillery, Hon. East India Company's service, a son.

2. At Wormistone, Fifeshire, Mrs David Lindesay, a son.

3. At Dunsinane, Mrs Nairne of Dunsinane, a daughter.

— At Auchinleck Manse, Mrs Boyd, a son.

— At Belfast, the Lady of Major Middleton, 72d regiment, a son.

5. At Cheltenham, the Lady of Henry John William Collingwood, Esq. younger of Lilburn, a son and heir.

— At Pitt Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Bayley, a daughter.

6. At Gartcraig, Mrs Miller, a son.

7. At 61, York Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Andrew Tawse, a daughter.

8. At his house, on Richmond Terrace, London, the Lady of Robert Wilmot Horton, Esq. M. P. a son.

10. At Kensington, the Lady of Dr Walker S. Morson, a son.

11. At 17, Dublin Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Stuart, a son.

12. At Rockvale House, Low Torrie, Mrs M'Queen, a son.

— At Kirkaldy, Mrs Menzies, a son.

14. At the Court of St Petersburg, O. S. the lady of Viscount Straugford, a son.

18. At Holland Place, Glasgow, the widow of the late Captain Lewis Campbell, R. N. a daughter.

— At Tayfield, Mrs Berry, a son.

19. At No. 2, Gilmour Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Balfour, a son.

— At St Vincent Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Gemble, a son.

21. At Edinburgh, Mrs Anderson, Walker Street, a son.

22. At Gibraltar, the lady of Lieut. Colonel Allan, 94th regiment, a daughter.

23. At Carluke Manse, Mrs Wylie, a son.

24. At Montrose, the Lady of Campbell Kocke, Esq. R. N. a son.

25. Mrs Greig, Lothian Vale, a daughter.

27. At Churston Ferrers, Devon, the Lady of Lieut. Colonel Wood, of Dee Bank, a son.

— At Great Yarmouth, Mrs Captain R. H. Barely, R. N. a daughter.

— At Larchgrove, near Edinburgh, Mrs Dr Morison, a daughter.

— Mrs A. Stevenson, Walker Street, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, a daughter.

— At 4, Bellevue Crescent, Edinburgh, Mrs Ratray, a son.

28. Mrs Lang of Broomhill, a daughter.

30. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Joseph Murray, Esq. younger of Ayton, a daughter.

— At Northfield, parish of Dunipace, the wife of Donald M'Dermott, servant to Mr Randal Callender, was delivered by Dr Lleshman Denny, of three children. The first, a boy, on the 19th; the second, a girl, still-born, on the 20th current; the third, a girl, the same day. The mother and children are doing well.

DECEMBER 1. Mrs Cook, 25, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a son.

2. At Powis Castle, Lady Lucy Clive, a son.

3. At Canterbury, the Lady of Major Wallace, the King's Dragoon Guards, a son.

5. At Wellesbourn, Warwickshire, the Lady of James Napier, Esq. a son.

6. At Marine Cottage, Mrs Major Iyell, a son.

7. At Comrie Manse, Mrs M'Isaac, a son.

8. At York Terrace, Regent Park, London, Mrs John Small, a son.

— At Springhill, the Lady of George Forbes, Esq. a daughter.

— At Castle Fraser, the Lady of Colonel Fraser, a son.

— At Traquair Manse, Mrs Campbell, a daughter.

11. At Lathallan, Mrs Lumsdaine, a still-born son.

— At Tay Street, Dundee, the Lady of Dr John Maxwell, a daughter.

— At Ormiston Hall, the Lady of Warren Hastings Anderson, Esq. a son.

12. At Kilbagie, Mrs Stein, a son.

— At the Earl of Wemyss's, Queen Street, Edinburgh, the Lady Grey, a daughter.

14. At Nagpore, the Lady of Dr George Adams, a daughter.

15. At Edinburgh, the Lady of Alexander Norman Macleod, Esq. of Harris, a daughter.

16. Mrs Renton, James's Square, Edinburgh, a daughter.

• 17. At Banff, the Lady of the late Patrick Duff, Esq. of Carnousie, a son.

18. At Calcutta, the Lady of Major John Craigie, a daughter.

19. The Lady of Captain M'Queen of Corrybrough, a daughter.

— At St. Andrew's, Mrs Mactier, the Lady of Anthony Mactier, Esq., late of Calcutta, a daughter.

21. Mrs Grant, of Dellachaple, a son.

23. At Dankeith, the Lady of Major Montgomerie, of Annick, a son.

24. Mrs Johnston of Sands, a daughter.

25. At Queen Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Ballingall, a son.

— At Rozelle, Mrs A. West Hamilton, a daughter.

26. At Kinblethmont, the Right Hon. Lady Jane Lindsay Carnegie, a son.

— At Kirkcudbright, Mrs Captain Roxburgh, a daughter.

30. At Norfolk House, London, the Countess of Surrey, a son.

— Mrs Abercrombie, 19, York Place, Edinburgh, a daughter.

31. At her house in Albemarle Street, London, Lady Francis Leveson Gower, a son.

Lately. At No. 11, Picardy Place, Edinburgh, Mrs William Cookson, a daughter.

— At Madras, the Lady of P. Vans Agnew, Esq. a daughter.

#### MARRIAGES.

JANUARY 1. At Ellingham, Henry John William Collingwood, Esq. eldest son of

Henry Collingwood, Esq. of Lilburn Tower, to Miss Frances C. Haggerston, youngest daughter of Thomas Haggerston, Esq. of Ellingham.

6. At St Margaret's, Westminster, Captain Patrick Campbell, C.B. of his Majesty's ship *Ganges*, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Andrew Wauchope, Esq. of Niddrie Marischal.

8. At Douglas, Isle of Man, Samuel Hibbert, Esq. M.D. of Edinburgh, to the Hon. Mrs Scott, daughter of the late Lord Henry Murray, and niece to his Grace the Duke of Atholl.

— At Wooton, Surrey, Lieut.-Colonel Ogilvie, of his Majesty's 46th regiment, to Janet Rebecca, eldest daughter of John Alexander Ogilvie, Esq. of Tanhurst, in that county.

— At Birtley chapel, in the county of Durham, according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and at St. John's church, in Newcastle, on the 10th current, Mr James Austin Ward, to Miss Margaret Todd, third daughter of the late William Todd, Esq. of Stockfield Hall, Northumberland.

10. At Distillery Park, Haddington, Thomas Spears, junior, Esq. distiller, Kirkealdy, to Mary Macqueen, eldest daughter of Archibald Dunlop, Esq.

11. At Newton Park, Glasgow, Mr Robert Duff, junior, merchant, Dundee, to Isabella, sixth daughter of Archibald Warden, Esq. merchant, Glasgow.

13. At 66, Great King-street, Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Hill, bookseller, 53, South Bridge, to Agnes, eldest daughter of John Paton, Esq. builder.

15. At Drumsheugh House, Edinburgh, Sir David Hunter Blair, of Brownhill, Bart. to Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir John Hay, Bart.

17. At Moffat, Lieut. John Marjoribanks, of the R. N. to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr James Dickson, Moffat.

— In George's Square, Edinburgh, Edward Binny Glass, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's civil service, to Catherine, second daughter of John C. Scott, of Sinton, Esq.

— At St Sidwell's Church, Exeter, Henry Passmore, Esq. merchant, Calcutta, to Emily Macleod, third daughter of the late John Rollo, Esq. M.D. Surgeon-



General and Inspector of Ordnance Hospitals, Woolwich.

18. At Middle Church, by the Rev. G. Bird, A.M. James Watkins, Esq. Captain in the 62d regiment of Bengal infantry, to Miss Mary Anne Watkins, only daughter of Watkin Watkins, Esq. of Shotton, in the county of Salop.

— At Broughton Place, Peeblesshire, Michael Johnston, Esq. Archbank, to Christina, youngest daughter of John Anderson, Esq. Cramilt.

— At St Martin's Outwich, London, the Rev. James Boyd, minister of the parish of Auchinleck, in the county of Ayr, to Jane, only sister of A. K. Hutchinson, Esq. solicitor, Crown Court, Threadneedle-street.

— At Glasgow, the Rev. Alexander Lochore, minister of Drymen, to Miss Elizabeth Price.

20. At his residence in Hinde-street, Manchester square, London, Colonel Sir John Sinclair, of Dunbeath, Bart. to Miss Sarah Charlotte Carter.

— At Edinburgh, Thomas Stirling Edmondstone, Esq. of Cambuswallace, to Helen, second daughter of the late Andrew Wood, surgeon, in Edinburgh.

— At the Friends' Meeting-house, Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Rickman, of Birmingham, architect, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Mr George Miller, of Hope Park, Edinburgh.

25. At Edmonston, John Lawson, Esq. of Cairnmuir, W. S. to Janet, second daughter of the late James Brown, Esq. of Edmonston.

26. At Jedburgh, H. Brumell, Esq. Little Houghton, Northumberland, to Miss Mary Blackett, third daughter of the late Mr Richard Blackett, Nisbet.

27. At Madras, Captain George Dods, 13th regiment native infantry, to Miss Georgiana Henrietta Flower, eldest daughter of A. Flower, Esq. Honourable Company's civil service.

31. At St Mary-le-Bonne Church, London, Captain the Hon. Walter Forbes, Coldstream Guards, second son of the Right Hon. Lord Forbes, to Horatia, daughter of Sir John Gregory Shaw, Bart. of Kenward, in the county of Kent.

— Adam Messer, Esq. surgeon, Lan-

riston Place, to Miss Cockburn, St Andrew's-street, Edinburgh.

FEBRUARY 1. At Glasgow, James Wylie, Esq. of Airleywight, Perthshire, to Isabella, daughter of the late Andrew Paton, Esq. Glasgow.

— At Glasgow, the Rev. Thomas Watson, of Cormiston, minister of Covington, to Elzeonora, daughter of David M'Haffie, Esq. of Overton.

3. At No. 6, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, Walter Scott, Esq. Lieutenant in the 15th Hussars, eldest son of Sir Walter Scott, of Abbotsford, Bart. to Miss Jane Jobson, only child of the late John Jobson, Esq. of Lochore, in the county of Fife.

7. At Kirkcaldy, Thomas L. Dundas, Esq. R. N. to Margaret, third daughter of Dr Johnston, Kirkcaldy.

8. At Peel, the Rev. Nathaniel Pate-son, minister of Galashiels, to Margaret, daughter of Mr Robert Laidlaw, Peel, Selkirkshire.

— At Hurley, Berks, Captain the Hon. Charles Leonard Irby, R. N. fourth son of Lord Boston, to Frances, second daughter of John Mangles, Esq.

— At Twickenham, Robert Jeffrey, Esq. to Mary Eleanor, widow of the late William Simpson, Esq. Madras.

10. At Aberford, William Mure, Esq. eldest son of William Mure, Esq. of Caldwell, to Laura, second daughter of the late William Markham, Esq. of Becca Hall, in the county of York.

12. In St James's Church, London, Mr C. Lambert, to Jane, eldest daughter of Robert Spears, Esq. of Kinninmount, Fifeshire.

14. At Edinburgh, John Tulloch, Esq. of Arthurshiel, county of Roxburgh, to Miss Helen R. S. Falconer, second daughter of David Falconer, Esq. of Carlowrie.

15. At Thirlestane, the Rev. Walter Hume, of Yetholm, to Miss Jeanie Oliver, only daughter of Mr Thomas Oliver.

17. At Morningside, Daniel Mackay, Esq. of the island of Santa Cruz, to Mrs Muir, relict of John Muir, Esq. late of Demerara.

22. At Bo'ness, James Johnston, Esq. merchant, Edinburgh, to Helen, youngest daughter of the late William Scott, Esq. Musselburgh.

22. At Teddington Church, Middlesex, Randle Henry Feilden, Esq. B. A. of St John's College, Cambridge, third son of the late Henry Feilden, Esq. of Witton, Lancashire, to Phœbe Sarah, only daughter of Colonel Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.C.B. of the Coldstream Guards.

24. William Ker Hay, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's service, to Catharine, youngest daughter of the late Captain Swindell Norvell.

28. At Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, London, the Right Hon. Lord H. Cholmondeley, second son of the Marquis and Marchioness of Cholmondeley, to Maria, youngest daughter of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot.

— At Mansfield Place, Edinburgh, Mr John Swayne, Esq. of Fife, to Agnes Georgina, daughter of the late Capt. Peddie, Leith Walk.

— At Garpally, the seat of the Earl of Clancarty, Thomas Kavanah, of Borris, county of Kilkenny, Esq. to Lady Harriet Trench, second daughter of the Earl of Clancarty.

MARCH 1. At Nelson, Miramichi, province of New Brunswick, Mr Archibald Duncan, merchant, to Miss Grace M'Callum.

— At Rio de Janeiro, John L. Macfarquhar, Esq. to Catherine, daughter of the Rev. John Dampier, rector of Codford, Dorset, and Langton, Thactraver, Wilts.

— In St John's Chapel, Edinburgh, Captain Basil Hall, R. N. to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Sir John Hunter, Consul-General in Spain.

2. At Mary Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Thomas John Brown, Esq. merchant, London, to Miss Barbara, second daughter of the late Mr Thomas Mitchell, Hill of Udny.

3. At Edinburgh, Mr James Aitken, writer in Edinburgh, to Jane, only daughter of the late Mr Thomas Patterson, merchant there.

7. At No. 26, Elder-street, Edinburgh, Thomas Stephens, Esq. Jessfield House, Portobello, to Abercrombie, daughter of the late Mr William Walker, Edinburgh.

10. At St Phillip's Church, Liverpool, John Frederick Zoller, Esq. of Glasgow, late of Frankfort, to Emma, youngest

daughter of William Donald, Esq. Great George Square, Glasgow.

11. At Edinburgh, H. Watson, Esq. W.S. to Elizabeth Andrevna, only daughter of the late Mr Andrew Watson, of Petrozavodsk, in Russia.

14. At Edinburg, the Rev. D. Campbell, jun. Auchnellan, to Sarah, youngest daughter of the deceased Dr William Moodie, late one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

15. Mr Thomas Waugh, Rankeilour-street, to Miss Ann Collier Potter, daughter of Mr George Potter, Glasgow, and niece of the late Walter Collier, Esq. Edinburgh.

— At St George's, Hanover-square, London, Colonel the Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, to Lady Emily Bathurst, youngest daughter of Earl Bathurst.

18. At Edinburgh, Robert Bruce, Esq. of Buravoc, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Dr David Young, minister of Foulden, Berwickshire.

21. William Richardson, writer in Lockerbie, to Mary Stewart Johnston, eldest daughter of the late William Johnston, merchant there.

— In St Paul's Chapel, Archibald Alison, Esq. advocate, to Elizabeth Glencairn, youngest daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Tytler, lately of the North British Staff.

— At Ayton Law, Mr James Allan, of Reston, to Mary, daughter of James Herriot, Esq. Ayton Law.

22. At Meadowside, Mr John Beck, manufacturer, Hawick, to Miss Margaret Walker, Meadowside.

25. At Linlithgow, William Seton Thomas, surgeon, R. N. to Janet, eldest daughter of the late Mr Stephen Mitchell, tobacconist, Linlithgow.

26. At Liverpool, Mr John Lexmore, of Plymouth, to Miss Elder, only daughter of the late Mr Alex. Elder, merchant, Kirkcaldy.

28. At Edinburgh, James Grant, M.D. Friarbank, near Jedburgh, to Elcapor Maria Anne, second daughter of the late Rev. Robert Elliott, rector of Wheldrake and Huggate, Yorkshire.

29. At Glasgow, John Balfour, Esq. Pilrig-street, to Miss Robina Gordon,

third daughter of the late Captain Robert Gordon, of Invercharron.

APRIL 1. At Morton, Mr James Cockburn, farmer, Pitlessie Mill, to Jane, youngest daughter of John Main, Esq. of Morton.

5. At Castles, in Glenorchy, Lewis M'Farlane, Esq. Auchinlathig, to Miss Lucy Turner, youngest daughter of Duncan Turner, Esq. Castles.

— Mr James Thomson, farmer, Ramrig, Berwickshire, to Christian, daughter of Mr Charles Howden, farmer, Boggs, East Lothian.

— At Gloucester Lodge, the Earl of Clanricarde, to Harriet, only daughter of the Right Hon. George Canning.

7. At Rinn's, the Rev. George Loudon, minister of Lintrathen, to Mary, eldest daughter of Robert Montgomery, Esq. of Barnahill.

— In Berkeley-square, London, George Ferguson, Esq. of Pitfour, Captain in the R. N. to the Hon. Elizabeth Jane Rowley, eldest daughter of Lord Longford.

— At London, Charles Ross, Esq. to Lady Mary Cornwallis.

— At London, John Wylie, Esq. of Lombard-street, son of Alexander Wylie, Esq. M.D. of Edinburgh, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Alexander Wylie, Esq. of the Old Jewry.

8. Mr William Inglis, tanner, Edinburgh, to Janet, youngest daughter of Mr John Marshall, farmer, Windlestrawice.

9. At Ewelme, Oxon, Neville Reid, Esq. eldest son of Andrew Reid, Esq. of Lionsdown, Herts, to the Hon. Caroline Napier, youngest daughter of the late Right Hon. Lord Napier.

11. At Muttonhole, in the parish of Cranstoun, Alexander Flint, Esq. Loanhead, to Isabella, second daughter of the late Mr Robert Renton.

12. At Polmaise, Robert Bruce, Esq. of Kennet, to Anne, eldest daughter of the late William Murray, Esq. of Polmaise.

— At Edinburgh, William Hugh Hunter, Esq. fourth son of Capt. Patrick Hunter, Queen-street, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Henry Veitch, Esq. of Eliock.

18. At London, W. Tighe, Esq. of Woodstock, in Ireland, to Lady Louisa

Lennox, fifth daughter of the Dowager Duchess of Richmond.

— At Dundee, Christopher Kerr, Esq. conjunct town-clerk of Dundee, to Jane, third daughter of the late William Hackney, Esq. merchant, Dundee.

— At London, Captain Long, to the Hon. Miss Stanley, eldest daughter to Lord Stanley, and granddaughter to the Earl of Derby.

19. At Dinning, in the parish of Dunfermline, Joseph Taylor, Esq. younger of Ellesland, to Mary, only daughter of James M'Kinnel, Esq. of Dinning.

— At Keppoch, John Cadell, Esq. younger of Trant, advocate, to Jane, third daughter of Alexander Dunlop, Esq. of Keppoch.

— At Dundee, John Henderson, junr. Esq. advocate, to Jessy, eldest daughter of the late Rev. James M'Ewen, Dundee.

21. Sir John Gordon, of Earlston, Bart. to Mary, only daughter of William Irving, Esq. Charlotte-square.

25. At Muirburn, Glassford, William Douglas, Esq. merchant, Duncrara, to Janet, second daughter of James Elston, Esq. of Muirburn.

— At Edinburgh, James Bennet, Esq. writer, to Margaret, only daughter of the late Mr William M'Kimmie, Elgin.

— Mr David Ferguson, merchant, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr Robert Franc, merchant, Glasgow.

26. At Glasgow, Alexander Haig, Esq. of Lochrin, to Miss Berry, daughter of John Berry, Esq. of Moore-place, Glasgow.

— At the manse of Old Kilpatrick, Thomas Thomson, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Elizabeth, only daughter of the Rev. William Macartney.

— At Aberdeen, the Rev. Nathaniel Morren, West Chapel, Greenock, to Mary, daughter of Alexander Shand, Esq. advocate.

— At the parish church of Weston, near Weedon, Northamptonshire, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hely Hutchinson, second son of the Hon. Francis Hely Hutchinson, and nephew of the Earl of Donoughmore and Lord Hutchinson, to the Hon. Mrs Frederick North Douglas.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Mackie,

surgeon, to Eliza, second daughter of Mr John Paton, sen. builder.

27. George More Nisbett, Esq. of Cairnhill, to Isabella Frances, eldest daughter of F. Carteret Scott, Esq. Charlotte-square.

— At Glasgow, John Crooks, Esq. to Henrietta, daughter of Samuel Cooper, Esq. of Ballindalloch.

— At Radderty House, Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. of Ord, to Miss Anna Watson Fowler, daughter of James Fowler, Esq. of Radderty.

— At Hawick, the Rev. Charles Thomson, minister of the Scottish Church, North Shields, to Janet, eldest daughter of Mr Francis Ballantyne, merchant, Hawick.

28. At Campbelton, Capt. James Coutts Crawford, of the R. N. to Miss Helen Campbell, third daughter of the late John Campbell, Esq. of Kildalloig, Argyleshire.

29. At Raemoir House, William Gordon, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of the Aberdeenshire local militia, eldest son of Lieutenant-General Gordon Cumming Skene, of Pitlurg and Dyce, to Ann, daughter of the late Alexander Brebner, Esq. of Lairney.

30. At Edinburgh, Thomas Knatchbull, Esq. of the Royal Artillery, son of the late Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. of Mersham Hatch, in the county of Kent, to Jane, second daughter of Sir John Connell, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty.

— At Garbity, Alexander Macpherson, Esq. surgeon, Milford Cottage, Aberdeen, to Annie, youngest daughter of the late George Grant, Esq. Drumfurroch.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. John Aiton, minister of Dolphinton, to Miss Mary Anne Smith, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Smith, Midhope.

MAY 5. At Gheltenham, Charles Brodric, Esq. nephew of Lord Viscount Middleton, and eldest son of the late Archbishop of Cashel, to the Hon. Emma Stapleton, third daughter of Lord Le Despencer.

6. At Milton, the Rev. Peter Steele, 13, Broughton-place, Edinburgh, to Eliza, eldest daughter of James Peddie, Esq. architect.

7. At Mary-la-Bonne Church, Lon-

don, James Grant Duff, Esq. of Eden, Aberdeenshire, Captain in the Bombay army, to Jane, only daughter of White-law Ainslie, M.D. late of Madras.

9. At Chatterflat, Mr Walter Symington, merchant, Paisley, to Lillias, daughter of Robert Stevenson, Esq. of Chatterflat.

11. At London, Sir William Foulis, Bart. of Ingleby Manor, Yorkshire, to Mary Jane, second daughter of the late General Sir Charles Ross, Bart. of Balnagown, and of Lady Mary Ross, and niece to the Duke of Leinster, who gave away the bride.

14. At Stenchaven, Mr David Fairweather, merchant, to Miss Helen Napier, of that place.

17. At Edinburgh, Robert Mackay, Esq. Janefield-place, Leith, to Mary, second daughter of Robert Brown, Esq. of Newhall.

23. Captain Forbeck, 78th regiment, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late John Urquhart, Esq. of Craigston.

24. George Home Simpson, Esq. merchant, London, to Isabella, youngest daughter of John Turnbull, Esq. Peebles.

30. At London, the Hon. Granville Dudley Ryder, second son of the Earl of Harrowby, to Lady Georgiana Augusta Somerset, third daughter of the Duke of Beaumont.

— At Edinburgh, William Gillies, Esq. of London, to Miss Clementina Carnegie, fifth daughter of the deceased Thomas Carnegie, of Craigo, Esq.

— At Lanark, Mr Andrew Thomas Waterson, Sheriff-clerk Substitute for the Upper Ward, to Miss Charlotte Greig Murray, second daughter of Mr Robert Murray, Edinburgh.

— At Edinburgh, Thomas Brown, Esq. writer, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late E. R. Thong, Esq. solicitor, Bedford.

31. At London, the Hon. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, M. P., eldest son of Lord Stanley, and grandson of the Earl of Derby, to Emma Caroline, second daughter of Edward Bootle Wilbraham, Esq. M. P. of Lathom House, Lancashire.

JUNE 1. At Pinkerton, near Dunbar,

Mr John Richardson, R. N. to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Adam Watson, Esq. of Press, Berwickshire.

1. At Glasgow, Mr John Watson, merchant, to Margaret, only daughter of the late Mr Alexander Stuart, merchant.

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant Alexander Sutherland, 11th British militia, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Captain Alexander Sutherland, 30th regiment.

— At Glasgow, Mr Alexander Kirkwood, merchant, Campbellton, to Magdalene Cochrane, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Macfarlane, Bridgeton, Glasgow.

— At Wellwood Lodge, John Winstanley, Esq. of Leyland, to Eliza Isabella, relict of Robert Wellwood, Esq. of Garvock.

2. At Kinniel House, Alexander Henderson, of Fildonhall, Esq. banker, Edinburgh, to Mrs Margaret Millar, relict of the late Major James Millar, and niece of Dugald Stewart, Esq.

— At Glasgow, George Main, Esq. writer, Kelso, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Routledge.

— At St George's, Hanover-square, London, David Scott, Esq. of the Bengal civil service, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of William Crawford, Esq. of Upper Wimpole-street.

— At Coldstream, Lieutenant Eglinton Montgomerie, of the 52d foot, to Mrs Anne P. Murray, daughter of the late Rev. Thomas Murray, minister of Chanonkirk.

4. At Edinburgh, George Lindsay, Esq. Lieutenant R. N. to Helen, second daughter of the late George Buchannan, Esq. Glasgow.

6. At London, the Earl of Sheffield, to Lady Harriet Lascelles, eldest daughter of the Earl of Harewood.

— At Glasgow, James Reid, Esq. to Janet, only daughter of Alexander Ewing, Esq. late of Balloch.

— At Glasgow, James Burns, Esq. merchant, to Margaret, fourth daughter of the late William Smith, Esq. merchant, Glasgow.

7. At Queen-street, Edinburgh, the Rev. Alexander Christison, minister of Foulton, to Helen, youngest daughter of

the late Rev. William Cameron, minister of Kirknewton.

2. At Glasgow, Alexander Downie, Esq. to Isabella, eldest daughter of John Buchanan, Esq.

— At Newington, John Robertson Sibbald Esq. surgeon, Edinburgh, to Eleanor, eldest daughter of the Rev. James Greig, Dalmeny.

8. At London, John Forbes, Esq. Captain in the Bombay army, to Eliza, youngest daughter of John Orrock, Esq. late Captain in his Majesty's 33d regiment.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. Andrew Rogie, to Isabella, only daughter of the late Adam Summers of Hawick.

— At the Dowager Viscountess Duncan's, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple, Bart. to the Honourable Adamina Duncan, daughter of the late Lord Viscount Duncan.

— At Jedburgh, David Brown, Esq. of Rawflat, to Anne Maria, daughter of John Fitzwilliam Berford, Esq. Dublin.

9. At Edinburgh, Thomas Robert Robertson, Esq. W. S. to Helen, second daughter of the late John Elder, Esq. depute-clerk of session.

10. At Edinburgh, the Rev. William Wilson, A. B. of St John's College, Cambridge, to Miss Henrietta Lockhart, daughter of the deceased Charles Lockhart, Esq. of Newhall.

— At Peebles, Samuel Lindsay, A. M. of the High School, Edinburgh, to Grace, daughter of Mr Anderson, Peebles.

12. At Forfar, Thomas Carnaby, Esq. Sheriff-Clerk Depute, to Miss Susan Steel, daughter of John Steel, Esq. merchant, Forfar.

13. James Powel, Esq. merchant, Liverpool, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Beck, Esq. Balmangan, near Kirkcudbright.

14. At Millfield, near Falkland, George Lyon Walker, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Jean, daughter of Harry Hope, Esq. of Millfield.

— At Rothesay, John Muir, Esq. Sheriff-substitute of Buteshire, to Miss Douglas, daughter of the late William Douglas, Esq. Glasgow.

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant J. A. Kingdom, of the 31st regiment of foot,

to Jessie, daughter of William Moffat, Esq. solicitor, Edinburgh.

14. At Lerwick, Charles Ogilvy, junior, Esq. banker there, to Martha, youngest daughter of Thomas Fea, Esq., Collector of the Customs at Lerwick.

— At Blantyre Manse, Lieut. William Wyllie, late of the royal marine artillery, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Mr Andrew Bruce, merchant, Edinburgh.

15. At Rushall, the seat of Sir Edward Poore, Bart., Frederick North, Esq. of Rougham, in the county of Norfolk, and of Hastings, Sussex, to Janet, eldest daughter of Sir John Marjoribanks, Bart. M. P. for Berwickshire, and widow of the late Robert Shuttleworth, Esq. of Gawthorpe, Lancashire.

17. At Bombay, Captain Bruce Seton, third son of the late Sir Alex. Seton, Bart., Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Miss Jane Elphinstone, daughter of John Elphinstone, Esq. of the Civil Service, and late member of Council at Bombay.

20. At George Town, Demerara, John Murray Macgusty, Esq. to Madelina, fourth daughter of William Gordon, Esq. of Aberdour.

— At London, Duncan Davidson, Esq. (grenadier guards,) younger of Tulloch, to the Hon. Elizabeth Diana Bosville Macdonald, second daughter of Major-General the Right Hon. Lord Macdonald.

21. At London, Donald Campbell, Esq. younger of Dunstaffnage, Argyshire, to Caroline Eliza, second daughter of the late Sir W. Plover.

22. At Belford, Robert Liddell, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Sarah, eldest daughter of the late John Nisbet, Esq. Ancroft, North Durham.

27. At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Burr, merchant, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr David Macgibbon, builder.

30. At St Rollock's, near Glasgow, Dr John Coupar, Glasgow, to Charlotte, daughter of Charles Tenant, Esq.

Latel. At London, Sir John V. B. Johnstone, Bart. of Hackness, in the county of York, to Louisa Augusta Vernon, second daughter of his Grace the Archbishop of York.

JULY 1. At St Thomas's Mount, Ma-

dras, John Walker, Esq. Civil Service, eldest son of James Walker, Esq. of Blackheath, to Margaret Somerville, second daughter of Mr William Allan, merchant, Leith.

4. At Madras, Donald Macleod, Esq. Lieutenant in the 4th regiment Madras light cavalry, to Emily, second daughter of the late Major-General Durand.

— At Kirkcudbright, Anthony Laurie, Esq. Liverpool, to Margaret, only daughter of the late John Kerr, Esq. of the island of Granada.

— At Gartmore House, Alexander Tolmie, Esq. to Margaret Anne, second daughter of the late Captain Beatson, 9th regiment of foot.

5. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel George Henry Zuhlicke, C.B. to Miss Elizabeth Liddell, youngest daughter of the late Andrew Liddell, Esq.

— At New Norfolk, Van Diemen's Land, by special license, Lieutenant-Colonel S. H. Tod, of the Bengal establishment, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Captain Ewen Macdonald, Griminish, North Uist.

7. At Manchester, Mr Robert Thornton, Preston, to Miss Rosamond, youngest daughter of John Cooper, Esq. Manchester.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. David Simpson, of Trinity Chapel, Aberdeen, to Jane, fourth daughter of the late Mr William Kinnaird, chemist, Edinburgh.

9. At Felbrigg, Henry Baring, Esq. M. P. of Somerley, in the county of Nants, to Cecilia Anne, eldest daughter of Rear Admiral Windham, of Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk.

— At Howth Church, Major Charles George Gray, of the fifth brigade, to Jane, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Grogan, of Seafield, county of Dublin.

12. At No. 18, Dublin Street, Edinburgh, Ninian Little, Esq. of Chapelhill, to Mary Anne, second daughter of the late John Smail of Overmains, Esq. Berwickshire.

13. At Mount Gerald, Ross-shire, Archibald Dick, Esq. of Windsor Castle, Jamaica, and a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of that island, to Isabella, third daughter of the late Colin Mackenzie, Esq. of Mount Gerald.

• — At Portobello, Colonel James Ha-

milton, of the Colombian army, to Marion Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late John Anderson of Winterfield, Esq.

13. At Inch House, Major Robert Gordon, of Hallhead, to Jane, daughter of the late Walter Little Gilmour, Esq. of Libberton and Craigmillar.

— At Lennoxbank, John Semple, Esq. to Anne, eldest daughter of John Stuart, Esq.

15. At East Drums, Wm. Sharpe, Esq. surgeon, Brechin, to Anna, only daughter of William Peter, Esq.

18. At the house of his Excellency the British Ambassador, Paris, the Rev. W. H. Bury, B.D. fellow of St John's College, Oxford, and graduate of the University of Paris, to Mary Anne, daughter of the late John Maclean, Esq. and widow of the late A. Mackenzie Gieves of Glenure, Esq.

19. At Arreton, Isle of Wight, George Cornelius Stigant, Esq. attorney, Portsmouth, to Eliza Watt, daughter of the late John Watt, Esq. of Edinburgh.

— At Foodie, George Martin, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Betsy, daughter of Alexander Christie, Esq. of Foodie.

— At Edinburgh, James Stormonth Darling of Lednathy, Esq. W.S. to Elizabeth Moir, only surviving daughter of the late James Tod of Deanstouff, Esq.

20. At Edinburgh, John Anderson, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Frances, daughter of the late Robert Burn, Esq. architect.

21. At Seven Oaks, Kent, Colin Arnot Browning, Esq. M.D. to Eliza, eldest daughter of Samuel Green, Esq. of Seven Oaks.

22. At the house of his Excellency the British Ambassador, at Brussels, the Rev. E. Jenkins, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Eliza, eldest daughter of John Jay, Esq. formerly of Lixmount, near Edinburgh.

25. At Dumfries, Mr Philip Forsyth, writer, youngest son of P. Forsyth, Esq. of Nithside, to Catharine, eldest daughter of the late Mr William Comery.

26. At Carlton Place, Glasgow, Mr William Hunter, merchant, Glasgow, to Mary, only daughter of the late Mr Thomas M'Alpine, merchant there.

26. At Edinburgh, Robert Magee, Esq. eldest son of William Snell Magee, Esq. of Parson's Green, in the county of Dublin, to Jessy, daughter of Richard Prentice, Esq. Prince's Street.

— At Abbeylix Church, in the Queen's County, Lord Clifton, eldest son of the Earl of Darnley, to Emma Jane, third daughter of Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. and niece of the Earl of Portarlington.

— At Bellevue, the Rev. William Gillespie, minister of Kells, to Charlotte, third daughter of the late George Hoggan, Esq. of Waterside.

28. At St George's Church, Hanover Square, London, Alexander Robert Stewart, Esq. M. P. for the county of Londonderry, eldest son of Alexander Stewart, of Ards, in the county of Donegal, Esq. to Lady Caroline Ann Pratt, youngest daughter of the Marquis and Marchioness Camden.

— At Windsor, the Rev. John Moultrie, rector of Rugby, to Harriet Margaret, eldest daughter of Dr Fergusson, Inspector of Hospitals.

31. At Brechin, D. D. Black, Esq. writer there, to Eliza Jean, only daughter of the late Mr Richard Milburn, merchant, London.

Lately. At St James's Church, Piccadilly, John Capel, Esq. of Russell Square, London, nephew to Major-General Capel, to Lady Caroline Beauclerc, second daughter of the Duke of St Alban's.

— At St George's Church, Hanover Square, London, Captain Price Blackwood, R. N. to Helen Selina, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Sheridan, Esq. His Royal Highness the Duke of York gave the bride away.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Samuel Vincent Bradbury, of Sheffield, merchant, to Miss Sophia Henrietta, third daughter of John Law M'Clellan, Esq. R. N.

AUGUST 1. At Calcutta, Robert Eglington, Esq. merchant, to Margaret Dun, fourth daughter of Robert Low, Esq. cashier of the Dundee Banking Company.

— At the parish church of Mary-labonne, London, Hugh Maclean, Esq. younger of Coll, to Jane, eldest daughter of William Robertson, Esq.

— At Perth, Major Todd of Castle

Bank, to Miss Marjory Bisset, eldest daughter of Mrs Bisset of Marshall Place.

2. George Kinnear, Esq. of Gower Street, London, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr Barclay of Leicester Square.

— At No. 1, Dundas Street, Edinburgh, the Rev. George Smith, minister of the second charge, Kilmarnock, to Jane, only daughter of the late David Hogarth, Esq. of Hilton, Berwickshire.

— At Portobello, Alexander Blackie, Esq. banker in Aberdeen, to Mrs Margaret Paterson, daughter of James Miller, Esq. merchant in Glasgow, and granddaughter of the late James Watt, Esq. of Birmingham.

— At Strathairly House, Fifeshire, David Blackie, Esq. W.S. to Margaret, only daughter of David Briggs, Esq. of Strathairly.

3. At Gibraltar, John Sandeman, Esq. (of the house of Hagwin, Sandeman, and Cowell) to Charlotte Sophia, eldest daughter of Lewis Smale Tucker, Esq. Collector of his Majesty's revenues in that garrison.

4. At Glasgow, Humphry Ewing Crum, Esq. to Helen, daughter of the Rev. Dr Dick.

— At Newton, Thomas Abercromby Duff, Esq. advocate, youngest son of R. W. Duff, Esq. of Fetteresso, to Mary, only daughter of the late Alex. Gordon, Esq. of Newton.

8. At Dingwall, Captain Thomas Munro, half pay 42d regiment, to Miss Alexandra M'Kenzie, daughter of the late Kenneth M'Kenzie, Esq. Dingwall.

9. At St Andrew's Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, John Rennie, Esq. of Linton House, East Lothian, eldest son of George Rennie, Esq. of Phantassie, to Sarah Elizabeth Amelia, daughter of Edward Hall Campbell, Esq. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

— At Leith, Mr John Saunders, merchant, London, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Mr James Miller, merchant there.

— At the parish church of Mary-labonne, by the Rev. George M. Musgrave, A.M. William Sandford, Esq. of Chesington Lodge, to Agnes, third daughter of John Ewart, Esq. of Edinburgh.

11. At Montreal, Captain Rood, of the Royal Staff Corps, to Christian, daughter of Major-General G. Gordon.

13. At the house of the Duke of Clarence, in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, Miss Fitzclarence, to Mr Sidney, of the Life Guards.

15. At St George's, Bloomsbury, London, James Bradshaw, Esq. to Miss M. Tree, late of the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.

— At Hamilton, Mr Alexander M'Kinlay, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Mr John Brown, Dumfries.

16. At Great Baddow, Alexander Finlay, Esq. Castlemains, Lanarkshire, to Miss Lucy Ann Jones, only child of James Jones, Esq. of Great Baddow, Essex, and of Twickenham Park, Jamaica.

— At St Cuthbert's Church, Wells, Somerset, the Rev. John Sandford, of Balliol College, Oxford, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Richard Jenkins Poole, Esq. of Sherborne, Dorset.

17. At Borrodale, Colin Chisholm, Esq. solicitor in Inverness, to Margaret, third daughter of John M'Donald, Esq. of Glenaladale.

— At St George's, Bloomsbury, London, William Gordon, Esq. W.S. and eldest son of David Gordon, Esq. of that city, to Agnes Marian, third daughter of John Hyslop, Esq. of Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square.

18. At Cairnmuir, East Lothian, Mr William Yule Gibson, merchant, Leith, to Catharine, only daughter of the late Mr Peter Sherriff.

— At the New Church, St Pancras, London, John, eldest son of Lord John Townshend, of Balls Park, Hertfordshire, to Elizabeth Jane, eldest daughter of Lord George Stuart.

19. At St Peter's Church, Dorchester, Walter Jollie, Esq. W.S. to Hannah Lycette, eldest daughter of the late Lieut.-General Avarne of Rugely, in the county of Stafford.

20. At Ancrum House, the Rev. Gilbert Elliot, son of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, to Williamina, youngest daughter of the late Patrick Brydone, Esq.

22. At Ellingham, county of Northumberland, James Morrison, Esq. junior, of Millbank, Alloa, to Jane Anne, only daughter of the late James Maidment, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Andrew Gallies, Esq. advocate, to Elizabeth Harvie, only



daughter of the late James Brown, Esq. of Craigow.

22. At Edinburgh, James Anderson, Esq. Cashier to the Scottish Union Insurance Company, to Ann, only daughter of Mr George Bruce, James's Court.

— At Gloucester Place, the Rev. John Coker, rector of Radcliffe, Buckinghamshire, to Charlotte Sophia, youngest daughter of the late Major-General Dewar.

— At Langholm, Mr George Scott, senior, merchant there, to Miss Helen Scott, of the same place.

23. At Yettbyre, William Grierson, Esq., second son of Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, Bart., to Miss Jane Beattie, daughter of Thomas Beattie, Esq. of Crieve.

24. At Craigie House, the Rev. William Currie of Broughton Hall, Cheshire, to Mary, youngest daughter of Richard Campbell, Esq. of Craigie.

25. At Glasgow, Wm. Macturk, Esq. M. D. of Bradford, Yorkshire, to Miss Catharine Rutherford, only daughter of the late Dr John Rutherford of Craigow, Kinross-shire.

29. At Stirling, George Crichton, Esq., of Viewforth, to Catharine, second daughter of the late William Forrester, Esq. of Culmore, Stirling.

— At Canaan House, Dr James Pitcairn, to Cecilia, youngest daughter of David Thomson, Esq. W. S.

30. At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Mitchellhill, surgeon, Downie Place, Port Hope-toun, to Rebecca, daughter of Mr Thomas Brumby, stoneware merchant, Rose Street.

— At Leith, Mr Robert Schaw, merchant, Leith, to Margaret, daughter of Mr William Auld, merchant there.

31. At London, Ernest Comte de Gersdorff, to the Honourable Maria Elizabeth Twisleton Fiennes, only daughter of Lord Saye and Sele.

Lately. At Glasgow, at the house of her uncle, John Kirkland, Esq., West George Street, Mr Robert Monro, merchant in Lisbon, to Miss Maria M'Kenzie.

SEPTEMBER 1. At Stirling, Mr Edward Carritt, of Brigg, Lincolnshire, to Harriet, second daughter of Robert Peacock, Esq. of Solgirth House, Perthshire, and niece of the Reverend William Cust, Danby Hill, Yorkshire.

3. At London, the Right Hon. Stratford Canning, his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, to Eliza Charlotte, eldest daughter of James Alexander, Esq. of Sommerhill, Kent, M.P.

5. At New Scone, near Perth, the Rev. William Murray, Muchalls, to Miss Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the late Mr Allan Stewart, Shuna, Appin.

— At Glasgow, Mr John Cullen, merchant, Stirling, to Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Malpas.

— At St Luke's, Chelsea, the Rev. Charles Grant, LL.B. vicar of West Bāsham, Norfolk, to Caroline Mary, only daughter of the late Charles Graeme, junior, Esq., judge of Purneah, Bengal, and grand-daughter of Charles Graeme, Esq. of Dean House, Hants.

— At Thames-Ditton, Captain G. F. Lyon, R.N. to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald.

6. At Stewarton Manse, James Monteith, Esq., Glasgow, to Lillias, second daughter of the late Rev. James Douglas, minister of Stewarton.

— At Bonnington, John Haig, Esq., of Dublin, to Jane, daughter of the late John Haig, Esq. Bonnington.

9. At Edinburgh, Roger Duke, Esq., to Eliza, only daughter of the late Captain L. Oliphant of Kinneder.

— At Aikenhead, Mungo Campbell, Esq., merchant, Glasgow, to Isabella Craigie Gordon, eldest daughter of John Gordon, Esq. of Aitkenhead.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Turnbull, merchant, Leith, to Christian, fifth daughter of Mr James Thomson, of the Cess Office, James's Street.

12. At New Monkland Manse, Robert M'Culloch, Esq., writer, Airdrie, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr James Begg, minister of New Monkland.

13. At Stirling, Francis William Clark, Esq., writer, Stirling, to Agnes, eldest daughter of James Wright, Esq., writer there.

— At Tain, William Walker, Esq., merchant, Glasgow, to Sarah Wilson, youngest daughter of Robert Murray, Esq., Tain, Ross-shire.

— At St George's Church, Madras, the Honourable H. T. Graeme, Esq., Second Member of Council, to Miss E. A.

Scot, niece of William Horsman, Esq., Madras Medical Establishment.

11. At Gosford, Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, Esq., to Lady Charlotte Charteris, fourth daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March.

15. At Montrose, Robert Rickart Hepburn, Esq. of Riccarton, to Elizabeth Jane, eldest daughter of Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Arnot.

— At Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire, Sir John Forbes, Bart. of Craigievar, to the Hon. Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Forbes.

16. At Linlithgow, Mr John Stott, leather-merchant, Edinburgh, to Agnes, second daughter of Mr Joseph Greenock, of Linlithgow.

— At Blythswood Hill, the Rev. Laurence Lockhart, minister of Inchinnan, to Louisa, only daughter of the deceased David Blair, Esq. eldest son of Kirkman Finlay, Esq. of Castle Toward, to Janet, eldest daughter of Hugh Bogle, Esq. of Calderbank.

— At Over Newton, Mr Matthew Taylor, merchant, Glasgow, to Martha, second daughter of William Taylor, Esq., of Over Newton, Limerigg, and Drumclare.

20. At Kendal, Mr Allan Anderson, merchant there, late of Balmaclellan, to Miss Charlotte, youngest daughter of Mr John Edgar, late of the Bengal artillery.

— At Huntingdon, county of Haddington, A. P. Robertson, Esq. merchant, Leith, to Christiana, eldest daughter of William Ainslie, Esq. of Huntington.

— At No. 30, Castle Street, Edinburgh, Watkin William Watkins, Esq., younger of Sholton, in the county of Salop, to Christian, daughter of the late Thomas Watkins, Esq. of Linlithgow.

22. At Keith, James Stewart, M. D. to Jane, youngest daughter of Mr David Sutherland, merchant.

24. At Doncaster, Lieutenant General Sharpe of Hoddam, to Jane, daughter of Godfrey Higgins, Esq., of Skellow Grange, in the county of York.

27. At Isle of Nith, Robert McMillan, Esq., of Holm, to Mary, third daughter of James Goldie, Esq. of Knockauchly.

— At Camnethan House, John Piercy

Henderson, Esq. of Fossell Bank, to Eliza Anne, second daughter of Robert Lockhart, Esq., of Castlehill.

27. At Edinburgh, Captain Stewart, 94th regiment, to Ann, only daughter of Charles Stewart, Esq., of Ardsheal.

— At Westham, Essex, Mr William Grindly, late of Leith, to Charlotte, only daughter of the late Samuel Salmon, Esq., of Twickenham.

28. At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander B. Mackay, merchant, Leith, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Brown, of Newhall, Esq.

— At Rosemont, Aberdeen, Charles Fraser, Esq. of Williamston, Aberdeenshire, to Margaret Eleanor, youngest daughter of Charles Mitchell, Esq., of Forcethall, Yorkshire.

29. At Liverpool, Mr Joseph Greaves, of Liverpool, to Mrs Mary Shand, third daughter of the late Archibald Campbell, Esq. of Ardnamnock, Cowal, Argyleshire.

— At Gilmerton House, Charles Kinnear, of Kinnear, Esq., to Miss Christiana Jane, daughter of John Boyd Green-shields of Drum, Esq. advocate.

— At Kempsey, Lieutenant Chase Bracken, of the Bengal Establishment, to Jane Anne, daughter of Colonel Lud. Grant, of Bank House, Kempsey, Worcestershire.

Lately. The Count de Niepperg, to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the widow of Buonaparte. The Emperor of Austria is supposed to have favoured this union, and, in token of his approbation, it is said, will raise the Count to the dignity of a Prince.

OCTOBER 3. At Edinburgh, Captain James Pratt, Kirkcaldy, to Mrs Agnes Brown, relict of the late Collector Malcolm.

4. At King's Langley, Herts, Henry Hyndman, Esq., Fludyer Street, Westminster, to Augusta, second daughter of the Rev. Thomas Morgan, LL.D. vicar of King's Langley.

— At Foulden West Mains, the Rev. William Ritchie, of Athelstanford, to Isabella, daughter of Robert Brown, Esq.

— At Crieff, the Rev. Robert Brydon,

of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire, to Matilda, daughter of the late Lawrence Mackenzie, Esq. collector of excise at Campbellton.

4. At St Mary's, Mary-la-bonne, London, G. I. Choldmondeley, Esq., to the Hon. Mary Townshend, youngest daughter of Lord Sidney.

6. At Edinburgh, David Guthrie, Esq. merchant, Brechin, to Anne, eldest daughter of the late John Burns, Esq., Bo'ness.

— At Leith, Peter Gray, Esq., writer, Alloa, to Mary, eldest daughter of Adam White, Esq., merchant in Leith.

7. At Leith, James Duncan, Esq., Master of the Trinity House, to Easter, eldest daughter of the late P. Scott, Esq.

8. At St James's Church, London, Sir William George Hylton Joliffe, Bart., to Miss Eleanor Pagett, second daughter of Hon. Berkely Pagett.

11. At St Swithin's Church, Winchester, the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes (Dr Coleridge,) to Miss Rennell, eldest daughter of the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester.

— At Edinburgh, the Rev. William Limont, of South College Street Church, to Sarah, eldest daughter of James Weddell, Esq., Hanover Street.

— At Montreal, Captain Read, of the Royal Staff Corps, to Christiana, daughter of Major-General G. Gordon.

12. At Lambeth, John Gray, Esq., of Edinburgh, to Miss Cordine Mordaunt, daughter of George Mordaunt, Esq., of South Lambeth.

13. At Archibald Place, Edinburgh, Thomas Alexander, Esq., surgeon, to Isabella, second daughter of the late Ralph Richardson, Esq., merchant, Edinburgh.

17. At Shiplake, the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Bertie, to Georgina Anne Emily Kerr, second daughter of Rear Admiral Lord Mark Kerr.

— At Gleneloch Cottage, Perthshire, (the residence of Lieut.-Col. Chalmers,) the Rev. Allan Macpherson, A. M., youngest son of the late Colonel Macpherson, of Blairgowrie, domestic Chaplain of the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweeddale, and Rector of Barwick, St Leonard, in the county of Wilts, to Mar-

garet, youngest daughter of the late William Chalmers, Esq. of Gleneloch.

17. At Glasgow, Mr James Black, manufacturer, to Jane Barclay, only daughter of Mr Robert Barclay Niven, merchant; and on the 18th, Mr Robert Longmuir, merchant, to Janet, eldest daughter of Mr James Black, manufacturer.

18. At Glasgow, Mr William Paul, merchant, to Helen, eldest daughter of Mr Samuel Stewart, Glasgow.

19. At Edinburgh, Mr Andrew Blaikie, engraver, Paisley, to Miss Janet Anderson, daughter of the late Archibald Anderson, Esq. Melrose.

— At Watton Church, Herts, the Hon. Alexander Leslie Melville, brother of the Earl of Leven and Melville, to Charlotte, daughter of Samuel Smith, Esq. M. P.

20. At Braendum House, Andrew Wilson, junior, Esq. of College Street, Glasgow, to Marsilla, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, Esq., of Dallincea.

— In the Protestant Church of La Tour, in Piedmont, by license from his Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary to the Court at Turin, Josiah Webb Archibald, Esq., of Porto Rico, to Fanny, youngest daughter of Dr Andrew Berry of Edinburgh.

24. At Hull, Mr Alexander Anderson, wine-merchant, Pathhead, Fifeshire, to Mary, third daughter of Mr John Miller, timber-merchant, Hull.

— At Slipperfield, Thomas Jackson, Esq., of Broomhill, to Jane, third daughter of Mr Simon Linton, merchant, Biggar.

— At St Philip's Church, Liverpool, John Hall Morrison, Esq., surgeon, Gloucester Street, there, to Catherine, daughter of James Hanny, Esq., of the city of Bath, and late merchant in Glasgow.

25. At Lismore, Argyllshire, John Defepas, jun., Esq., of Ashbourne, county of Meath, Ireland, to Margaret, second daughter of Mr John Macdonald, Glasgow, and niece to the Right Reverend Bishop Macdonald.

— At St James's Church, London, Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the Duke of Grafton, to the Hon. Miss Cavendish, eldest daughter of Lord G. H. Cavendish.

25. At Jackson's Cottage, near Dumfries, William Bruce, Esq. younger of Symbister, advocate, to Agnes, second daughter of William Gordon Macrae, Esq. formerly of the island of Jamaica.

27. At Newhalls House, Robert Mercer, Esq. younger of Scotsbank, W.S. to Elizabeth, daughter of William Scott Moncrieff, Esq. of Newhalls.

28. At Roschaugh House, Ross-shire, James Walker, Esq. of Dalry, advocate, to Miss Lillias Mackenzie, youngest daughter of the late Roderick Mackenzie, Esq. of Scotsburn.

At 4, South Bridge Street, Edinburgh, Mr Johnston Carnegie, merchant, to Miss Ann, fifth daughter of Mr Playfair, brewer, Dundee.

31. At Kinloch, Charles Guthrie, Esq. younger of Taybank, to Margaret, second daughter of George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch.

— At Paisley, Mr William M'Arthur, merchant, to Janet, second daughter of James Tannahill, Esq. Barclay Street.

— At Kelso, Robert Bruce, Esq. chief magistrate of, and writer in Kelso, to Mrs Murray, widow of the late James Murray, Esq. civil engineer.

Lately. At St George's Church, Madras, Alexander Johnston, Esq. Garrison Surgeon of Fort St George, to Miss Barbara M'Leod, daughter of the late Lieut. Col. M'Leod, of the Madras army.

NOVEMBER 1. At Fort William, Alex. Macdonell, Esq. Inch, to Miss Mary Isabella Stewart, eldest daughter of Duncan Stewart, Esq. of Achnacand, collector of his Majesty's Customs at Fort William.

— At Glasgow, James Williamson, Esq. Bannockburn, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Mr William Lennox.

— At Edinburgh, John Sinclair Cunningham, Esq. inspector of branches of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, to Miss Janet Rhind, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Jas. Rhind, minister of Whitburn.

— At Edinburgh, Mr James Edington, merchant, Leith, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late Mr John Richardson, builder, Prestonpans.

2. At Bargarvie, David Russel, Esq. Belhelvie, to Margaret Forbes, fourth daughter of the late John Scott, Esq.

2. At Edinburgh, James Gilliland Simpson, of Bush Lane and Islington, London, to Jane, only child of the late Thomas Horsburgh of Lee, Peebles-shire.

— At Greenock, Jas. Smith, Esq. Birmingham, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Thomas Nimmo, Esq. of Auchinblain.

6. At Southrop, William Shickle, Esq. of Field-Daling, county of Norfolk, to Mary, second daughter of Mr James Davidson, Perth.

8. At Mary-la-bonne Church, London, Sir John Thomas Claridge, Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, to Miss M. P. Scott, eldest daughter of Vice-Admiral Scott.

— At Topsham Church, Devon, Adam, son of David Gordon, Esq. of Abteigeldie, Aberdeenshire, and Dulwich Hill, Surrey, to Susan, daughter of the late Rev. John Swete, of Oxtou House, Devonshire.

— At Ellieston, the Rev. P. Craw, minister of St Boswell's, to Miss Elizabeth Dunbar, youngest daughter of the deceased William Dunbar, Esq. Forres.

— At Edinburgh, Archibald Gibson, Esq. Accomptant, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late James Newbigging of Whitehouse, Esq.

— At Collonsay House, James J. Duncan, Esq., Craigend, to Mary, eldest daughter of John M'Neill, of Collonsay, Esq.

10. In the Episcopal Chapel, Dumfries, John Croxton Peddie, Esq. H. M. 21st regiment, Royal Scotch Fusiliers, to Eliza, eldest daughter of the late James Baillie, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's Service.

14. At Edinburgh, Mr William Wallace, Kinross, to Miss Isabella Blackwood, daughter of Mr Blackwood, tanner, Kinross.

— At Minto, Roxburghshire, J. P. Boileau, jun. Esq. eldest son of J. P. Boileau, Esq. of Mortlake, Surrey, to Lady Catherine Elliott, daughter of the late, and sister of the present Earl of Minto.

— At Naples, Sir James Carnegie of Southesk, Bart. to Miss Charlotte Lyons, second daughter of the Rev. Daniel Ly-

sons, of Hempstead Court, Gloucestershire.

15. Mr Andrew Robertson, merchant, Glasgow, to Miss Hedderwick, Lauriston.

16. At Nottingham, Mr Alexander Stevenson, writer in Melrose, to Elizabeth, only child of the late Mr John Moss, Darnick.

21. At Kirkton, William Cullen, Esq. surgeon in Carlisle, to Jacobina Stuart, second surviving daughter of the late Chas. Hamilton, Esq. of Fairholm and Kirkton.

22. At Lanfaes Church, county of Anglesea, Alex. Anderson, Esq. Captain in the Madras Engineers, to Mary Margaret, eldest daughter of John Hampton Hampton, Esq. of Henlys.

— At Stirling, the Rev. Jas. Gilfillan, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late William Telford, Esq.

— Andrew Barclay, Esq. second son of the late William Barclay, Esq. of his Majesty's Navy Pay-office, to Isabella, youngest daughter of William Creelman, Esq. Portobello.

— At Paisley, Mr Thomas Carswell, manufacturer, to Miss Jane Anderson, third daughter of the late Mr Hugh Anderson, merchant there.

24. At Cocl, Bengal, Donald Aencas Mackay, First Lieut. Bengal Artillery, to Agnes Anne, fourth daughter of William Spottiswoode, Esq. Clayquhat, Perthshire.

— At Rosehill, Hants, Col. Thackeray, of the Royal Engineers, to the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Carnegie, daughter of the Earl of Northesk.

25. At Kelso, Mr Thomas Sibbald, ironmonger, Edinburgh, to Ann, daughter of William Elliott, Esq. Architect, Kelso.

28. At St Dunstan's, London, William Reid, Esq. M.D. to Helen Anne, fourth daughter of the Rev. James Porteous, 4, St James's Square, Edinburgh.

29. At Torbanehill, the Rev. James Monilaws, of Annan, to Isabella Luke, eldest daughter of the late John Smellie, Esq. of Torbanehill.

Lately. At Edinburgh, George Archer, Esq. of Great Pond, St Ann's, Jamaica, to Eliza, fourth daughter of the late

Alexander Edgar, Esq. of the island of Jamaica.

— Thomas Aitchison Latta, M.D., Leith, to Mary, youngest and only surviving child of the late John Millar, Esq.

DECEMBER 1. At Edinburgh, the Rev. Alex. Ferguson, Tobermory, to Catherine, daughter of the late Mr Allan Macdonald, Dairoch, Mull.

— At Corsairty, the Rev. William Rannie, minister of Fochabers, to Catherine Matilda Evans, second daughter of the late Charles Evans, Esq. of Woolwich.

5. At Dowager Lady Saltoun's Cottage, near Inverness, Wm. Macdowall Grant, Esq. to the Honourable Miss Eleanor Fraser.

8. At Easby, near Richmond, Yorkshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lane, to the Hon. Harriet Frances Dundas, second daughter of Lord Dundas.

9. At Edinburgh, Peter Campbell, Esq. Northumberland Street, to Miss Isabella Malcolm, daughter of George Malcolm, Esq. merchant, Hull.

12. At Arnprior, Mr Thomas Downie, of the Glasgow Bank, to Janet, eldest daughter of John Cassels, Esq. of Arnprior.

— At Sandon, Staffordshire, John S. Wortley, Esq. M.P. eldest son of J. A. Stuart Wortley, member for Yorkshire, to the Lady Georgiana Ryder, third daughter of the Earl of Harrowby, Lord President of the Council.

13. At St George's, Hanover Square, London, Thomas Waddington, Esq. of St Remy, to Janette, second daughter of the late Colin Chisholm, Esq. M.D.

— At Edinburgh, Francis Grove, Esq. Lieutenant, &c. N. second son of Edward Grove, Esq. of Shenstone Park, Staffordshire, to Emily, only child of the late George Ure, Esq. late of the Bengal Medical Establishment.

— At Stirling, Robert Clarke, Esq. Campsie, to Isabella, third daughter of the late Robert Young, Esq. of Stirling.

14. At Leith, George Goodlet, Esq. merchant, to Mary, daughter of John Hay, Esq. ship-owner.

— At Manchester, Alexander Aber-

cromby, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Janet, eldest daughter of the late Peter M'Laren, Esq. of Manchester.

15. At the Chapel of the British Embassy, Paris, George William Lefevre, M.D. to Frederica Clavering, daughter of Colonel Charles Fraser, of the Hon. East India Company's service.

— At London, the Rev. Daniel Hennege Finch Hatton, of Weldon, to Lady Louisa Greville, youngest daughter of the late Hon. Robert F. Greville, and Louisa, in her own right Countess of Mansfield, his wife.

— At Montreal, Lower Canada, Wm. Sufer, Esq. to Eliza, eldest daughter of Captain William M'Culloch.

16. At Brechin, Alexander Black, Esq. bookseller, to Helen, third daughter of Mr Robert Duncan, merchant there.

17. At the Doune of Rothiemurchus, Gervaise Pennington, Esq. Colonel in the service of the Honourable East-India Company, commanding the brigade of horse artillery in Bengal, to Jane, second daughter of John Peter Grant, of Rothiemurchus, Esq. M.P.

— At Mary-la-bonne Church, London; William Knight Dehany, Esq. Solicitor to the Excise in Scotland, to Elizabeth Favell, second daughter of Vice-Admiral Scott.

18. In St Paul's Church, Boston, United States, Mr Samuel Richardson of that city, to Miss Caroline Schetky, daughter of the late Mr G. J. C. Schetky, Edinburgh.

20. At Edinburgh, the Rev. George Lawson, Kilmarnock, to Miss Agnes Paterson, youngest daughter of the late Bailie Thomas Paterson, Galashiels.

— At Edston, Mr Alexander Rutherford, merchant, Edinburgh, to Margaret, youngest daughter of Mr Thomas Paterson, Edston.

22. At Montrose, David Lamb, Esq. Brechin, to Miss Brydon.

26. At Silver Mills, Edinburgh, John Lawder, jun. Esq. to Agnes Mathie.

— At Carlton Place, Glasgow, James Tweedie, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Winifred, only daughter of Alexander Stewart, Esq. cotton-yarn merchant there.

— At Thirave, Alexander Hutchinson,

Esq. to Miss Jane Cunningham Bell, daughter of B. Bell, Esq. of Thirave.

— At Edinburgh, George Fife, Esq. son of William Fife, Esq. Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Eliza, daughter of the late Major David Robertson, Assistant Barrack-Master-General, North Britain.

27. At Dundee, William Keith, Esq. surgeon, Union Place, Aberdeen, to Mary, only daughter of the late George Croom, Esq. merchant, Montrose.

— At Shettleston, Mr John Riddell, wine-merchant, Gallowgate, Glasgow, to Miss Jean-Hart, eldest daughter of Alex. Hart, Esq. Westmuir.

## DEATHS.

JANUARY. At Trichinopoly, Captain Henry Fullarton, of the Madras engineers.

1. At Spanish Town, Jamaica, Brevet Major William Stuart, of the 91st regiment.

2. At Swinton, Lieut. Adam Murray. — At Alloa, in the 62d year of his age, John Drummond, Esq. late writer there, and Procurator Fiscal for the county of Clackmannan.

— At his house, 9, Roxburgh Place, Edinburgh, Mr David Whyte, builder.

— At Edinburgh, James, eldest son of Henry Bourhill, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General.

3. At London, Jean, daughter of the late John Candler, Esq. of Craigforth.

— At Bellevue, Mrs Hoggan, relict of the late Major George Hoggan, of Waterside.

— At Chiselhurst, the Right Hon. Lady Baying.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Fearon.

— At Jamaica, Major Roderick Mackenzie, of the 77th regiment.

4. Mr John Chisholm, Ordnance Department, Edinburgh Castle.

5. In her 73d year, Mrs Mounteney. She was the eldest daughter of the late Sir Wm. Barclay, Bart. of Pierston, Ayrshire.

— At Stirling, the Rev. Dr Small, one of the ministers of that town.

— At Smyllum Park, Sir Wm Honyman, Baronet, of Grenney.

6. At New Garden, Robt. Ramage Liston, Esq.

6. At his Lordship's Episcopal residence, Glasnevin, Ireland, Dr Lirrisart, Bishop of Kildare, brother of the Earl of Balcarras, and brother-in-law to the Earl of Hardwicke. He was Dean of Christ's Church, and was translated from the See of Killaloe, to which he had been elevated in 1803.

— At Portsoy, Lieutenant James Wood, R. N. aged 76.

— At Kilmarnock, Mrs Elizabeth Gregory, relict of William Gregory, Esq.

7. At Fisherrow, Mrs Hester Marshment, wife of Mr James Forsyth, of his Majesty's Customs, there.

8. At Glasgow, James Murray, Esq. late of Jedburgh, aged 86.

9. At Sea, on board H. M. S. Diamond, in the fifteenth year of his age, Gilbert, youngest son of Wm. Elliot Lockhart, Esq. of Cleghorn, M.P.

— At Barholm House, Ann, second daughter of John M'Culloch, Esq. of Barholm.

— At Keir, Mr John Kyle, gardener to James Stirling, Esq. of Keir. As an experienced gardener, Mr Kyle was surpassed by few, if any, in his profession; and he, perhaps, during his life, received more medals and prizes for superior excellence, from the Horticultural Society of Edinburgh and others, than any other individual in the same line.

10. At Falkland, Michael Lundin, Esq. of Drums.

11. At her house, North Nelson-Street, Edinburgh, at the advanced age of 84, Mrs Isobel Edmondstone, relict of Mr William Aytoun, W.S.

— At Inchmouch, Sir John Steel, of Inchmouch, aged 73.

— At Rangoon, in consequence of wounds received in action with the Burmese, Ensign James Mill Geddes, of the 47th regiment of foot, youngest son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel William Geddes, of the 63d regiment.

12. At sea, on board the Carn Brea Castle, Lieut.-Colonel Commandant James Gardner, 51st regiment of Bengal native infantry.

13. At Spanish Town, Jamaica, David Morrison, Esq. one of the Masters in Chancery there, son of the late Neil Mac-

vicar, Esq. of Fergushire, writer in Edinburgh.

13. At Arbroath, Miss Isabella Bell, daughter of the Rev. William Bell, late minister of that place, in the 69th year of her age.

— At Grove House, near Edinburgh, in her 6th year, the Hon. Clara Melville Murray, daughter of the late Lord Elibank.

— At 19, Union Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Shaw, senior.

14. At No. 3, Meadow Place, Edinburgh, after a tedious illness, Miss Helen Brunton.

— At No. 11, Walker Street, Edinburgh, Jean Lockhart Bertram, daughter of the late W. Bertram, Esq. of Nisbet.

— In Upper Gower Street, London, George Dance, Esq. R.A. and F.A.S.

— At Cummertrees village, Betty Shearer, at the advanced age of 99, having thus entered her hundredth year; indeed she was supplied by many of the old people in the neighbourhood to have been upwards of 100, but she had no document that could record the period of her birth. At all merry-meetings Betty was a person of great importance, and nothing drew forth her sarcastic humour more forcibly than when she saw the farmers' wives or their daughters dressed finer than what she considered became their station. Betty was a keen Jacobite, and she often recounted with much enthusiastic delight having seen the unfortunate Prince Charles, as he passed Cummertrees, when on his march from Dumfries to England.

16. At St Toolies estate, Jamaica, in his 19th year, William Bryce Glas, sixth son of the late John Glas, Esq. Stirling.

— At Walton Manse, the Rev. P. Mollison.

— At Banff, Bathia, the wife of George Robinson, Esq. late Provost of Banff, aged 86.

— At Glasgow, aged 69, Mr John Turpie, merchant.

17. Aged 71, John Hanna, Esq. of Ingleston.

— After a lingering illness, which suddenly took a fatal turn, at the British Hotel, Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Anne

Dorothea, daughter of the late Wilbraham Bootle, Esq. of Latham House, Lancashire, and relict of Sir Peper Arden, Master of the Rolls, afterwards Lord Alvanley.

— At Bo'ness, Miss Sheppard, of Snab.

— At Jerviston, William Brysdale, Esq. of Pittenchar.

— In Union Street, Edinburgh, Alex.

Scott, Esq. of Stockbriggs, Lanarkshire.

— At Ballysallach, county Carlow, the Hon. Mrs Hozier, wife of James Hozier, Esq. of Ballysallach, and daughter of the late Lord Ventry.

18. At Queensferry, aged 85, Mrs Margaret Douglas, relict of Archibald Stew-

At Musselburgh, Mrs Ann Watson, relict of Mr Andrew Hunter, merchant there.

19. At his son's house, in Edinburgh, John Leven, Esq. sen. late of Burntisland, in the 76th year of his age.

— At Pentonville, near London, Alex. Tilloch, Esq. long the proprietor and conductor of the Star London evening paper. Mr. Tilloch found leisure for philosophical pursuits, and published many useful works.

20. At North Leith, Mrs Jean Macartney, spouse of Mr Alexander Ross, master of the Grammar School there.

— At his house, in Upper Norton Street, London, the Right Hon. Lord Herbert Windsor Stuart, son of the late, and uncle of the present, Marquis of Bute.

— At Rouman, James Little, Esq. of Bogrie, aged 87.

21. At Mount Road, Madras, Andrew Scott, Esq. of the Honourable the East India Company's civil service.

22. At Newson, Northumberland, Mrs Methven, wife of Captain Methven, R. N.

At Queenston, Upper Canada, Thomas Dickson, Esq.

At Monkton Manse, Mrs Oughterson, wife of the Rev. John Oughterson, minister of Monkton.

— In Portland Place, London, Dame Belinda Colebrooke, wife of Sir Charles Joshua Smith of Suttons, Bart.

— At Stonehaven, Mr John Wood, the son; and on the 13th current, Mrs Janet Monas, the wife of Mr James Wood, leather merchant in Stonehaven.

23. At her house in Edinburgh, Susan, Lady Hay Dalrymple of Park.

23. At Dumblane, Mr James Milne, junior, son of the late Andrew Milne, Esq. Bo'ness.

24. At his house, in Bernard Street, Leith, Mr George Brown, baker.

— At Paris, the Right Hon. Sackville, Earl of Thanet.

— At Linlithgow, in the 94th year of his age, Mr William Wilson, senior, shoemaker there. There were several occurrences in the life of this worthy old man deserving of record. He witnessed the battle of Prestonpans, and saw the fall of the brave and virtuous Colonel Gardner. He was on the plains of Abram with the immortal Wolfe, and bore a part of the arduous duties of the ever-memorable day when that lamented hero fell. He was also at the sieges of Havannah and Louisburg. He used to remark that he lived in "three" Kings' reigns—saw "three" commanding officers fall—was a member of "three" mason lodges, and had "three" descendants in the direct line, all William Wilsons. He was highly respected in all the societies to which he belonged; and one of them (the Hope-toun Lodge of Bathgate) cheerfully pays this tribute to his memory.

— At Kirkaldy, Mr James Edington senior, of East Wemyss.

25. At Glasgow, aged 23, Margaret, daughter of John Buchanan of Ardoch, Esq. M. P.

— At Caen, Major-General Lord Muskerry, after a few days' illness.

— At Queen Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Thomasina Gulland, relict of John Grieve, Esq. civil engineer.

— At the Brewery Yards, at the venerable age of 94, Thomas Turnbull, Esq. of Penwick.

At his house in York Street, Glasgow, John Wallace, Esq. formerly of Paisley.

— At Edinburgh, James Campbell, Esq., sometime Captain in the Edinburgh regiment of militia.

— Mrs M. Gray Russell, 10, South Hanover Street, Edinburgh.

26. At Edinburgh, Mr John L. Watt, merchant.

— At Melrose, Mr Charles Erskine, writer.

— At his house, 8, Pilrig Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Reoch, wife of Mr



John Reoch, and on the 11th current, Margaret Martha, their infant daughter.

26. At his house, York Place, Edinburgh, David Greig, Esq. W.S. much regretted.

27. At Linlithgow, Jean, second daughter of Mr John Gibbison skinner, tanner, and glue-manufacturer there.

28. At New Dier, aged 30, William, eldest son of Mr John Brodie, merchant there.

— At his house, Buccleuch-street, Edinburgh, at an advanced age, Miss Margaret Grierson, daughter of the late James Grierson, Esq. wine-merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Park, Mrs Forbes of Blackford. — At Penzance, John Gloag, Esq. of Limefield.

— At Clapham, Surrey, Catherine, daughter of Archibald Constable, Esq. in her 15th year.

— At Gatehouse, John Smith, Esq. in his 77th year.

29. Aged 97, Maurice O'Connell, Esq. of Derrinane. His landed property (£4000 a-year) he has bequeathed to his nephew, Counsellor O'Connell, and has divided equally between him and his brothers, John and James O'Connell, Esqrs. £40,000 in money.

— At Corbally Square, Troqueer, in her 79th year, Mrs M'Murdo, relict of the late Jas. M'Murdo, Esq. of Barbadoes.

— At Springmount, county of Antrim, Mrs Hood, senior, of Springmount.

30. At his house, Merchant Street, Edinburgh, Mr John Ormiston, solicitor at law.

31. At Woodburn, near Kirkintulloch, John Buchanan, Esq. of Carbeth.

Lately. At the house of Baron Roebuck, in Ireland, the Hon. Valentine Lawless, eldest son of Lord Clontarf.

— At Horse-Shoe Plantation, South Carolina, John Hunter, Esq. third son of the late Charles Hunter, Esq. of Burnside.

FEBRUARY 1. At Bristol, Mrs Ann (rel), wife of Mr David Souter, druggist, Aberdeen.

— At Aberdeen, Peter Hay, Esq. of Lynfield, aged 78.

— At Powis Farm, Miss Margaret ruce, eldest daughter of the late John

Bruce, Esq. Sheriff-substitute of Clackmannanshire.

2. Mr John Bailie, farmer at Old Montrose, aged 69.

— At the Manse of Campsie, Mrs Elizabeth Ann Stirling, relict of the Rev. Mr Lapthe, of Campsie, third daughter of the late Sir John Stirling, Bart. of Glorat.

3. At Selkirk, Mr William Borrowman surgeon, aged 81.

— At Morton, Lieut.-General Alex. Trotter.

4. At Slacks, parish of Tivwald, Elizabeth Crighton, wife of Robert Farries, farmer, aged 78 years.

— At Crown Street, Hutchesontown, Mr John Russell, merchant, Glasgow.

— On board the ship Medway, off St Helena, on his passage home, Major Adam Brugh, 44th regiment.

7. Mr George Scott, late of the Admiralty Office, London, eldest son of Mr Alexander Scott, Ormiston.

— At Scremerston, Miss Elizabeth Hogarth, wife of Robert Hogarth, Esq. Scremerston.

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Ann Allan, relict of the deceased George Robertson, merchant in Aberdeen, aged 71.

8. At Exeter, aged 62, Eliza Helen, widow of James Lauder, Esq. of Whiteslade, and daughter of the late John Turner, Esq. of Turnerhall.

— At Fraserburgh, Mr George Lind, Postmaster, in the 58th year of his age.

— At Kirkcaldy, Mr John Melcolm, ship-owner, aged 80.

— Mrs Jean Morrison, spouse to Dr Robert Hamilton, Professor of Mathematics in Marischal College, Aberdeen.

9. At Turrieff, Miss Helen Paton, eldest daughter of the late George Paton, Esq. of Grandhouse.

— At House of Hill, near Edinburgh, Mr Archibald Wilson, farmer there.

10. At Caen, in France, in the 10th year of his age, George Alexander, eldest son of Major-General Halket.

— At Stirling, Mr Thomas Paterson, merchant, aged 79, and sixteen hours previous, Agnes Miller, his spouse, aged 77, two of the oldest inhabitants of that town.

— At Kenzie's, near Annan, Captain

George Irvine, aged 76; upwards of 50 years a respectable ship-owner and master mariner.

— At 65, Nicolson Street, Edinburgh, Margaret Lawrie, wife of Mr Alexander Henderson, goldsmith.

— At Springbank, near Stirling, Miss Margaret Mackillop, eldest daughter of the late John Mackillop, Esq.

11. At Edinburgh, Archibald M'Dougall, Esq. of Dildawn.

— His Highness Frederick IV. Duke of Gotha.

— Mrs Parker, wife of Charles Parker, Esq. of Park Nook, Cumberland. Mrs Parker was the youngest daughter of Robert Allan, Esq. banker of Edinburgh.

— At Antigua, William M'Dougall, Esq. late of the island of Tobago, youngest son of the late Rev. Dr M'Dougall, minister of Makerstown.

12. At Edinburgh, in the 10th year of his age, William, only son of Sir Alex. Keith, of Dunnottar.

— William Murray, Esq. Solicitor Supreme Courts, and agent for the Church of Scotland, in his 77th year.

— At Leith, Mrs Frances Thom, wife of Mr Alexander S. Bisset, shipmaster, after a few days' illness.

— At Hawick, Mrs Margaret Wilson, wife of Mr William Beck, manufacturer, in her 65th year.

— At Rotheray, aged 80, Mrs Barbara Campbell, relict of the late James Campbell, Esq. Stewarthall, and mother of Major Campbell, royal marines.

— At Lechee, after a short illness, Mr James Carse, in the 84th year of his age. He was by profession an itinerant preacher, a profession which he had followed for about sixty years, and until within two years of his death.

— At Harebury workhouse, Yorkshire, aged 70, Hannah Metcalf, who, owing to a disappointment in love, took her bed 43 years ago, and never rose from it till the day of her death. It is calculated that this pauper cost the parish £500.

13. At Arbroath, aged 34 years, Isabel Goodall, wife of Mr Patrick Wilson, bookseller.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Agnes Simpson, relict of James Megget, merchant there.

14. At Nice, Miss Helen E. Davidson, youngest daughter of the late Robert Davidson, Esq. of Pinnaclehill.

15. At Edinburgh, Mrs Maria Metcalf, relict of Mr John Marshall, cutler, Charlestown, South Carolina.

— At Whitehill, near Glasgow, John Carlyle, only son of Mr Robison, Coates Crescent.

16. At Edinburgh, John Menzies, Esq., Solicitor of Customs for Scotland.

— At Gatehill, Hugh Stewart, Esq. of Gatehill, aged 71 years.

17. Henry Wrottesley, Esq. M. P. for Brackley.

19. At Montrose, after a short illness, the Rev. Alexander Molleson, in the 77th year of his age, and 48th of his ministry.

— At Newtonstewart, Nathaniel Fullerton, Esq. writer there.

— At Wellington Square, Ayr, Agnes, youngest daughter of George Ranken, Esq. of Whitehill.

— At Edinburgh, Mary Ann Elder, daughter of Mr Robert Rattray, W.S.

— At London, Mrs Susannah Maria Bradford, relict of Lieutenant-Colonel James Flint, late of his Majesty's 25th regiment of foot.

— At Perth, Miss Margaret Macduff, Atholl Street. She was born on the 28th June 1745.

— At Bombay, Lieutenant Archibald David Græme, 3d native cavalry, aged 22, youngest son of the late John Græme, Esq. of Eskbank.

20. At 17, Castle Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Rosina Home, relict of Mr Thomas Laing, and eldest daughter of the deceased Hon. George Home.

— At No. 30, Frederick Street, Edinburgh, George Kennedy, Esq. writer.

— At Stirling, Mr James Hamilton, of Boddingsgill, merchant, Biggar.

21. At 4, Clerk Street, Edinburgh, Lieutenant John Grant.

— At Broach, Bombay, Lieutenant James Hay, of the 10th regiment of native infantry.

22. At Bexhill, Sussex, Agnes, daughter of the late Archibald Gilchrist, Esq. merchant, Edinburgh, and wife of Henry Riddell, Esq. V.S.

— Mrs Nancy Gibson, wife of Mr G. B. Brown, brewer, North Back of Canon gate, Edinburgh.

22. At ~~Edinb.~~ William Small, Esq. partner of the General Kyd East Indiaman, youngest son of Andrew Small, Esq. of Dirnanean, sincerely regretted by his shipmates, and all who knew him.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Katherine Wedderburn, daughter of the late Thomas Wedderburn, Esq. Collector of the Customs, Inverness.

— At Mungall Cottage, Joseph Stainton, Esq. manager of the Carron Company.

24. At Edinburgh, after a short illness, in the 24th year of his age, Mr Thomas Cavens, student of medicine, from Dumfriesshire.

— At Florence, Anne Janet, wife of William G. Johnstone, Esq. of Garroch, and eldest daughter of L. Molliday, Esq. banker, St James's Street, London.

— At his seat, near Swansea, Thomas Bowdler, Esq. in the 71st year of his age.

— At Gorgie Damhead, Mrs Marion Cleghorn, relict of the late Mr William Ronaldson, in the 91st year of her age.

— At her house, at Laurencekirk, in her 85th year, deeply lamented, Diana, wife of the late Alexander Shank, of Castlerig, Fifeshire.

26. At Edinburgh, George, the youngest son of George Wauchope, Esq.

27. At Eddlestone manse, Mrs Marjory Crawford, widow of the deceased Dr Patrick Robertson, minister of Eddlestone.

— At Nice, in the 21st year of his age, Thomas, eldest son of George Carstairs, Esq. merchant, Leith.

— At his house, near Southampton, the Lady of Rear-Admiral Sir J. P. Beresford, Bart. K.C.B.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Davie, wife of Mr Martin, W.S.

28. At No. 3, Abertropaby Place, Edinburgh, Grace, fourth daughter of the late Robert Kennedy, Esq. of Pinnore.

— At Edinburgh, aged 66, Mr Peter Steven, formerly of Peterhead.

— At Cowdenhill, Mrs Margaret Angus, widow of Lieutenant James Ritchie, of the R.N.

— At his seat, Billingsbear, Berke, in his 84th year, the Right Hon. Richard Aldworth Griffin, Lord Graybrooke, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex, Manors. At Southampton, Mrs Baird

daughter of the late Thomas Dickson, Esq. of Burston Park, in the county of Surrey, and grand-daughter of the late Sir William Baird, Bart. of Saughton Hall, Mel-Lothian, a Captain in the R.N.

— At Montrose, Mr David Low, sen. ship-owner.

3. In Dover Street, Piccadilly, Lieut.-General Sir James Erskine, Bart. of Forrie, Fifeshire.

— At his house, Circus Place, Edinburgh, John Hutchison, Esq. writer in Edinburgh.

— Thomas Smith, Esq. of Nether Ingleston, Glencairn, aged 70.

— At his house, Comely Garden, near Edinburgh, Thomas Oliver, Esq.

— At Cape Coast Castle, Ensign Charles S. Lizars, of the Royal African Colonial corps.

4. At the manse of Kingussie, the Rev. John Robertson, minister of that parish, in the 68th year of his age, and 38th of his ministry.

6. At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Morton, merchant, North Bridge Street, in the 63d year of his age.

— At Hatton, Warwickshire, the Rev. Dr Parr.

— At Edinburgh, Catherine, wife of Matthew Norman Macdonald, Esq. W.S.

7. George Somerville, Esq. of Airhouse, aged 76.

8. At Arbroath, in the 28th year of her age, Mrs Mary Hay, spouse of James Mill, Esq. of Woodhill.

— At Edinburgh, William Oliver Russell, second son of Professor James Russell.

— At St Andrew's, Dr Thomas Melville.

9. Elizabeth W., youngest daughter, and on the 23d current, Archibald, fourth son of Mr John Johnstone, junior, S.Sc., No. 1, George Street, Edinburgh.

— At Munro Place, near Portobello, suddenly, Mr Daniel Munro, sen. aged 64.

At Howard place, Edinburgh, Captain Thomas Hamilton.

10. Mrs Janet Mason, relict of Mr Andrew Wilson, late merchant in Edinburgh.

— At Coldstream, aged 65, Captain

John McLaren, late adjutant of the Berwickshire regiment of militia.

11. At Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Orr, wood-merchant.

— At his daughter's house, Kettleston-hill, near Linlithgow, Mr David Brash, in the 93d year of his age. He has left eight children; the youngest 44 years, who all attended his funeral; 34 grandchildren, and a number of great grandchildren.

12. At Haddington, James Walkie, Esq. of Rathobrycs.

— At his seat, Firahill, Droxford, Hants, aged 47, Charles Powell Hamilton, Esq. Admiral of the Red.

13. At Bath, Capt. Alexander Campbell, R. N. third son of the late John Campbell, Esq. of Glensaddle and Newfield, and grand nephew of the late great General John, seventeenth Earl of Craufurd and fourth of Lindsay.

— At Aberdeen, Helen Walker, aged 84, daughter of the late George Walker, advocate, Aberdeen.

— Drowned, while swimming across Macquarrie River, van Diemen's Land, Mr John Scott, lately builder, Brown Street, Edinburgh.

15. At Glasgow, the Rev. Dr William Taylor, of St Enoch's, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. His loss is deeply and generally lamented.

— At Arbroath, Mr John Croal, builder, in the 67th year of his age.

— At 27, Frederick Place, Hampstead Road, London, John Brodie, Esq.

16. At Glasgow, Mrs Margaret Thomson, wife of Dr Robert Freer, Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic, Glasgow.

17. At her house in Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Maitland Makgill, of Rankelour, widow of the Hon. Frederick Lewis Maitland, Captain in the R. N., son of Charles, sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

— At her house, Tay Street, Dundee, in the 84th year of her age, Miss Mary Scrymgeour, daughter of the late Alexander Scrymgeour, Esq. of Tealing.

18. At her house, in Hope Street, Mrs Barbara Murray, relict of Dr Andrew Reidell.

— At his house in St Ann's Yard,

Mr Robert Playfair, S. S. C. aged 73 years.

19. At Kintradwell, in Sutherlandshire, Hugh Houston, Esq. of Creech.

— At her house, No. 32, Great King Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Gillies, senior.

— Sir Ralph Millbanke Noel, Bart. who, having no male issue, is succeeded by his nephew, now Sir John Peniston Milbanke, of Halnaby Hall, Yorkshire.

21. At London, Sir James Graham, Bart. M. P. for Carlisle.

— At Aberdeen, aged 88 years, after a short but severe illness, Mr Patrick Booth, the oldest merchant in that place.

— At house, in Aberdeen, Alex. Anderson, Esq. of Bourtie, aged 80.

— At Chelsea, near London, the Rev. Duncan Robertson, D. D.

22. At 10, West George Street, Glasgow, Mrs Arthur, relict of Mr Thomas Arthur, late merchant in Glasgow.

— Mr George Skirving, late of Monktonhall.

23. At Springfield, near Gretna Green, aged 88, Mr John Millar, senior, and father of the firm of Messrs Millar, the extensive cattle-dealers from Aberdeen to London. He was one of the oldest cattle-dealers of the Border, and had crossed the Solway Firth more than two thousand times, before the erection of the metal bridge at Garristown.

— At Glasgow, John Bell, Esq. of Milnfield.

— At Russel Mains, Finlay Macfarlane, Esq. late one of the members of the House of Assembly, and Comptroller of Tobago.

In the vicinity of London, Lieut. James Beattie Glennie, in the Hon. East India Company's service, eldest son of the Rev. Dr Glennie, Marischal College, Aberdeen.

24. At Leith, Mrs Margaret Metcalf, wife of John Sibbald, Esq.

— At Clunie House, Strathitay, Perthshire, Miss Stewart, of Clunie.

— At Edinburgh, aged 23 years, John Manley Wemyss, R. N. second son of Lieut. Col. Wemyss, of Wemyss Hall.

— At Charlton, Kent, Major Gen. Miller, late of the Royal Artillery, in the 68th year of his age.

20. At Cambo, Northumberland, Helen, wife of Mr Orr, surgeon there, and daughter of the late Mr Duncan, baker, Edinburgh.

— At Gatchouse, James Credie, Esq. Provost of that burgh.

25. At his house, North Frederick-street, Edinburgh, George Bruce, Esq. of Langlee, late one of the Depute-Clerks of Session.

— At Gartur, Miss Anne Erskine, daughter of the late James Erskine of Cardross, Esq.

— At West Kilbride, after a short illness, Mrs Hunter of Kirkland.

26. At Stranraer, James Caird, Esq. of Drumfadt, writer in Stranraer, and Secretary for the Hon. Commissioners for improving the harbour of Portpatrick.

27. At his house, George Square, Ninian Lewis, Esq. of Plean.

— At Bath, in the 46th year of his age, the Hon. and Rev. George Herbert, brother to the Earl of Carnarvon, and late Chairman of the Hampshire Quarter Sessions.

— Alexander, Earl of Balcarras, at his seat, Haigh Hall, Lancashire.

— At Falmouth, in Jamaica, Lieut. George Roderick Urquhart, of the 33d regiment of foot, second son of the late Rev. John Urquhart, of Mounteagle, minister of Fearn, in Ross-shire.

28. At Larkfield, near Stirling, Miss Jean Galloway, of Barrowmeadow.

— At his house, Westbridge, Kirkcaldy, on the 21st, John Stocks, Esq.; and, at her house, Towmead, Kinghorn, on the 28th, Mrs Christian Stocks, his mother.

— At Hampton Court Palace, Lady Elizabeth Seymour.

31. At Woburn Farm, near Oxford, in the 62d year of her age, Charlotte, wife of Vice-Admiral Stirling.

APRIL 1. At Mexico, Mary Hewitt, wife of Mr David Dick.

— At Minto Street, Newington, Edinburgh, Mansfield, daughter of the late Robert Forsyter, Esq. Treasurer to the Bank of Scotland.

— At Genoa, Lieut. Colonel Wauchope, of Melrose, married.

2. At Kingston, Jamaica, Matthew,

youngest son of James Lamont, of Knock-dow, Esq.

4. At Summerfield, near Haddington, Robert Dodds, Esq.

5. At Wick, Hugh Clunes Innes, aged 16, youngest son of James Innes, Esq. of Thrumster.

— Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Robertson, of Hallcraig, in the county of Lanark, much and universally regretted.

6. At Glasgow, John Baird, Esq. M.D. aged 51 years, after a long and protracted illness.

— At Aberdeen, in the 38th year of his age, Mr John Dorward, merchant, Montrose.

— At Elm Row, Mrs Janet Fogg Ireland, wife of Patrick Gillespie, M.D.

— At Hamburg, Mrs Stoddart, relict of the late Mr Thomas Stoddart, merchant there.

7. At Edinburgh, in the 28th year of her age, Mrs Peter Gray, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Robert Hutcheson, of Dalkeith.

— At Waterloo Cottage, near Dundee, Mrs Robert Millar, daughter of the late Provost Alexander Christie, of Montrose.

— At Port Glasgow, John Laird, jun. Esq. merchant there.

8. At Rosefield, near Dumfries, Mrs Janet Isabella Lundie, relict of Dr Andrew Wardrop, surgeon in Edinburgh.

— At Galashiels, Mrs Paterson, relict of Bailie Thomas Paterson, of Galashiels.

9. At her house, Bothwell, Mrs Marion Nasmith, relict of the late John Forbes Aikman, Esq. of Ross and Brometoun.

— In Clifford Street, London, at the house of her father, General Dunlop, M. P., Anna, wife of Captain Davies, of the Grenadier Guards; and on the 11th, their infant son.

10. At Port Glasgow, Mr James Lusk, aged 63 years. He filled the office of post-master there for 25 years.

— At his lodgings, in Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, London, Lieut.-Col. John Fraser, of the 60th regiment.

11. At Stewarston manse, the Rev. James Douglas, minister of that parish.

— At Eldon Rectory, near Wooler, Northumberland, aged 27, Mrs Johnston, wife of the Rev. John Johnston, Rector

of Ilderton, and daughter of the late Thomas White, Esq., of Primrose Barns, in the parish of Carrington, M.R.L.-thian.

12. At Melrose, Mr Archibald Anderson, late supervisor of Excise, aged 89 years.

13. At Makerstoun House, Sir Henry Hay Makdougall of Makerstoun, Bart.

14. At his father's house, Carnbee, Fifeshire, Robert Henderson, late student of Divinity, Edinburgh.

15. At Bath, Mary, wife of James Strachan, Esq.

Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Henry Percy, C. B., M.P., fifth son of the Earl of Beverly.

— At the Royal Circus, Edinburgh, Mrs Stewart, wife of Stair Stewart, Esq., of Physgill and Glasserton.

— At his house, India Street, Edinburgh, William M'Harg, Esq., of Kiers.

16. At 36, Castle Street, Edinburgh, Miss Catherine Barkly.

— At the seat of the Countess of Guilford, Putney Hill, where he was on a visit, Henry Fuseli, Esq., R. A. in the 86th year of his age. Mr Fuseli was a native of Zurich, in Switzerland, and, after having distinguished himself as a scholar at the University in that city, he travelled into Germany, and came to England, about the year 1764, with a view of gaining an honourable livelihood by his literary attainment. For twenty years Mr Fuseli has held the situation of Keeper of the Royal Academy, and filled the chair of Professor of Painting.

— John Bruce, Esq., of Grangehill and Falkland, at his seat of Nuthill, in the county of Fife, in the 82d year of his very active life. He was the heir-male and undoubted representative of the ancient family of Bruce of Earlsball, one of the oldest cadets of the illustrious house of Bruce; but he did not succeed to the estate of his ancestors, which was transferred by marriage into another family. He inherited from his father only the small property of Grangehill, near Kinghorn, the remains of a larger estate, which his family acquired by marriage with a grand-daughter of the renowned Kirkcaldy of Grange.

16. Mr Alexander Johnston, ironmonger, Edinburgh, in the 66th year of his age.

17. At 25, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Major-General Thomas William Kerr.

— At his house, 29, Gayfield Square, Edinburgh, Horatius Cannan, Esq. W. S.

18. At Balcurvie, Miss Beatson, of Balbairdie.

— At Glasgow, Mrs Margaret Livinstone, spouse of John Livinstone, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, and daughter of the late Robert Bell, Esq. advocate.

— At Glasgow, Herbert Buchanan, Esq. of Arden.

19. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mary Abercromby, second daughter of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, of Tullibody, K. B. and of Mary Anne, Baroness Abercromby.

20. At Montrose, Mrs David Whyte, aged 71 years.

21. At St Andrew's, Mrs Margaret Tod, wife of Mr David Balfour, writer, there.

— At Edinburgh, Mr William Wilson, late brewer, Portsmouth.

— At Singapore, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, Lieutenant William Dalzell, of the 34th regiment Bengal native infantry.

— At Brussels, aged 52, the Hon. Robert Annesley, many years his Majesty's consul at Antwerp, and next brother and heir presumptive to the Earl of Annesley.

22. At Tallow, county of Waterford, in consequence of a fall from his horse on the previous Wednesday, John Campbell, Esq., chief officer of police.

— At Sornberg, Marion, second daughter of the late Bruce Campbell, Esq., of Gayfield.

— At David Christie, merchant, Montrose, aged 73 years.

— At Brechin, Jane Burnett, in the 93d year of her age.

23. Miss Margaret Scott, 45, Prince's street, in the 90th year of her age.

— At London, William P. Williamson Esq., wine-merchant, Leith.

— At Muirtown, Miss Christian Bell, daughter of H. R. Duff, Esq. of Muirtown, in the 18th year of her age.

— At Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Jane

Drummond, wife of Lieutenant D. Mac-Arrian.

24. At Linlithgow, Miss Andrew, sister of the late Provost Andrew.

— At New Windsor, state of Maryland, Mrs Selkirk Bruce, relict of the late Mr Robert Dods, of Aurora, East Lothian, in her 74th year.

— At his house, Warriston Crescent, Robert Durie, Esq. of Craigluscar.

— At St Andrew's, Mr John Gunn.

— At the manse, of Monivaird, Mrs Jacobina Macduff, wife of the Rev. Colin Baxter.

25. At Kirkcaldy, Margery, eldest daughter of George Beveridge, wood-merchant there.

— At Greenhill House, Dingwall, Ross-shire, Rose, Lady of Captain Munro, late of the 42d Royal Highlanders.

26. At Columbo, in the island of Ceylon, Ensign Mackenzie, of his Majesty's 16th regiment of foot.

— At his house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London, the Right Hon. James Lord Glastonbury, in the 83d year of his age.

27. At Glasgow, Mr Alexander Wylie, cotton-yarn merchant.

— At Paris, M. Denon, so well known as the Director of the French Museum, and for his Travels in Egypt. On coming away from the sale of the pictures of M. Lepeyriere, he was seized with violent pains in the stomach, against which the succours of art were of no avail. In fifteen hours he was no more. This short illness terminated a long life.

— At Skene, in the 74th year of his age, George Skene, Esq., of Skene, and Carleton.

28. At Newburgh, John Anderson, aged 68, one of the Magistrates of that place.

— Mrs Mary Macqueen, wife of Archibald Dunlop, distiller Haddington.

29. At the house of her brother, Mile-end, in the neighbourhood of London, Mrs Henrietta Carruthers, eldest daughter of the late Robert Carruthers, Esq., of Edinburgh in Scotland.

— At Ardneave, Duncan Campbell, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, John Fraser, Esq. of Edinburgh, in the 54th year of his age.

29. At Edinburgh, Anne, third daughter of the late Mr Alexander Begbie of Leith.

30. At Edinburgh, Miss Ann Thornton, late of Fountainbridge.

— Helen Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart.

Lately, in St Vincent, West Indies, George Granville Forbes, second son of the late Dr Forbes, of the County of Sutherland.

— At Sierra Leone, Mr Peter Goulthard, a native of Dornock, Dumfriesshire, and master of the Briton, aged about 30 years, and much respected. The Briton sailed from Liverpool some time since, with a healthy crew of about twenty men, not one of whom lived to return to their native soil. A boy only of the whole crew survives.

May 1. At Kandy, of remittent fever, Alexander Moon, Esq. Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden, Ceylon.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret B. S. Kennedy, wife of John Kennedy, Esq. C. S. and youngest daughter of the late Neil Snodgrass, Esq. of Cunninghamhead.

— At Bickton House, Devon, after a few hours' illness, aged 77, the Hon. Lord Rolle, Baron Rolle.

3. At Peterhead, Mrs Majory Arbuthnot, daughter of the deceased Nathaniel Arbuthnot, Esq. of Hatton, in the 9th year of her age.

— At Nice, in Piedmont, Lieut. Gen. Matthew Baillie, late of Carnbroë.

— At Edinburgh, John Adamson, Esq. writer in Edinburgh.

— At his house, Grosvenor Street, London, Sir John Cox Hippesley, Bart.

— At Balmacellan manse, Major S. Brown.

— In the 32d year of his age, and 2d of his incumbency, the Rev. Robert Knox, minister of Ordequhill, deeply lamented by his parishioners.

4. At Dollar, William Drummond, Esq. of Balgonie and Balfour spinning mills, Fifeshire.

— At Peter Cottage, aged 44, William Alton, Esq. Sec. of Dumfriesshire.

— At his house in Curzon Street, London, Lieut. Gen. Brown, of the Hon. East India Company's service.

4. At 81, George's Square, Edinburgh, Patrick Bennet, of Whyteside, eldest and only surviving son of the late Rev. William Bennet, of Duddingston.

— At Arbroath, James Lousen, junr. Esq.

5. At 22, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, Lewis, youngest son of William Roy, Esq. of Nenthorn.

6. At Montrose, a poor woman, of the name of Elspit Bakers, at the advanced age of 100 years and five days. She retained all her faculties to the last.

— At West Barns, near Dunbar, G. May, Esq.

— At Berkeley Square, London, Lady Ann Bernard, widow of Andrew Bernard, Esq. the intimate friend of Dr Johnson. Her Ladyship was sister to the late Earl of Balcarres, and authoress of the ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," a poetic effusion which, for its beautiful simplicity, ranks among the first in the language.

— At Baldinnie, near Cupar Angus, Mr James Halkett, farmer, in the 83d year of his age.

— At Edinburgh, George Robinson, of Clermiston, Esq. W. S., Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer for Scotland.

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Helen Leslie, relict of the late John Henderson, Esq. of Caskieben, aged 75.

— At Little Mill, Dumbartonshire, Captain Walter Allan.

— At Ayr, Mr John Brackenridge, writer.

— At Trinity Grange, near Edinburgh, Mrs Isabella Chrystie, widow of William Simpson, of Ogil.

— At 3, North St David's Street, Edinburgh, Alexander Stevens, Esq. Larchill, Moffat, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Dumfries, in the 57th year of his age.

8. At Craill, Robert Murray, Esq.

— At 29, South Bridge, Edinburgh, Mary Ann, daughter of Thomas Ewing, teacher, aged 13 months.

— At Grange House, John Robert Bell, third son of George Joseph Bell, Professor of the Law of Scotland, in the University.

— Mr Alexander Fraser, merchant, Edinburgh, in the 70th year of his age.

8. At Raploch, near Stirling, Mr William Bow, preacher of the gospel, aged 91; and, on the evening of the same day, his brother James Bow, aged 85. It is also worthy of remark, that a sister died about three months ago, aged 83. The three ages united amount to nearly 260 years.

— At Cuddapah, Madras, Captain H. Miller, of the 8th regiment, N. I.

9. At Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Mrs Robina Wallace, wife of Alex. Spence, Esq., and daughter of the late John Wallace, Esq. of Damhead.

— At Dumbarton, Mr William Finlay, rector of the grammar-school.

— At Dumfries Park, near Doonholm, Mrs Elizabeth Campbell, aged 89, relict of Mr Thomas Woodhouse, late merchant in Ayr.

10. At Restalrig House, near Edinburgh, in the 80th year of her age, Mrs Duncan, relict of the late Alex. Duncan, Esq. of Restalrig.

11. At 5, Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, Mr John Greig, bookseller.

— At Newabbey, James, eldest son of William Stewart, Esq. of Shambelly.

12. At Finlayston House, Archibald Campbell, Esq. aged 71.

— At North Leith, Anna Brown, relict of Capt. William Beatson, aged 71.

— At Newton House, Alexander Laing, Esq.

— At Glasgow, in his thirty-fifth year, Walter Davidson, Esq. late of St Giles, near Quebec.

13. At Knote, after a few days' illness, the Earl of Whitworth.

14. At Edinburgh, Mrs Marion Freer, widow of the Rev. Dr George Smith, minister of Galston, Ayrshire.

— At Trichinopoly, Lieutenant Alex. Gordon Donaldson, of the fifth regiment of Madras cavalry, eldest son of Dr Donaldson, physician, Ayr.

15. In her 91st year, Mrs Jane Ross Tyrie, wife of Mr John Watt, merchant, Leith.

16. At Dalkeith, aged 36, Catherine Graham, wife of James Alexander, Esq. banker.

— At Invergowrie, James Clapham, Esq. of Invergowrie.

— At Laverock Bank Cottage, Trinit



by, Mary Telfer, relict of Mr Taylor, Customs, Leith.

— At the manse of Robertson, the Rev. James Hay, minister of that parish.

19. At Montreal, Charles Luisiani, Esq. aged 106 years and seven months. He was born at Florence on October 1718. He married when 70, and had six children.

— At Morningside, Eliza, youngest daughter of John Mitchell, Esq. Doune, Perthshire.

— At Humble, parish of Kirkliston, Alexander Dudgeon, Esq.

— At Lasswade, Thomas Dundas Stirling, Esq. youngest son of the late Sir John Stirling of Glorat, Bart.

20. At Deal, H. McCulloch, Esq. brother of John McCulloch, Esq. of Barholme, in the county of Galloway, and of Captain McCulloch, of his Majesty's ship Ramilies.

— At Cupar, Mrs Robina Coutts, wife of Dr James Spence, physician, Cupar.

22. At his house, Greenbank, Robert Maxwell, Esq. Provost of Rutherglen.

— Suddenly, at Hampstead, Mr D. Corri, well known as a composer and teacher of eminence, for the last 50 years, in London and Edinburgh.

— At manse of Strichen, after a long and severe illness, in the 75th year of her age, Mrs Agnes Anderson, relict of the late Rev. Andrew Youngson, minister of Aberdeen.

— At Meerut, Lieutenant William Beveridge, of the Honourable East India Company's service, Bengal establishment, eldest son of the late William Beveridge, Esq. W.S.

23. At Kingston, Jamaica, Mr William Welsh, youngest son of the late William Welsh, Esq. of Mossfennan.

— At Bath, the Right Honourable James Caulfield Brown, Lord Kilmaine, aged 61.

24. At Queensferry, Archibald Douglas Stewart, Esq. Surgeon.

— At Leith, in the 65th year of her age, Mrs Jean Dobbie, relict of Mr James Gilchrist, Barrister-at-law.

— At Clifton, Miss Adeline Buchanan, daughter of the late George Buchanan, Esq. of Kelso.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Helen Ruan-

sel, wife of Mr William McLean, merchant.

25. At Bristol, in his 72d year, John Ryland, D.D. pastor of the Baptist Church, and theological tutor of the Baptist Academy there.

26. At Craigie, Mrs Anna McPherson, wife of Mr Archibald Fyfe, Weekly Chronicle Office.

27. At Colinton Bank, Susannah Masterson, only child of Mr Logan, W.S.

28. At Craggan, Captain James Grant, of Ballinab, in the 88th year of his age.

29. At Picardy Place, Edinburgh, Jane, youngest daughter of James Harvey, Esq. of Castle Semple.

— At New House, near North Berwick, in his 80th year, Mr Alexander Miller.

— At Pitcorthy, Fifeshire, Miss Jane Ross, third daughter of David Ross, Esq. deceased, eldest son of the late Lord Ankererville.

— At Greenock, John Alexander, Esq.

30. At sea, in the Bay of Bengal, on board the ship Providence, on her passage from the East Indies, Mrs Smith, aged 27 years, wife of John Smith, Esq. of Drongan, Ayrshire, and of the firm of Messrs Fergusson and Co. Calcutta.

— At Lichfield, in the 78th year of his age, General Vyse, colonel of the 3d, or Prince of Wales's dragoon guards.

31. At Baker's Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Mr John Gibson, builder, much regretted by his friends and very numerous acquaintance.

— At London, aged 82, George Chalmers, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. Chief Clerk of the Office of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations; author of Caledonia, and various other works.

— At Glasgow, Alexander Riddell, Esq.

— At Aberdeen, Lieutenant William Willox, of the royal Artillery, aged 63 years.

Lately, at Senna, Southern Africa, Mr George Kilpatrick, Surgeon, B.N. son of Mr George Kilpatrick, Cringstock, Glasgow. In June, 1823, a party, consisting of Mr Forbes, botanist, sent out by the Horticultural Society of London, Lieutenant C. Brown, and Mr Kilpatrick,

both of H.M.S. *Lever*, on a voyage of Survey along the eastern coast of Africa, under the command of Captain W.F.W. Owen, volunteered their services on an inland expedition, to explore the river Zambezi or Cuama, and the country adjacent. They were next to have proceeded through the heart of the country to Latokoo, where the English Missionaries reside, thence to Cape Town. They had not proceeded far up the river, when Mr Forbes fell a victim, and soon after their landing at Senna his two comrades shared his untimely fate.

— At Ardersier, in the 80th year of his age, Jas. Macpherson, Esq.

— At Kentish Town, aged 69, after a long indisposition, Mr Vincent Dowling. Mr Dowling had been for upwards of forty years connected with the public press in England and Ireland.

— On the homeward-bound passage from China, Capt. A. H. Campbell, of the Hon. Company's ship *Duke of York*.

— In Essex, Charles Williamson, Esq. student of medicine at the University of Edinburgh.

— On board the ship *Simpson*, on his passage from Bombay to London, Captain James Macallum, of the 4th regiment native infantry, Bombay establishment, in the 32d year of his age.

— At Kilmpatrick Fleming, Mary Scott, better known by the name of "Old Mally," at the very advanced age of 99. Mally kept a small public house, and by her attention to those frequenting it to spend a cheerful hour, and civil and obliging manners, she gained the respect and esteem of the whole neighbourhood. It is somewhat singular, that Mally sold a dram, and resided in the same house in which she died, for the long period of 81 years.

— In St Cathbert's Charity Work-house, John Birrell, aged 75. This individual sailed round the world with Captain Cook, and fought under General Wolfe in America. It is understood that his mother is still alive, being upwards of 100 years old, and resides in the parish of Falkland.

— At Cairnbrock, Wigtownshire, John Ross, Esq. of Cairnbrock.

— At sea, Mr John Hay, second

officer of the *Charles Grant*, East India-man.

— At Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Finch Hatton.

— At Greenwich, Major-General George Bridges, of the royal engineers.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Reay, relict of the Rev. John Reay, of St Peter's Episcopal Chapel, Montrose.

— At Scouthall, Captain James Gunn, late of the 93d regiment of foot.

— At Madras, Captain Felix Robson, in the service of the East India Company, on the Madras establishment.

3. At Dunlachie, Patrick Henderson, Esq.

4. At St Andrew's, Lawrence Gillespie, Esq. Assistant Commissary-General to the Forces.

— At Glasgow, Captain John Campbell, R. N.

5. At Auchtermool, Henry Spears, Esq. in his 59th year.

— At Fort William, in the East Indies, in consequence of an accident in a buggy, with a restive horse, Lieutenant Colonel H. R. Browne, commanding his Majesty's 87th regiment.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Sutherland, late merchant in Golspie, Sutherlandshire.

6. At sea, on a voyage to St Helena, where he was going for the recovery of his health, Major John Ross Cleghorn, of the engineers, H. E. I. C. service, Madras, eldest son of Hugh Cleghorn, Esq. of Stravathie.

— At Kincardine, John McLeay, Esq. surgeon, R. N., in the 33d year of his age.

7. At Edinburgh, in the house of his grandmother, Lady Ramsay of Balmain, Alexander Ramsay Renny, second son of Alexander Renny Tailyour of Borrowfield.

— At the Presidency, Madras, Colonel James Erskine, C. B. of his Majesty's 48th foot.

— At Indore, of cholera, John Warner, Esq. surgeon of the 13th regiment, native infantry.

8. At Edinburgh, Sir William Ogilvie, Bart. heir-male of the family of Boyne, whose claim to the Barony Peerage is now in dependence before the house of Lords.

— At Portobello, Ann Flora McCal-

lism, daughter of the late Alex. M'Callum, Esq., of Lucea, Jamaica.

8. Ann, daughter of Hugh Cleghorn, Esq. of Stravithie.

9. At London, in the 82d year of his age, the Rev. Abraham Rees, D.D. F.R.S. editor of the *Cyclopaedia, &c. &c.*

— At Taunton, Dr Angus Macdonald, physician there.

11. At Dumbarton, Bailie John Laing, merchant.

— At Clury, in Strathspey, Ranald Macdonald, Esq. late of Gellovie.

— At Langside house, James Bartram, Esq. writer in Peebles.

— At Worthing, in the 73d year of her age, the Hon. Mrs Lionel Damer.

12. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Howison, relict of Mr James Laing, merchant, Lawnmarket.

— At Liverpool, Alexander Gilfillan, Esq. in the 33d year of his age.

— At Elmfoot, Little Govan, John Knox, Esq. writer in Glasgow.

— At George Town, Demerara, aged 25, Mr James Macgregor, merchant, only son of Mr Macgregor, St Andrew's Square. He was a most dutiful son, just and honourable in all his transactions. He is much and justly regretted.

— At Arcot, in the presidency of Madras, Mary Ann Cathcart, wife of Alexander Bruce, Esq. youngest son of Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, Baronet.

13. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Seymour, wife to Frederick Seymour, Esq. and third daughter of the Earl of Aboyne.

— At Paris, Captain Alexander Renny, R. N.

— At Bathgate, aged 75 years, Mr John Dick, merchant there.

14. At Paris, M. Grappe, one of the advocates of the Royal Court, and Professor of the Code of Civil Law in the University of Paris.

— At the manse of Clyne, Sutherlandshire, the Rev. Walter Ross, minister of that parish.

— At Rortobello, Mrs Margueretta Jane Lauriston, youngest daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Lauriston, of the Hon. the East India Company's service.

14. James Tod, Esq. Burton, Ringwood, Hants, in his 80th year.

15. At Lansdown Place, London, James Forsyth, Esq. in the 66th year of his age.

— At Upplin school-house, near Perth, in the 67th year of his age, and the 44th of his incumbency, Mr John Peddie, parish schoolmaster of Aberdalgie.

— At Inveresk, Mrs Home, relict of the late Admiral Roddam Home, of Longformacus.

— At Castla Douglas, Mr Samuel Cochran, aged 83 years.

— At Leith, Mr Charles Roberts, master in the royal navy, in the 86th year of his age.

16. At Greenock, William Campbell, Esq. writer, and many years town clerk.

— At Gogar Bank, Mr Charles Edward De Caffranne, teacher of foreign languages at the Academy at Dollar.

— At Culross, Mrs Christian Davidson, wife of Mr S. Davidson, surgeon.

— At Kilbride manse, island of Arran, the Rev. John Stuart, minister of that parish, in the 73d year of his age, and 50th of his ministry.

— At Edinburgh, Miss G. Drysdale, daughter of the late Mr Alexander Drysdale, merchant in Edinburgh, and niece of the late Rev. Dr Hugh Blair.

17. At Glasgow, John Ritchie Wallace, Esq. M.D.

18. On the Arracan river, J. Cochrane, Esq. M. D., son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane, of the Royals, Assistant-Surgeon on the Madras establishment, one of the many victims of the pestilential climate of the recently conquered kingdom of Arracan.

21. At sea, on his passage to Italy, Allan Fowlds, Esq. of Shermeland.

22. At Buenos Ayres, near Lisbon, Mary Barbara, the Lady of James Charles Duff, Esq. of Lisbon.

23. On his passage to England from Bombay, aged 48, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis French Staunton, C.B. aide-de-camp to the Governor-General of India, and late Commandant of Ahmednagar.

— At Cape Coast Castle, Africa, Lieutenant John Oxley, of the Royal African colonial corps; and lately, aged 17, Colin.

his son, became also a victim to that unhealthy climate. This meritorious officer was a native of Montrose, and was promoted from the ranks entirely by his own merit, and at all times stood in the highest estimation with his superior officers.

27. At Bencoolen, Mrs Christina Nicolson, wife of William Scott, Esq. of Benang.

28. At Harrowgate, Lieutenant Alex. Graham, of the 17th regiment of foot, second son of Lieutenant-General Graham Stirling, of Duchray and Auchyle.

29. At Nagpore, Alex. Fraser Mac- Jauchlan, assistant surgeon in the Madras establishment, eldest son of the Rev. James MacJauchlan, Moy.

Lately, Professor Pictet, of Geneva. He was born in 1752, and succeeded the celebrated Sature in the chair of philosophy in 1786. He is well known to Europe.

— At Rangoon, in the Burman empire, J. Spottiswoode Trotter, Esq. Captain in the 16th regiment of native infantry, and Commander of the force of Madras pioneers. After a service of 20 years in various countries of the East, and in many campaigns, in which he bore a distinguished part, this gallant officer fell a victim at last to fever, brought on by fatigue and over exertion in the late conflicts with the Burmese.

— At Port-Glasgow, John M'Murtrie, Esq. Chief Magistrate.

— At Tullyallan, the Hon. Mary Elphinstone, in her 85th year.

— At her house, Penbedw, Flintshire, Mrs Williams, relict of Major Williams, many years M.P. for Flintshire. Mrs Williams, and her sister, Lady Cotton, were married on the same day, were widows in the same year, and died in the same week, in the same house.

— At Reane, in her 46th year, the Princess Borghese, formerly Paulina Buonaparte, the favourite sister of Napoleon, after a long and severe illness.

JULY 1. At Calcutta, George Proctor, Esq. Secretary to the Medical Board, and Surgeon to the Presidency there, son of the late Patrick Proctor, Esq. Glamis.

— In Portman Street, London, Vice-Admiral John Clements.

2. At Delwack, Captain Peter Grant,

of the 1st regiment Royal Scots, on half pay.

— At Glasgow, Morehead Loudon, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Mr John M'Lean, fishing-rod maker, North Bridge.

— At Haddington, Miss Mary Maitland, daughter of the late Capt. Thomas Maitland, of Soutra.

3. At Kilmarnock, Mr John Thomson, son of the late John Thomson, Esq. and of the house of John Thomson and Sons, carpet manufacturers there.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Mary Sarah Grant, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Louis Grant, of Aucherniche.

— At Sanquhar, William Broom, Esq. late merchant there.

— At Greenlaw, Berwickshire, Mr Thomas Johnston, merchant in Greenlaw, aged 65 years.

4. At his house, Grosvenor Place, London, the Right Hon. Lord Lilford.

5. At Hayston, Mrs Catherine Russell, in her 79th year.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Drummond, wife of John Moncreiff, Esq. No. 7, York Place.

6. At the manse of Gladsmuir, Mrs Elizabeth Dickson, spouse of the Rev. Dr George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmuir.

7. At Havre de Grace, Mr Joseph Fell, junior, in the 22d year of his age.

— At Madeira, Robert Young, Esq. merchant in Glasgow.

9. At Edinburgh, Mary, eldest daughter of the late John Dalrymple, Esq. of Lingo.

10. At the Rectory House, Quarley, near Andover, Hants, Mrs Agnes Mackie, relict of the late William Mackie, Esq. of Ormiston, East Lothian.

11. At Glenearn, Charles Husband, Esq. younger of Glenearn; only son of Charles Husband, Esq. of Glenearn, Sheriff-substitute of Perthshire.

— At Crosby, Charles Grant, Esq. of Barwood House, Lancashire.

— At St Andrew's, Mrs Harriet Hill, widow of Principal Hill.

— At his residence on Staten Island, D. C. Tomkins, Esq. late Vice-President of the United States.

— At Sierra Leone, Thos. Inglis, Esq.

Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, son of the Rev. William Inglis, Dumfries.

12. At her house, Brown's Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Sarah Cleghorn, in the 27th year of her age, and in the perfect possession of her mind.

— At his house, Hillhousefield, Mr Robert Bayne, merchant in Leith.

— At Glasgowfield, Thomas Stewart, Esq. of Westforth.

13. At Cupar, Miss Margaret Horsburgh, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Horsburgh, Sheriff clerk of Fife.

— At Foss, Alexandrina Charlotte, fourth daughter of Joseph Stewart Menzies, Esq. of Eoss.

— At Winchester, Capt. James Mackay, of the 70th regiment.

14. At Clapham, Surrey, Capt. Ogilvie Stuart, of the Cape corps.

— At Edinburgh, aged 11, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late William Scott, Esq. Receiver-General of the Isle of Man.

— At Viewforth Cottage, near Leith, William Graham, Esq. of Orchill.

— At Arracan, aged 22, Ensign Charles Hutchinson, of the Honourable East India Company's 42d regiment, native infantry, Bengal Presidency, youngest son of the late Mr Hutchinson, commander of his Majesty's revenue cutter Nepean.

15. At Edinburgh, Henrietta Nimmo, third daughter of John Wardrop, Esq. No. 103, George Street.

— At Southbar, Boyd Alexander, Esq.

16. Mr John Milne, spirit-dealer, Pleasance, Edinburgh.

— After a short illness, the Rev. Dr Moutain, the Bishop of Quebec.

17. At his house, in James's Square, London, the Most Noble William Beauchamp, Duke of St Albans, Hereditary Grand Falconer of England, in the 60th year of his age.

— At Hanwell Paddock, the Rev. Dr Bond, one of the Magistrates for the county of Middlesex.

— At Edinburgh, Francis Fraser, solicitor, Supreme Courts of Scotland.

18. At the manse of Wilton, in the vicarage of Bawtry, the Rev. Samuel Chatwin, D. D. is, or about the 24th year of his age, and 27th of his ministry.

18. At Duncanlaw, Mr John Hay, aged 70.

— At Brougham Hall, Lady Elliot, daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Earl of Minto, of Minto House, Roxburghshire.

— At Downpatrick, Ireland, Mr John Raeburn, late clerk of works in the Barrack Department, N. B.

— At Aberdeen, Mr Peter Stuart, surveyor of taxes in Aberdeen.

— At No. 24, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, Miss Janet Kennedy.

19. At Edinburgh, the Rev. James Hogg, well known for his great knowledge and successful teaching of civil law.

— At No. 79, George Street, Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Ruddiman, in the 71st year of his age.

— At Bo'ness, Captain Thomas Mitchell, late of the ship Magnet, son of Mr Tobias Mitchell.

— At Delving, Amelia Euphemia, youngest daughter of Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Bart.

— At Bonington Place, Mr Francis Taylor, shipmaster in Leith.

20. At Edinburgh, Mrs Susan Hay, wife of Mr David Cunningham, jeweller.

— At Edinburgh, Mr George Stewart, merchant, 113, High Street.

— On board his Majesty's ship Tamar, in the river Hoochley, James Kirkpatrick, eldest son of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Bart.

21. At St Domingo, aged 30 years, Captain Archibald Black, a native of Greenock.

— At Daftmill, in the parish of Collesie, Elizabeth Jamphray, in the 101st year of her age.

— At No. 3, Crescent, Perth, George Seton, Esq.

22. At West Linton Manse, Catherine Hunter, only daughter of the Rev. Alex. Forrester.

— At Kilpatrick-parish, the Rev. Duncan Stewart Singer, in the 31st year of his age.

— At the manse of Auchterderrah, Mrs Mackie, aged 90.

24. At London, Sir Alexander Grant, Bart.

25. At Dalawinton, Dumfriesshire, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord Ralston.

25. At Brighton, in the 90th year of her age, Mary Stewart, eldest daughter of William Stewart, Esq. of Sloan Street, London, formerly of Inverkeithing.

— At Beith, after a short illness, Mr John Barr, writer.

— At Dalswinton, near Dumfries, Mrs Erskine, of Mawr.

— At Aberdeen, in the 66th year of his age, James Stewart, Esq. R.N. late of Barrack, the last of the surviving sons of John Stewart, Esq. formerly Professor of Mathematics, Marischal College, Aberdeen.

— At his house, Leith, Henry Gutzmer, Esq. at the advanced age of 87, much and justly regretted.

— At Tower Bank, Portobello, Mrs Elizabeth Ann Hay, aged 83, widow of the late John Turnbull, Esq. of Portobello Tower.

26. At Annfield, Newhaven, William Jamieson, Esq. W.S. of Rosefield, Portobello.

— At Davenport Barracks, Lieutenant William P. Baird, of the 24th regiment.

— James Gentle, Esq. late of Demerara, on his passage from Trinidad to London.

— At Bath, Lady Leslie, widow of Sir Edward Leslie, of Tarbert, Bart.

27. At Grove House, John Bonar, Esq.

— At Linktown of Kirkaldy, Mr Alex. Shaw, late Supervisor of Excise.

— At Stewarton, Mr Andrew Wylie, surgeon.

— At North Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, John Wilson Horne, Esq. of the Bank of Scotland.

— Henry Malcolm, of Clapham, Surrey, in the 22d year of his age, in consequence of a short illness, caused by misplaced affections on a public singer of much notoriety, who is now on the eve of marriage to another.

28. At Ormiston, John Miller, Esq. St John's Street, Edinburgh.

— At Cromarty, Mrs Barbara Rose, spouse of Walter Rose of Nigg.

— At Bombay, Colonel Cooper, Commandant of Engineers.

— James Taylor, Esq. of Elliesland, Dumfriesshire, brother of the late John Taylor, Esq. of Liverpool.

— At Mexico Bank, Hamilton, Mrs

Ann Hutton, relict of John Bryson, Esq. of Sheriff-faulds, late Sheriff-substitute in Lanarkshire.

— At the Burn, John Shand of Arnhall, Esq. aged sixty-six. This gentleman, in early life, in consequence of his want of experience, when he succeeded to his father and commenced business as a wine-merchant, was involved in difficulties, which led him to leave the country abruptly and go to Jamaica, where he entered on a new life, unfriended, and without a shilling in his pocket. Stimulated to exert the powers of a mind naturally strong, by the pride of principle and a feeling of ingenuous shame, he tasked himself to the most severe application, in the acquisition of general as well as of professional knowledge, and, being sober and temperate in his habits, of strict integrity, and of a very independent spirit, he laid, gradually and imperceptibly, a sure foundation for that distinction to which he afterwards attained in the island. Having acquired a competent fortune, he returned again to his native country, after an absence of thirty-three years, and one of his first acts was to insert an advertisement in the newspapers, desiring all who had suffered by him in his early life, to give in their claims against him, which were paid, principal and interest, without deduction, as soon as they were presented; and so extremely anxious was he that every person should receive compensation in full, that he was at pains, by correspondence and agency, to trace and find out the heirs and representatives of all the foreign houses with which he had had dealings, the very names of whose partners would never have been heard of again, after the convulsions that had taken place in Europe, but for his own information and exertions. Having disposed of a part of his fortune in this way much to his own satisfaction, with another part he purchased the estates of Arnhall and the Burn, in Kincardineshire, on which, during the remainder of his life, he continued generally to reside. In embellishing and still more highly ornamenting the beautiful place of the Burn, he put full exertion to his cultivated taste, and in improving the lands at Arnhall.

found an employment equally suitable to his active mind, by converting extensive tracts of barren and useless mosses, the sight of which was offensive to the eye, and the vapours arising from them injurious to the health, into pasture grass and regular arable fields, by judicious drainage. These extensive operations, carried on during a succession of years, afforded employment and bread to a number of the industrious and labouring poor in his neighbourhood, which to him was a higher source of gratification than even the increased value of his property, from the money thus beneficially expended. Such was his public conduct, in which only the public can take an interest, as an example deserving of imitation. The kind affections of his heart, and the social virtues that endeared him to his private friends and acquaintances, are best recorded in their memories, and will not be forgotten till they shall be as he now is.

29. At Hillside, in the parish of St. David's, Jamaica, John Weir Thomson, youngest son of the late William Thomson, of Birkenhead, Esq. Leshmahagow.

— At her son's house, Manor Place, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, aged sixty-three, Mrs Catherine Hamilton, relict of Daniel Ramsay of Falla, for many years a merchant in this city.

— At her house in Howe Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Christian Armstrong, relict of Robert Boyd, Esq. of Drum.

— At Port Glasgow, Richard Brown, Esq.

30. At Burrowloch, near Edinburgh, Mrs Isabella Menzies, relict of the late Mr Hugh McGregor, merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Pilrig House, Mrs Anne Mackintosh, spouse of James Balfour, Esq. of Pilrig, W.S.

— At Leith, Mr Peter Hardie, merchant.

30. At Waulk Mill, Musselburgh, Mr James Connell, aged sixty-seven.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Anne Mackenzie, relict of the late Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. formerly of Torriden.

— At Newton Mearns, the Rev. Thos. Scott, minister of the parish of Newton.

— At Falklands, George Cunningham, Esq. of Langmuir.

30. At Renton, near Dumbarton, Mr John Corrie, accountant, Glasgow.

— At Cowes, the Right Hon. the Earl Craven, the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Berks, Recorder of Coventry, and a Lieutenant General in the army, in the 55th year of his age. His Lordship married 12th Dec. 1807, Miss Brunton of Covent Garden Theatre, and has 1st issue Viscount Uffington, (now Earl Craven,) another son, and a daughter; the latter born 26th June 1815.

31. At this house here, Dame Elizabeth Graham, relict of the late Sir Robert Dalryell, Bart. of Binns.

AUGUST. In Westmoreland, Jamaica, Dr John Nisbet.

— On the Jamaica station, John Sinclair, Esq. Assistant Surgeon, H. M. S. Py-lades, son of Mr D. Sinclair, Kinloch Rannoch, justly and deeply regretted.

1. At Cawnpore, Wm. Edward Paget, infant son of Francis Sievwright, Esq. Assistant Surgeon of his Majesty's 59th regiment of foot.

— At Albany Street, North Leith, Mrs Wright, widow of the late Colonel Robert Wright of the royal artillery.

— At Kingle Park, of apoplexy, her Grace the Duchess of Dorset.

— At Dirnanear, aged eighty-six, Andrew Small, Esq. of Dirnanear.

— At Eastertyre, Robert Mackglashan, Esq. of Eastertyre.

— At Canterbury, Lieut. General Disborough of the Royal Marines.

2. At St Germain's, David Anderson, Esq. of St Germain's, aged 75.

— At Thurso, Mr William McLean, merchant there, aged 86.

— At Up-Park Camp, Jamaica, Lieut. and Adjutant James Deans, of the 92d regiment.

3. At Gurrawarah, Ensign Thomas Irving, of the 1st regiment Bengal native infantry, eldest son of Lieut. Colonel James Irving, Chessell's Court, Edinburgh.

— At Ardgowan, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart. Lord Lieutenant of the county of Renfrew.

— At his residence, Northside, Clapham Common, Thomas Newton, Esq. of Warwick Square, London. He was many years agent to the provincial press,

and a man highly respected by a numerous circle of friends, by whom his loss will long be severely felt and deeply lamented.

3. At Alehousehill, James Reid, Esq. aged 82.

— At Forres, aged 48 years, George M'Intosh, Esq. merchant, one of the Magistrates of that burgh.

— At 10, St Anthony's Place, Mr John Stirling, writer.

4. At Leith, Mrs Thomson, relict of Mr James Thomson, builder.

5. At his house, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, Andrew Bonnar, Esq. of Finmergham, banker, in the 78th year of his age.

— At her house, Miln's Court, Edinburgh, Miss Ann Hepburn.

6. At Anderston, aged 52 years, Mr John Duncan, inventor of the patent tannoufing machinery.

— At Montpellier, Burntsfield Links, Hugh Nimmo, Esq.

— At Dundee, Mr George Baxter, merchant, aged 79 years. He has left 5 children, 35 grandchildren, 16 great grandchildren, 25 nephews and nieces, 100 grand ditto, 61 great ditto.

— The Rev. Henry Muschet, minister of the gospel at Shettleston.

— At St Alban's Bank, near Hampton Court, in the 78th year of her age, Mrs Halifax, widow of Samuel, Lord Bishop of St Asaph.

— At his house, 6, Charlotte Square, Mr Charles Oman.

8. At Ramsgate, Sir John Sutton, K.C.B. Admiral of the White.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Campbell, widow of Matthew Campbell, Esq. Wigton.

— At 2, Frederick Street, Edinburgh, Miss Agnes Melliss, daughter of the deceased Patrick Melliss, late flesher in Edinburgh.

9. At Raeburn Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, Robert Morrison, Esq. architect.

— At Maravimas, Madeira, Lady Jardine, widow of Sir Alexander Jardine, Bart. of Applegarth, Dumfriesshire.

10. At his house in Thurso, Capt. Jas. Henderson, of the Ross, &c. militia.

10. At Glasgow, Miss Jean Govane, of Park of Drumquhassie, aged 79.

11. At her house in Irvine, Mrs Barbara Banatync, widow of the Rev. Dr James Steven, late minister of Kilwinning.

— At Mile End, near Glasgow, Mr Allan Clark, writer, Paisley.

— At Thorpe, Mr Samuel Birks, aged 100. He was the only person living in these parts who recollected hearing the late Rev. John Wesley preach, before he left College. This was on a visit which Mr Westley paid to Wentworth House, in company with his father, the Rector of Epworth, in 1733.

13. At New York, North America, William, eldest son of Mr Wm. Brodie, Selkirk.

— At Barnhill, Dumbartonshire, Miss Margaret Oliphant, eldest daughter of the late Rev. James Oliphant, minister, Dumbarton.

— At Cranshaws, Berwickshire, Mr John Bertram, farmer there, in his 79th year.

— At Barnhill, Perthshire, Mr David Rintoul, late writer in Edinburgh.

14. At Piershill Barracks, Samuel Scott, Esq. surgeon to the Carabineers.

— At Roxburgh Place, Edinburgh, Capt. William Black, of the 22d regiment of native infantry, late Assistant Quartermaster-General, and Secretary to the military fund at Bombay.

— At West Maitland Street, Mrs Mary Campbell, wife of Lieutenant John Kingston.

16. At Gillsland, John Newall, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's service, son of the late John Newall, Esq. of Barskeoch and Falsoun. He was much esteemed by all who knew him, and his death is sincerely and deeply lamented.

— At his house, Riego Street, Edinburgh, Mr George Minto, builder, aged 40 years, much regretted.

17. At Ayr, at the advanced age of 84 years, Serjeant John Holland, out pensioner of Chelsea Hospital, who served in the 7th or Queen's own dragoons, in Germany, and in the reign of George II. was engaged in the battle of Minden.



His father was killed in the battle of Falkirk, fighting against Prince Charles.

18. At 146, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, Catherine Dutchfield, relict of the late Dr Chapman; also, on the 14th, her grandson, Robert, infant son of the late Rev. James Simpson.

— At Aberdeen, aged 82, Jas. Brand, Esq. cashier to the Banking Company in Aberdeen.

— In the bloom of years, and with the fairest promise of a successful life, at Aracan, of fever caught in the discharge of his arduous duties with the army, to the inexpressible grief of his friends, James Watson Boyd, Esq. of the Honourable East India Company's service in the Presidency of Bengal.

19. At Ellieston, Mrs Tulloch, relict of the late Thomas Tulloch, Esq. of Elliestown.

20. At Mayfield, near Lochmaben, Mrs Marion Henderson, daughter of the late Robert Henderson, Esq. of Cleugh Heads, and wife of Capt. James Brown of Mayfield.

— At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. John Francis, Earl of Mar.

— In Portland Place, London, Admiral Lord Radstock, G.C.B. aged 72.

— At Nigapatam, James Smart, M.D. surgeon, Honourable East-India Company's service, Madras Establishment.

— At Manse of Cairney, the Rev. John Finlater, minister of that parish, in the 70th year of his age, and 30th of his ministry.

21. At Edinburgh, Miss Mackenzie, of Applecross.

— At his house, No. 6, Drummond Street, Edinburgh, Mr John Ewart, stables.

22. At N. 114, Leiston Place, Edinburgh, William, youngest son, and, on the 20th current, Agnes, eldest daughter of Mr James M'Naught, merchant.

— At Port Dairymple, Van Diemen's Land, Mrs Balfour, Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, of the 40th regiment.

— At Berrybank, Andrew M'Kay, Esq. in the 80th year of his age.

— At Aux Cayes, St Domingo, of bilious inflammatory fever, Mr Ebenezer Richardson, Jun. in the 23d year of his age.

22. At the house of his brother, Lord Hutchinson, Bulstrode Street, Manchester Square, London, the Earl of Donoughmore, a Peer of Great Britain, one of the original Representative Peers for Ireland, a Privy Councillor, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, General in the army, Governor of the county of Tipperary, &c. Never having been married, his titles and estates devolve upon his next brother, Lord Hutchinson, K.G.C.B. &c.

23. At Notting Hill, Charles, eldest son of William Robert Keith Douglas, Esq. M.P. aged two years and ten months.

— In Edinburgh, Jane Montague, the eldest daughter of John Cockburn, Esq.

— At London, Lady Elphinstone, widow of John, thirteenth Lord Elphinstone, and mother of the present Lord.

25. At Dundee, in the 62d year of his age, Mr Archibald Ogilvie, merchant, and for several years one of the magistrates of that town.

— At the Manse of Abbotshall, the Rev. William Anderson, minister of that parish, in the 52d year of his age.

26. At Duddingston House, Miss Charlotte Grant, daughter of the late William Grant, Esq. of Congalton.

27. At Mountainhall, William Brand, Esq. of Mountainhall, aged 100 years.

— At his house, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, after a long and painful illness, Alex. Manners, Esq. bookseller.

— At Loanhead, near Edinburgh, Janet M'Leod, spouse of Mr James Ironside, wood-merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Robert Mitchell, late deacon of the incorporation of fleshers, Edinburgh, aged 40.

— At Dundee, Ann, and on the 17th current, Margaret, daughters of the Rev. David Russell.

— At Auldcaithie, Miss Margaret Liston, daughter of the late Rev. Robert Liston, minister of Aberdour.

— At London, Mrs Core, wife of Mr Charles Henry Core, late merchant in Edinburgh.

28. At Buchlyvie, the Rev. William Speirs, pastor of the United Associate Congregation there, in the 35th year of his age and 18th of his ministry.

28. On Bath Estate, in the island of Dominica, aged 22 years, Mr Alexander Mackenzie, eldest son of Captain M'Leod of the Ross-shire militia.

— At Allonby, Walter, third son of Richard Mackenzie, Esq. W.S.

29. At Craichie, in the parish of Parton, Mr Robert Dempster, aged 95 years.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Wight, relict of Alexander Wight, Esq. advocate, formerly Solicitor-General of Scotland.

— At Inverary, Mr Donald M'Lean, merchant there.

31. At Greenock, suddenly, in the prime of life, Mrs Margaret Maxwell, wife of the Rev. William Auld.

— At No. 18, Kier Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Thomson, wife of Mr John Hill, merchant.

— At Portobello, Major James Davidson, late in the service of the Honourable East-India Company.

— At the Manse of Ormiston, Mrs Mary Johnston, wife of the Rev. John Ramsay.

— At Richmond, Virginia, U. S. William Campbell Kidd, A.M. &c. eldest son of James Kidd, D.D. Professor of Oriental Languages in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen.

Lately. At her house, Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, Miss Buchanan, eldest daughter of the late James Buchanan, Esq. of Drumpeller.

SEPTEMBER. At Penang, on his way from Calcutta to China, where he was going for the recovery of his health, John Trotter, Esq. junior, of the Honourable East India Company's civil service, and second son of Alexander Trotter, Esq. of Dreghorn.

1. At Glasgow, Miss Jean Duncan, daughter of Mr Andrew Duncan, printer to the University.

— At Glenfuir House, Helen Geddes, wife of Robert Graham, Esq. Whitehill.

2. At Cupar, Catharine, third daughter of Mr Horsburgh.

— At the Manse of Abernethy, Perthshire, Mrs Jane Gillespie, relict of the Rev. William Duncan, late minister of Abernethy.

— At North Luffenham House, Rutland, the Right Hon. Lady Ann Noel, aged 87, sixth daughter and last survi-

ving child of the late Baptist, Earl of Gainsborough. By her death, Sir Gerard Noel, Bart. her Ladyship's nephew, obtains an addition of £2000 a-year to his property.

2. At Aberdeen, William Shepherd, Esq. formerly one of the Bailies of that city, in the 89th year of his age.

— Killed in action with the Javanese, at Decharkee, near Samarang in Java, William Stephen Hammond, second son of the late Francis Hammond, of Lammas, Norfolk.

4. At Arracan, Lieut. George Ross, of the 20th regiment of native infantry, son of the late John Ross, Edinburgh.

— At her house, Melville Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Stuart, relict of the late Charles Stuart, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Hall, builder, Thistle Street.

5. Mrs Philadelphia Barbara M'Murdo, wife of Norman Lockhart, Esq. of Tarbrax.

— At Oban, Mrs Mary M'Larty, wife of William Campbell, late Collector of Customs there.

6. At his house, Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh, Mr James Borthwick, wire-worker, aged 37.

— In Montague Square, General Stevens, in the 83d year of his age.

— At Rims, Robert Montgomerie, Esq. of Bannahill.

7. At Singapore, at the house of H. Syme, Esq. of a fever caught on board the Honourable Company's ship Repulse, on her voyage from Bencoolen, Mr Samuel Caw, youngest son of the late Provost Caw of Perth.

— At North Park, Mrs Helen Bogle, wife of John Hamilton, Esq.

— At Kelso, Mrs Robson, relict of the late James Robson, Esq. of Sanistoun.

— At his seat, Weston, Staffordshire, in the 64th year of his age, the Right Hon. Orlando, Earl of Bradford, after a painful and lingering illness of nearly two years.

9. At Jersey, after a short illness, Thomas Dumaresq, Esq. Deputy Commissary-General.

— At Alborough, of the cholera morbus, after a short but very severe illness, the wife of John Tempest, Esq. and only

surviving sister of Henry, late Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G. &c.

9. At Glasgow, Mrs Sarah Riddell, relict of Mr John Shaw, bookseller in that city, and sister of the late Alexander Riddell, Esq.

— At 23, New Street, Canongate, Edinburgh, in her 17th year, Clementina, daughter of Mr John Ruthven.

— At Komek, Caramama, (the ancient Iconium) aged 52, Thomas Ayre Broomhead, Esq. late of Christ's College, Cambridge, only son of the Rev. Edward Broomhead of Rapham, near Lincoln. This enterprising traveller, after an absence of five years from his native country, was hastening homewards, when arrested by a sudden and fatal disease. He breathed his last with no other attendants than his foreign servants, or the uncivilized natives; and the sad satisfaction of knowing the closing events of his life seems denied to his numerous and deeply-sorrowing friends. One of the companions of Mr Broomhead's travels, the Rev. Joseph Cook, Fellow of Christ's College, died on a camel under almost as melancholy circumstances, near the Palm Trees of Elim, in March; and the other, Henry Lewis, Esq. R.N. after traversing Palestine in his company, parted from him at Bierut, in June, and returned to England. The same post brought his own cheerful letters from Damascus, and the official announcement of his death by the Porte.

10. At 7, Stafford Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Forster, widow of Thos. Gregson, Esq. of Blackburn.

— At Ayr, Mr John Gibb, merchant.

— At Edinburgh, W. M. Greig, second son of the Rev. C. Greig, St Nixian's.

— At Stirling, Mr Henry Redpath, watchmaker.

11. At Port-Glasgow, Alex. Watson, Esq. writer, in the 72d year of his age.

— At Bagueres de Biorre, department Hantes, Eyrenées, Ann Margaret, only child of Philip B. Ainslie, Esq.

12. At Richmond, Mrs Wellesley-Pole Long Wellesley.

— At Titchfield, Hants, James, fifth son of Admiral Sir Archibald Collingwood Dickson, Bart. of Sydenham.

13. At Cardoness, in the 89th year of his age, Sir David Maxwell, Bart.

— At her house, No. 121, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, Miss Catherine Gibson, daughter of the late Thomas Gibson, Esq. of Muirton.

— At Cooper's Hill, Surrey, Lord Langford, in the 63d year of his age.

— At Bognie, Westmoreland, Jamaica, in consequence of a fall from his horse, Benjamin Morrison, Esq. of Bognie, in the 59th year of his age.

— At Annan, Mrs Agnes Stewart, spouse of Mr Thomas Williamson, merchant, in the 77th year of her age.

14. At Raeden, near Aberdeen, Miss Jean Stratton, of Kirkside, parish of St Cyrus, in the 67th year of her age.

— At Banff, Patrick Duff, Esq. of Carnousie, Banffshire.

— At 58, Nicolson Street, Edinburgh, much lamented, Mrs Mary Lookup, spouse of Mr John Ainslie.

15. At Dum'Dum, near Calcutta, aged 17, Mr Samuel Guise Thomson, son of Alexander Thomson, Esq. late Captain in the 46th and 100th regiments.

— At Drumtochty Castle, Jas. Gammell, Esq. of Countesswells and Drumtochty.

16. At Port Glasgow, Mr Robert Boyd, merchant there.

17. At Dundee, Agnes Carnegie, aged 84, relict of William Mitchell, physician.

— At the Manse of Contin, the Rev. James Dallas, minister of that parish, in the 72d year of his age, and 33d of his ministry.

— At Geneva, New York State, Mrs Janet Welsh, wife of Mr Walter Grieve, in Geneva, and daughter of the late Mr David Welsh, Braetoot.

19. At Falkirk, Robert Walker, Esq. of Mumrills.

20. At Port Dundas, John Herbertson, Esq. in the 81st year of his age.

— At Dalkeith, Mr Alexander Scott, skinner, aged 79.

23. At Kirkhill, Linlithgowshire, Mr James Hume, aged 22, second son of Mr Hume, Kirkaldy.

— Mrs Smith, of Wedrushall.  
— At Duddington, Mr Wm. Scott, of the Bill Chamber, aged 69.

23. At Park, near Colerain, Mr Anthony Doherty, aged 105 years. From his 10th year, until a few years previous to his death, he followed the business of a blacksmith.

24. At Peebles, Mr John Reid, junior, surgeon, aged 19 years.

25. At Edinburgh, Mrs Christian Howison, wife of Mr James Kennie, glazier and glazier, Edinburgh.

— At Citadel, North Leith, Mrs Janet Fraser, relict of the late John Wilson, shipowner, Leith.

— At Edinburgh, Chas. Gordon, Esq. son of Sir James Gordon, Bart. of Gordonstone and Letterfourie.

— At Carlisle, Miss Elizabeth Harrison, wife of John Connell, Esq. banker in Carlisle.

26. At Gilmore Place, Mrs Elizabeth Hardie, relict of the late Mr John Martin, Chancery Office, Edinburgh.

27. At Orangefield, Thomas Wilson, Esq. of Orangefield.

— At Coldstream, Mrs Isabella Walker, relict of Robert Kay, Esq. of Harlaw, parish of Eccles.

— At Cowhill, Sybilla Harriet Johnston, second daughter of Captain Charles James Johnston, R.N. in the 19th year of her age.

— At Sandylane, near Dalmuir, Mr George Marshall, writer, Glasgow.

27. At the Manse of Carstairs, Wm. eldest son; and on the 26th of October last, Rachel Kater, only daughter of the Rev. George Munro.

28. At Belfast, Mr Matthew Marshall, aged 50. He was serjeant-major in the Enniskillen dragoons, and was present on the memorable field of Waterloo in the action of the 18th; the Enniskillens charged in line, when Marshall's squadron dashed into the thickest of the enemy's phalanx, and were cut off from the other troops of the regiment.—Marshall, while sabring one of a party of cuirassiers on his right, had his bridle arm broken by a stroke from an enemy on his left, and had not proceeded much farther when he was beset by another crowd of French cavalry, and hurled from his horse by a lance which penetrated his side; while he was falling he received a heavy blow across the body, and another

which broke his right thigh. He lay for some time unconscious of every object, except when goaded to sensibility by the hoofs of the enemy's horses carcering over his mangled body; the ground afterwards became somewhat clear; he espied a horse without any rider, towards which he crawled, and was about to mount, when a French trooper, galloping up, cut down poor Marshall in the midst of his hopes, inflicting several severe wounds on his body. This part of the field was again occupied by the French, of whose presence Marshall was first made aware by one of the gunners making his mangled body a resting-place for his foot, while ramming his gun. The battle having concluded, Marshall remained on the field, with nineteen lance and sabre wounds, for two days and three nights. On the regiment returning home, he was discharged with a pension of 2s. a day. He has since resided in Belfast, where he maintained the character of an intelligent, unassuming, and strictly honest and industrious man.

30. At St Roque, in Spain, Mr James Duncan, third son of Mr John Duncan, merchant, Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, aged 20.

— At Glasgow, Dr Peter Holland, aged 62 years.

— At Heavitree, near Exeter, Jessie Ann, eldest daughter of Francis Gordon, of Kincardine.

— At Edinburgh, Sir John Leslie, Bart. of Kindrossie and Wardes, in the 75th year of his age. The title now devolves on his eldest son, Charles A. Leslie, Esq.

— At Port-Glasgow, John Young, Esq. M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

Lately. At Perth, a veteran named Robert Menzies.—In 1758, when only sixteen years of age, he enlisted in the seventy-sixth regiment. He first faced an enemy's fire at the siege of Belleisle, where he was wounded in the leg; and he was also present at the capture of the islands of Martinique, Dominica, St Lucia, and St Vincent's, from the French; and at the taking of the island of Cuba and the city of Havannah from the Spaniards. He was discharged in 1764, in consequence of the peace; but next year

he joined the seventy-first regiment, which was, soon after sent to America. Menzies was at the battles of Long Island and White Plains, besides some other severe skirmishes. In 1777 he was at the battle of Brandywine; and in the subsequent year at the siege of Savannah, in Georgia. In 1779 he fought at Prior's Creek; and he next formed one of the army which was besieged at Savannah by the Americans and French under Count D'Estaing, where he was wounded in the shoulder. In short, it would seem from the memoir before us, that this hardy man shared in nearly all the worst hardships of that bloody war; for we find him next at the battle of Camden, next at that of Cowpen, and then at the engagement of Guildford Court. He formed one of the army under the Marquis Cornwallis, when that commander was forced to surrender to the patriot forces under Washington and Rochambeau. When the prisoners were sent home, Menzies—who, in the course of his services, had reached the rank of Quartermaster-Sergeant—was discharged with a pension of one shilling per day; which those at the head of the affairs of our army refused to augment, because he could not produce his first discharge, which was buried with a relation to whom he had entrusted it, and who was killed at the fatal landing on the shores at Boston. Menzies had two sons, who were both killed in battle. He has left a widow nearly seventy years of age, very destitute. His remains were followed to the grave, among others, by four veterans who shared nearly all his fortunes while in the Fraser Highlanders.

— At Hampstead, Middlesex, in great distress, Mrs Young, formerly Miss Biggs, and a leading actress of Drury Lane theatre.

— Suddenly, at Cheltenham, Charles Townsend Wilson, Esq. Captain of the 15th foot, nephew of Henry Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

— At Hyde, Isle of Wight, Sergeant Lens, an eminent barrister at the English bar.

— The Rev. James Scott, minister of Benholm, in his 67th year.

— At Bothwell Mount Cottage, Captain Lewis Campbell, R.N.

OCTOBER. At Rangoon, of cholera, Thomas Mure, Esq. of his Majesty's ship Boadicea.

— At Tobago, Captain Robert Macalister of Irvine.

— At Greenock, after long illness, Captain Neil Cook.

— At 18, Forth Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Innes, spouse of Mr Robt. Scott, druggist, Edinburgh.

2. At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Todd, of North Shields, optician, aged 37.

— At the Manse of Kirkliston, the Rev. Charles Ritchie, minister of that parish.

— At Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, Robert Walker, Esq.

3. At Leghorn, from the bite of a spider, Lewis Henderson, Esq. merchant, brother to Andrew Henderson, Esq. artist, Glasgow.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Daniel Dewar, aged 73.

— At Edinburgh, Mr George Dickson, nursery and seedsman.

— At Glasgow, in the 31st year of his age, John Morrison Duncan, Esq. printer to the University.

— At her house, 17, George Street, Edinburgh, Miss Margaret Seton, daughter of the deceased Mr David Seton, Kennoway, Fifeshire.

4. At Hoarley Grange, near Shrewsbury, Major General Swinton.

— In Wimpole Street, London, in the 35th year of her age, Anne, wife of Captain C. S. J. Hawtayne, of the R. N. daughter of the late Commissioner Chas. Hope.

— At Longford House, Exmouth, Dr William Paget. He was on the Medical Staff of the army under the immortal Wolfe, and the late Marquis of Townshend, in America.

— At Two-Mark, parish of Stonykirck, in the 97th year of his age, Mr Charles Withers, long tenant in Cairnwell, in the same parish.

5. At Archibald Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Usher, relict of Jas. Usher, Esq. of Toffield.

6. Thomas Smith, Esq. aged 77, many years commander of the Mermaid revenue cutter.

— Lady Richards, relict of the late

Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer.

6. At Dundee, Mrs Warden, in the 77th year of her age.

— At Edinburgh, Ensign David Jamieson, of the Fifeshire militia.

7. At Sloan Street, London, Eliza, eldest daughter of Wm. Stewart, Esq. formerly of Inverkeithing.

— At Huntly, Major Robert Forsyth, late of the 60th regiment.

8. At Edinburgh, Miss Christian Chatto, daughter of the late Rev. Andrew Chatto of Mainhouse.

— Mr William N. Blane, (younger of Grougar,) whose travels in America, &c. gave just ground to hope that another volume from him would have proved highly useful. This, however, he was not permitted to bring forward, as he was cut off by a violent fever, in his 26th year, on his travels through Egypt and Syria, after a short but brilliant career. The accounts received of him state, that he died at Tarsus on the 7th or 8th of October, after three days' illness, regretted by all who knew him. "He was of such rare and amiable qualities, that he never approached any one but he made him his friend. He was noble-minded, brave, and generous, and with talents such as would have fitted him for any station or office; and withal so affectionate, so kind, so lively and good-tempered, as perhaps never was surpassed."

9. At Agra, John Burnett, Assistant Surgeon, second son of the late K. W. Burnett, Esq. of Monboddoo.

— At Eymouth, the Rev. Jas. Smith, D.D. minister of that parish, and formerly of Hide-Hill Chapel, Berwick.

10. At St David Street, Edinburgh, Miss Jane Simson, daughter of the deceased John Simson, Esq. of Brunton.

— At Serut, Captain James Innes Gordon, 35th regiment Bengal native infantry, third son of the late James Gordon, Esq. of Rosieburn.

11. At Rose Ville, in the 82d year of her age, Euphemia Macduff, wife of Mr David Bridges, merchant, Edinburgh.

— At Forres, aged 82, Mrs Jean Grant, relict of the late Duncan Grant, Esq. Provost of Forres.

11. Near Lausanne, Helen Marianne,

infant daughter of Alex. Scott Broomfield, Esq.

12. At Macclesfield, John Vans Agnew, Esq. of Scheuchan and Barnbarroch.

— At Blairlogie, Mrs Isabella Ross, relict of Charles Adam Duff, some time pro-consul at Tangier.

13. Of typhus fever, at Mindrum, Northumberlandshire, where he was much respected, Mr Jonathan Lindsay, son of the late Mr David Lindsay, of Auchmull, Forfarshire, in the 26th year of his age.

— At East Linton, John Burton, Esq. — Of apoplexy, the King of Bavaria.

His Majesty had completed his 69th year, and is succeeded by his son, the Prince Royal.

14. At Dunolly, Patrick M'Dougall, Esq. of M'Dougall.

— At her house, 5, Terrace, Edinburgh, Mrs Helen Watt, relict of John Reid, Esq. of Nellfield.

15. At Portobello, William Simpson, Esq. Solicitor at Law, Edinburgh.

— At Kells Manse, in the prime of life, the Rev. Wm. Gillespie, minister of that parish.

— At Castle-dikes, Agnes Eleanor Dunlop, wife of Joseph Elias Perochon, Esq. daughter of the late Mrs Dunlop of Dunlop, the only daughter and worthy representative of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craig, Baronet.

— Christina, youngest daughter of David Sim, Esq. of Culter Mains.

— At Port Royal, Jamaica, in the 36th year of his age, George Black, surgeon, R.N. eldest son of Alex. Black, Pitsligo.

16. In the cantonment of his regiment, in the island of Calabah, near Bombay, East Indies, Alex. John Ralph, Esq. M.D. Assistant Surgeon, 2d (Queen's Royal) regiment of foot, aged 28 years.

— Newington, Edinburgh, in the 76th year of his age, Captain Charles Greig, late of Hon. East India Company's service.

— At Edinburgh, Susannah, eldest daughter of Mr Thomas Kinnear, writer, Stonehaven.

17. At his house, Bo'ness, John Padon, Esq. distiller, aged 44.

— At Gilmour Place, Edinburgh, after a few hours' illness, Captain Donald Macarthur.

19. At Edinburgh, Henry, and, on the 22d ult. Eliza, children of Mr Thomas Rymcr, solicitor at law.

18. At Dalkeith, Mr James Bell, writer and messenger there.

19. At Erskine, the Hon. Caroline Henrietta Stuart, youngest daughter of Lord Blantyre.

— At Saxe-Coburg Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Barclay, wife of John Sim, Esq. accountant of the Bank of Scotland.

At Woolwich, Mrs Bonnycastle, widow of Professor Bonnycastle, of the Royal Military Academy.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Jack, aged 79, relict of the late Mr Jas. Gall, Cowgate, Edinburgh, much and justly regretted.

20. At Ayr, Mr Colonel Mackenzie.

— At the cavalry barracks, Norwich, aged 59 years, Sir Thomas Pate Hankin, Lieut. Colonel of the second regiment of dragoons.

— In Prince's Street, Hanover Square, London, Anne, daughter of the late Wm. Duff, Esq. of Corsinday, much and justly lamented.

21. At Paris, Mrs Renny Tailleur of Borrowfield, eldest daughter of the late Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balmain, Bart.

— Drowned on board the steam-boat, Comet, off Gourock, Hugh James Rollo, Esq. W.S. It is earnestly hoped that on this melancholy occasion his relations and friends will receive this as a sufficient intimation of his death.

— Drowned on board the steam-boat, Comet, off Gourock, Mr John Reid, youngest son of the late James Reid, Esq. of Exchequer.

— On board the Comet steam-boat, on his way to attend the College of Edinburgh, Angus Alexander Kennedy, son of John Kennedy, Esq. of Annat Farm, near Fort William; an amiable youth of great promise, much and justly regretted.

— Off Gourock, by the foundering of the Comet steam-packet, on her voyage from Inverness to Glasgow, Chas. Baillie Sutherland, youngest son of the late Capt. George Sackville Sutherland of Rhivel.

22. In Virginia, aged 114, Alexander Berkeley, a native of Scotland. On the 2d January, his wife died, aged 111.

— At St Petersburg, the celebrated

astronomer Schubert, in the 68th year of his age.

— The Lady Margaret Wildman, wife of Captain Wildman, of the 7th hussars, and daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March.

— At Scarborough, in his 81st year, Thomas Hinderwell, Esq. author of the History of Scarborough, and many years one of the principal members of that Corporation.

— At Ledlowan, parish of Killearn, James Provan, Esq. aged 76.

— At the house of her brother, Mr Andrew Page, surgeon, 15, Elder Street, Edinburgh, Miss Isabella Page.

23. At Lyons, in France, Miss Mary Honyman, youngest daughter of the late Mr John Honyman, merchant in London.

— At Edinburgh, Mr John Barclay, of the Lord Nelson Hotel, Adam's Square.

— At her house, in Forres, Mrs Justina Dunbar, widow of the deceased George Gun Muhro, Esq. of Pointzfield.

24. At Hawthornden, Mrs Mary Ogilvy Forbes Drummond, of Hawthornden, wife of Captain John Forbes Drummond, of the R. N.

— At her house, Broughton, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Lendrum, relict of Mr Patrick Fairley, in the 91st year of her age.

— At Ramsay Lodge, Edinburgh, Isabella Elder, aged thirteen months, daughter of Isaac Bayley, Esq.

— At his house, 162, Rose Street, Edinburgh, Mr James Watson, builder, much and justly regretted.

— At Hutchesontown, Mr Samuel Macfarlane, manufacturer, Glasgow.

25. At Glasgow, Alexander Hunter, Esq. aged 25 years.

— At Leith Walk, Mrs Forrest, relict of Mr David Forrest, Solicitor Supreme Courts.

— After a few days' illness, at the house of the Rev. John Nelson Goulty, Brighton, the Rev. Dr Bogue, of Gosport, in his 77th year.

— At Inverness, Mr George Somerville, youngest son of John Somerville, senior, Esq. Jury Court, aged 23 years.

At Halifax, Nova Scotia, Lady

Mitchell, widow of Sir Alexander Mitchell.

26. At Edinburgh, Mrs Dawson, relict of Mr Thomas Dawson, of the Excise Office, Edinburgh.

— At Brechin, James Hutton, weaver, aged about 83. This individual had been one of the town officers, and jailer of the burgh for nearly half a century. He was by no means unconscious of the dignity attached to his office. It is said, and we believe, on good authority, that he used to tell a brother functionary, a Bailie, long since dead, "You may decide as you please, Bailie, but that's the law, and you will allow that I know the law." It was no uncommon matter for James to say to the gentlemen of the quill or bar, (as they are called,) "Write there, and I'll drite (dictate) what is proper to be written." Upon the occasion of a procession to a market, Iatton said to the Provost, "So and so ought to be done; and I know best, for I am the oldest member of council present."

— In Upper Harley Street, London, Walter Fawkes, Esq. of Farnley Hall, Yorkshire. He was a descendant of the celebrated conspirator of that name, and prided himself not a little on his pedigree.

— At Dalkeith, Mr Andrew Gray, baker, in the 62d year of his age.

— At No. 15, Nelson Street, Edinburgh, Adam Henry Crichton, second son of Mr Hew Crichton, writer.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Crokatt, relict of Mr James Murray, solicitor at law.

27. At Montrose, suddenly, Mr David Turnbull, architect, aged 73.

— At Kinnedder, Mrs Anne Hally of: Kinnedder, relict of Mr William Callender, merchant in Edinburgh.

— At Woolwich, Mrs Clibborn, wife of Major Clibborn, royal artillery, and daughter of the late Menzies Baillie, Esq.

— William Fleming, innkeeper, Cupar Angus, aged 102. In his earliest years, he had been a soldier, and fought in the ranks of Prince Charles at Prestonpans, in 1745. He was close by, attending on his wounded master, a Captain Wedderburn, when the brave Colonel Gardiner

fell; to whom he likewise afforded considerable assistance. Fleming was the first operative artificer who began to build the bridge of Perth, and the first turnpike man upon the roads of Strathmore. He lived to see his grandchildren, his great-grandchildren, and his great great-grandchildren—in all amounting to the number of nearly one hundred.

— At Southampton, Captain Alexander Richard Mackenzie, of the R. N.

28. At Banff, Mr John Richardson, painter there, aged 67 years, universally respected, and most sincerely regretted by a numerous circle of friends.

29. At Auchtermuchty, the Rev. James Browning, minister of the Second Associate Congregation there, in the 77th year of his age, and 41st of his ministry.

— Near Kingston, Jamaica, James, eldest son of Mr Falconer, Blackhills, near Nairn.

30. At Bridgend, near Sanquhar, Thos. Barker, Esq.

— At Culross, Henry Brown, Esq. of Prathouse.

At Dolls, aged six years, James Haig, son of the late James Haig, jun. Esq. Sunbury.

31. At King Edward, the Rev. Dr Robert Duff, in the 87th year of his age, and 61st of his ministry. The parish of King Edward has been nearly an hundred years under his and his father's pastoral charge. The late Dr Duff has been upwards of seven years the father of the Synod of Aberdeen, and was one of the oldest ministers of the Church of Scotland.

Latelý, in North America, where he had gone for the recovery of his health, Hugh Rose, Esq. of the colony of Demerara, eldest son of the deceased John Rose, Esq. of Ardnagrask.

— At his seat, Castle Howard, in the 78th year of his age, the Earl of Carlisle, K. G. and Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire.

— Of apoplexy, at La Mancha, the Baron d'Eroles, in the 80th year of his age.

— At Senna, Southern Africa, Mr George Kilpatrick, surgeon R. N. son of Mr. George Kilpatrick, Craignestoch, Glasgow. In June 1823, a party, con-



sisting of Mr Forbes, botanist, sent out by the Horticultural Society of London, Lieutenant C. Brown, and Mr Kilpatrick, both of his Majesty's ship *Leven*, on a voyage of survey along the eastern coast of Africa, under the command of Captain W. F. W. Owen; volunteered their services on an inland expedition to explore the river Zambezi or Cuama, and the country adjacent: they were next to have proceeded through the heart of the country to Latakoo, where English missionaries reside, thence to Cape Town. They had not proceeded far up the river, when Mr Forbes fell a victim, and, soon after their landing at Senna, his two companions shared his untimely fate.

NOVEMBER. On his voyage to China, George, second son of the late John Urquhart, Esq. of Craigston.

— While serving at Rangoon, Captain Alexander, R. N. C.B.

1. Drowned, on board the *Christiana* of Glasgow, outward bound to Trinidad, and wrecked on Patterson's Rock, Mull of Kintyre, William Campbell, younger of Skerrington, aged 18 years.

3. At the Presidency, Captain Gilbert Melville, 1st regiment Bombay light cavalry.

— John Scott, aged 100; and on the 4th current, George Cooper, aged 103. Both these instances of longevity occurred on the estate of Knockespoek, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire.

4. At the manse of Dunse, Andrew, eldest son, of the Rev. George Cunningham, aged 25.

— At Cornhill, Aberdeenshire, Mrs Helen Baker, relict of the late William Baker, Esq. of Fonthill Bishop, in the county of Wilts.

— At Portsoy, after a severe illness of three years, Mrs Lillias Cameron, wife of John M'Lean, merchant there.

— At Haversham, Westmoreland, Henrietta, wife of the Rev. Dr Lawson, vicar of that parish, and daughter of the late A. Ranaldson, Esq. of Blairhall, Perthshire.

— At Irvine, Mrs Jean Montgomery, of Craighouse, aged 68 years,

— At Mayfield, Mr Alexander Robertson, son of the late James Robertson, Esq. W.S.

5. John Clapperton, Esq. of Spylaw, a gentleman who is deeply regretted by all who knew him, and whose death will be felt as a serious loss among the independent traders of Edinburgh. He was the architect of his own fortune; but his wealth was not accumulated by fawning, or by any mean or avaricious arts. He courted nobody; yet was liked by all. His very bluntness had an agreeable zest conferred upon it by his known integrity. He was pre-eminently an honest man. In business, he was at once shrewd and attentive—just and honourable; but what, in this end of the island, distinguished him most, was his independence both in spirit and conduct. May his example be followed by those of his class who remain behind; and may those who have the sense and courage to become imitators be equally successful and prosperous.

— At Colinsburgh, Mr Arthur Edie, late farmer at Muireambus, much regretted.

6. At Edinburgh, Mrs Helen Duncan, relict of Mr Alex. Stevenson, one of the deputy clerks of the Court of Session.

— At Ardardan, Dymbartonshire, after a few days' illness, Claud Neilson, Esq. universally regretted by all who had the pleasure of his neighbourhood or acquaintance.

— At Glasgow, Mr James Holt, merchant.

7. At Perth, aged 13, Margaret, youngest daughter of Captain Menzies, 68th regiment.

— At his house, Bonnington Place, Edinburgh, John Boyd, Esq.

8. At Ayr, Captain David Hunter, in the 80th year of his age.

— At Clayquhaj, Perthshire, Mrs Janet Mitchell, wife of William Spottiswoode, Esq.

— Covenhill, parish of Catstair, Alex. Smith, shepherd, at the advanced age of 101 years and 6 months. He followed his employment till within the last four years of his life. His son James, who is now 60 years of age, says, that he does not recollect of his father having ever been confined to his bed by sickness, except upon one occasion, when he was stung by an adder. The deceased was

father to 7 children, grandfather to 36, and great-grandfather to 87, making a total offspring of 130. His son James, who resides in Wishawtown, is a literary character of celebrity in that part of the country. He is author of a volume of poems in the Scottish dialect, dedicated to the Hon. Lady Belhaven, and is known in the neighbourhood, by way of distinction, by the name of "The Poet."

9. At Fortrose, Colin Matheson, Esq. of Bennettsfield.

10. At Kirkcaldy, Mrs Ronaldson, widow of the late Mr Andrew Ronaldson, writer there.

11. At No. 14, Jamaica Street, Edinburgh, Mr Charles Robertson, in the 71st year of his age.

12. At Humbie, in the parish of Dursdeer, of consumption, Mr Ebenezer Corson, late merchant in Glasgow.

— At Gainslaw, Berwick, Ralph Gilroy, Esq. late of Jamaica.

— At Ormiston, East Lothian, Mrs Margaret Reddie, widow of John Thomson, Esq. of Prior Letham, merchant in Leith.

— At Moray Street, Leith Walk, Mr William Knox, author of *The Songs of Israel*; *The Lonely Heath*; *The Harp of Zion*; *A Visit to Dublin*; *Marianne, or the Widower's Daughter*; and a great variety of contributions in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, and other publications.

— At Bride's Mill, Mr George Nisbet, late factor on the Castle Sempleton estate.

— At his residence, in Marsham Street, Westminster, Mr J. Kennedy, at a very advanced age, and after a lingering illness. For many years he had been head doorkeeper at the House of Commons, and was well known to the several Members and to the frequenters of the Commons' lobby. In such situation he amassed a considerable fortune, and had large estates in his native country in Wales. He was a great and intimate favourite with the late Chief Baron Richards, with whom he used frequently to dine. Though the situations of the two persons nominally were so different, they were neighbours born, had been educated together, and through after life continued on the most friendly terms. His age and infirmities

compelled Mr K. to retire from exertion at the latter end of last session. Mr S. Spiller is his successor as head doorkeeper, a place of great emolument.

13. Suddenly, at Kirkintilloch, Mr. Wallace, aged 31. Mr Wallace filled the office of Chief Magistrate of that burgh for five years previous to October last, and is not less regretted as an upright and intelligent Magistrate, than on account of his charitable and benevolent dispositions in private life.

— At Loanhead, Aberdeen, Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie, of his Majesty's fourth Ceylon regiment.

— At Leith, Mr Malcolm Wright.

— At Kirkaldy, in the 15th year of her age, Elizabeth, only child of the late Rev. James Hutton, minister of Beath.

— At her house, Edinburgh, Mrs Douglas Dickson, of Martree, widow of A. Douglas, Esq.

— At her house, George Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Grace Græme, daughter of the late David Græme, Esq. advocate.

14. Mrs Marion Grahame, wife of John Lang of Harthope, writer in Glasgow.

— At Edinburgh, John Fuller, Esq. M.D. late of Berwick-on-Tweed.

— At Rhives, Ross-shire, Miss Naomi Forbes. As an attached friend, combined with a character distinguished for truth, candour, and unaffected religion, she had few equals: and as such, her death is deeply lamented by all those who were acquainted with her.

— At New Pentland, Mrs Helen Dickson, wife of Mr James Train, much and justly regretted.

16. At Aberdeen, in the 60th year of his age, Mr James Cromar, rector of the grammar school there.

— At Glasgow, Alexander Finlay, Esq. carver and gilder to his Majesty for Scotland.

— At Glasgow, Mr Robert Hamilton, of the Paisley Union Bank.

— At No. 6, West George Street, Glasgow, Sybilla, wife of John Kirkland, Esq. and only surviving sister of the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, of Avoch.

— At his house, North Castle Street, Edinburgh, James M'Farlane, Esq. of Balwill.

17. At Perth, Janet Culbert, wife of

Mr Robert Whyte, merchant, aged 74, much and deeply regretted.

17. Mrs Mary Ord, wife of James M'Pherson, Saracen's Head Inn, Stirling.  
— At Aberdeen, Alex. Innes, Esq. surgeon.

— At Bonnyrigg, near Lasswade, Miss Beatrix Wight, daughter of the late Jas. Wight, Esq. Ormiston.

18. At her house, in London, Mrs Sarah Elliot, widow of the late Archibald Elliot, Esq. architect.

— At his house, William's Place, Aberdeen, Mr Jas. Leslie, late merchant, in the 81st year of his age.

— In Saint Andrew, Jamaica, James Waddell, Esq. aged 72.

— At Florence Hall, Jamaica, Mr Alexander Riccaltoun, sixth and last surviving son of the late Rev. John Riccaltoun, minister of the gospel at Hobkirk.

— At Brucklay Castle, Mrs Dingwall, wife of John Dingwall, Esq. of Brucklay.

19. At Nenthorn, William Roy, Esq. of Nenthorn; and, on Monday the 21st current, his daughter, Isabella, aged 10 years.

— At her house, Gloucester Place, Glasgow, Miss Catherine Glassford, daughter of the late John Glassford, Esq. of Douglaston.

— At Edinburgh, Mary, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Leatham, 38, George Square.

20. At his house, in Linlithgow, Mr James Buncle.

— At Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the 73d year of his age, and 48th of his ministry, the Rev. Roger Aitken, Rector of St John's, Lunenburg, and Missionary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

— At Capenoch, in the 85th year of his age, William Kirkpatrick, Esq. youngest son of the deceased Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Bart.

— At 16, James's Square, Edinburgh, John Watson, Esq. advocate, many years, one of the assessors for the city of Edinburgh.

21. At Pau Bas Pyrenee, Mary Rennie Mansfield, 3d daughter of John Mansfield, Esq. of Midmar.

— At Vienna, his Serene Highness Duke Charles Eugene of Lorraine, of an

apoplectic fit. His Highness was the last male branch of the illustrious house of Lorraine.

21. At Strathmiglo, Mrs Elizabeth Gardner, relict of Mr David Gardner, brewer there.

— At Prestonpans, Mr Andrew Watson, collector of customs.

— At No. 3, Antigua Street, Edinburgh, Miss Elder, daughter of the late Thomas Elder, Esq. of Forrieth.

— At her house, No. 7, James's Court, Mrs Christian Orphoot, relict of Mr Thomas Henderson, Junior, merchant in Edinburgh.

22. At Millfield, aged 63, William Mill, Esq. sometime Provost of Arbroath, and many years agent there for the Dundee Union Bank.

— At his house, No. 4, Northumberland Place, Edinburgh, Mr Adam Russell, builder.

— At her father's house, Gayfield Square, Edinburgh, in the 16th year of her age, Christian, only daughter of Patrick Black, Esq. late principal surveyor of his Majesty's Customs, Greenock.

23. At Kelso, aged 81, Dr Andrew Wilson, physician there.

— At her house, Hanover Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Janet Caskerwood, widow of Mr David Gordon, merchant.

— At Geneva, in the prime of life, and after two days' illness, Henry William Lambton, Esq. third son of the late William Henry Lambton, Esq. of Lambton, in Durham.

— At Tobermory, Mrs Sinclair of Lochallan, much and justly regretted.

— At Montrose, Mrs Innes, wife of Captain Innes, Forfar militia.

24. At Laurencekirk, aged 57, Mr Wm. Crabb, box-maker.

— Suddenly, at his house, in the vicinity of Stranraer, Wm. Douglas, Esq. commonly known by the title of the Duke of Douglas.

25. At her house, 15, Chapel Street, Edinburgh, Miss E. Thomson, aged 76 years.

— At Harrow, of typhus fever, William, eldest son of Major-General Douglas of Timpendean.

— At Falmouth, Jamaica, John Ferguson, Esq.

26. Killed in action at Wattygoon, near Prome, Brigadier Robert M'Dowall, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the 1st European Regiment, and commanding the 2d Brigade of Madras troops serving in Ava. Brigadier M'Dowall was the second son of the late Archibald M'Dowall, Esq., (a near descendant of the ancient family of M'Donall of Logan, who was for many years a leading member of the Magistracy of Edinburgh).

27. At Edinburgh, John Keir, esq. of the island of Madeira; and Ledger's, Surrey.

— At his house, No. 65, Potterrow, Edinburgh, Mr David Forrest, auctioneer.

— At George's Square, Mrs Isabella Kerr, spouse of the Rev. Dr Simpson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

— In Glenarary, Argyleshire, Mrs Hislop, wife of D. Hislop, Esq. Inverary.

28. Suddenly, at his house, 27, George's Square, Edinburgh, Archibald Campbell, Esq.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Wilhelmina Hathorn, eldest daughter of the deceased Hugh Hathorn, of Castlewigg, Esq.

— At Fasnacloich, Miss Stewart, daughter of the late James Stewart, Esq. of Fasnacloich.

— At Paris, General Foy (Maximilian Sebastian), of an aneurism of the heart.

29. At Edinburgh, Malcolm Alexander, son of Malcolm Stewart, Esq. of Athole Bank, Perthshire.

— Suddenly, at Belvoir Castle, the Duchess of Rutland, in consequence of an inflammation of the chest, in her 45th year.

— At London, William Ogilvie, Esq. of Westhall, much and justly regretted.

— Mrs Agnes Gibson, relict of John Archibald, Esq. merchant.

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Wynne, wife of the Rev. Richard Wynne.

— At Middleton, the Lady of E. W. H. Schenley, Esq.

— At Spanish Town, Jamaica, deeply lamented, Charles Parquharson, Esq. of Persey.

30. Drowned at Sea, from on board the ship Charles Forbes, Thomas, third son of Mr Wm. Allan, Leith.

— At Limekilns, Mr Wm. Millar, shipbuilder, aged 71.

31. At Wellington Place, Leith, Miss Cecil C. Aire, youngest daughter of the late Lieut. John Aire, R. N.

— At Stornoway, in the prime of life, Mr Evander M. Reid, third son of the deceased John Reid, Esq. late collector of his Majesty's customs there.

Lately. At Sampit, in the vicinity of Georgetown, United States, Mr Thomas Britt, aged 115. He was a soldier in the Cherokee war more than 90 years ago. His extreme age had not wholly impaired his constitution, for, within three years of his death, he performed a journey on horseback of about 38 miles in a day.

— Ann Moore, of Macclesfield, the pretended fasting woman of Tutbury, in the 76th year of her age.

— At Winchester, Mr George Harding, aged 116 years. He survived five wives, two of whom he married after he was 100 years of age.

— At the Giant's Causeway, Ireland, after a short illness, the Earl of Amesley, Viscount Glerawley, and Baron of Castle Wellan.

DECEMBER. In Jamaica, Mrs Ouchterlony, relict of the late James Ouchterlony, Esq. St David.

1. At Kingston, Jamaica, where he had resided for more than forty years, John Gordon, M.D., a native of Aberdeenshire, in the 70th year of his age.

— At Finlairg, Mr Robt. Robertson, landsurveyor.

— At Castlemilk, in Annandale, Captain Wm. Stirling, late of the 1st regiment of dragoon guards.

— At Linlithgow, Thos. Baird, Esq. of Parkly.

— At London, General Archibald Campbell.

2. At Wallingwells, in the county of Nottingham, the Lady of Sir Thomas Woolaston White of Wallingwells, baronet, and youngest daughter of the late George Ramsay of Barnton, Esq.

— At Dundee, in the 69th year of his age, James Keith, accountant.

— At Dunfermline, Mrs Margaret Fisher, relict of Alex. Hunt, merchant.

3. At Edinburgh, in the 71st year of his age, Mr Thomas Neilson, who, for the last 20 years, filled the situation of kirk-treasurer to the city of Edinburgh.

3. At Hope Park, Edinburgh, Mr Wright, aged 82.

— At James's Place, Leith, Mrs Janet Aire, wife of Mr James Hardie.

— At her house, Portobello, in the 80th year of her age, Mrs Margaret Grant, daughter of Roderick Macleod, Esq. W.S., and relict of John Grant of Kilgraston, Esq. for several years Chief Justice of the island of Jamaica.

— At Moss-side of Mounie, parish of Daviot, Alexander Angus, aged 105 years.

4. At Selkirk, Mr James Douglas Oliver, late rector of the grammar-school of Selkirk.

— At Burntisland, Miss Margaret Aitken.

— At Kennetpans, John Stein, Esq.

— William Lindsay, Esq. of Oatlands, writer in Glasgow.

— At his sister's, the Countess Dowager of Caithness's House, George Street, Edinburgh, Captain Patrick Campbell of Bercaldine.

5. At London, Mrs Alison Hall, Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, relict of Mr William Panton, late merchant there.

— At East Fenton, Haddingtonshire, Mr John Deans, farmer there.

— At Edinburgh, William Skirving, Esq. late of Plewland Hill, Haddingtonshire.

— William, fourth son of Hugh Mosman, Esq. of Auchtyfardle.

— At Aberdeen, Robert Harvey, Esq. of Baco.

7. At Windmillhouse, near Arbroath, esteemed and beloved by all who knew her, Mrs Margaret Bruce, widow of Colin Bruce, Esq. of Seaforth.

9. At Corsephairn, the Rev. Mr Currie, minister of that parish. He died of apoplexy in the inn, immediately after the performance of a marriage ceremony.

— At Dundee, Gershon Goulay, Esq. of Baikie, aged 75.

— At 3, Beaumont Place, Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Mitchell, relict of Mr Malcolm Gibson, formerly of the Star Inn, Haddington.

10. At Jamaica, in the 70th year of his age, deeply regretted by all who knew him, the Hon. W. A. O'Neil, Custos Rotulorum of the parish of St George's in that island.

10. At Montrose, Mr David Wylie, merchant, aged 52 years.

— At Peebles, Mrs Elizabeth Williamson, widow of the late John Murray Robertson, Esq., commissary sheriff-clerk of Peebles-shire.

— At Peasebanks, Hamilton, William, youngest son of Dr Whitehead, Hamilton.

— At Ross, Island of Mull, Mr John Smith, sometime minister of Tarbolton. He was the last survivor of one of the fifteen clergymen referred to in our immortal bard's almost earliest poem of "The Two Merds."

— At Kirkcaldy, Sergeant-Major William Robertson, of the Royal Fifeshire yeomanry cavalry, in which capacity he has acted for these last four years, to the entire satisfaction of his superior officers. He was 29 years in the Royal North British dragoons, the greater part of which time he acted as sergeant-major to the regiment. He particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Waterloo. The officers being all slain, he conducted the troop during the whole of the engagement with the most undaunted and patriotic courage. He was buried on the 17th current, with military honours.

— At Kelso, Miss Margaret Paxton.

— At Portsmouth, Rear-Admiral Bingham. He was on the point of proceeding to the East Indies, as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships on that station. This respectable and worthy officer had just completed his arrangements in London prior to his departure for Portsmouth, where he was to have hoisted his flag on board the Warsprite, when, in consequence of getting wet through, he was seized, on the 2d instant, with a sudden attack of erysipelas, which, notwithstanding his previous state of perfect health, baffled the skill of his physicians, and terminated fatally on the 10th instant. Rear-Admiral Bingham had uninterruptedly served until the conclusion of the war, and was esteemed a most correct and zealous officer. In private life he was beloved for his integrity, sincerity, and domestic virtues.

11. At Dauty Mill Cottage, Mr D. Stewart, who, for upwards of thirty-five years, was a confidential servant in the Haith family.











